



E. E. Bourne.

THE
HISTORY
OF
WELLS AND KENNEBUNK

FROM THE

EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO THE YEAR 1820, AT WHICH TIME
KENNEBUNK WAS SET OFF, AND INCORPORATED.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

BY
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PORTLAND:
B. THURSTON & COMPANY.
1875.

PRESS OF B. THURSTON & COMPANY.

PREFACE.

It is well known to our townsmen, that my father was engaged, the last ten years of his life, in preparing a history of Wells and Kennebunk. I had hoped that his life would be spared until he could complete it. Admonished by the evident progress of the disease, which, on the twenty-third day of September last, terminated his labors, I several times suggested to him the expediency of bringing it to a close, that it might be published under his personal supervision. But his reply has always been, "I cannot; additional facts are constantly coming to light."

I have sometimes thought that it was his intention to devote all his remaining years to investigation, leaving the mere publication to others, feeling that by continuing his researches in the various paths in which by long-continued study he had become familiar, he could best serve the interests of those for whom he labored.

It was with him, emphatically, a labor of love; never expecting to receive any other remuneration for his toil than such as comes from the consciousness of labor faithfully performed for the benefit of others; traveling from one part of the town to another, into adjacent places, and even into other States, wherever he could hear of an aged person whose memory might supply some fact or elucidate a doubt; examining ancient records and documents, feeling amply rewarded if a single fact was elicited, he has worked steadily on, un-

willing to lay aside his pen so long as anything of interest could be added.

During his last hours, only the night before his death, in an interval of comparative ease, he called my attention to minutes of certain facts that had recently come to his knowledge, and desired me to insert them in their proper connection. I have endeavored to do so, simply following out his directions.

Conscious of my own limited knowledge of these matters, and relying upon his well-known accuracy in historical research, I have not assumed to investigate any of the facts and incidents related; but, in reviewing the work preparatory to publication, have confined myself to such verbal corrections as I know a careful revision would have suggested to his own mind.

I believe that the facts and incidents here recorded will, in the main, be found to be well authenticated. I only regret that the whole could not have been subjected to a thorough examination by him, before being presented to the public. Errors and omissions, if there are any, would have been noticed and corrected.

It has been suggested, that I might add to the interest of the book by continuing the history to the present time; but the original intention of the author was to bring it down to 1820, at which time the town of Kennebunk was incorporated; a period within the memory of many now living. To record the events which have since transpired, would be a comparatively easy task to any one who might feel disposed to undertake it. I have not now the time to devote to such a labor, even did I suppose that by the attempt I should add anything of value to the work, neither could I think of incurring the risk of loss or destruction of the manuscript, by the delay which would necessarily be occasioned thereby. I have felt anxious to publish the work at as early a day as possible, that by the multiplicity of copies, the facts and incidents which my father has

carefully gathered in the course of his long life,—many of which, had it not been for his exertions, would long since have passed from memory—might be preserved. It will be a source of great satisfaction to me, when the volumes are ready for distribution.

In conclusion, I desire to express my thanks to the citizens of Wells and Kennebunk, for the interest manifested by their liberal subscriptions. This generous aid, and the frequent inquiries made of me, in regard to its publication, evince a gratifying interest in the work; and it affords me great pleasure to be thus assured that the patient industry of my father, in his self-imposed task, is so highly appreciated by those in whose behalf he labored.

KENNEBUNK, Jan. 1, 1875.

E. E. B., JR.

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HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE COAST OF MAINE—GENERAL ASPECT—MARINE BORDER OF WELLS—FIRST SETTLEMENT—INFANT BAPTISM—GORGES' CHARTER—THOMAS GORGES APPOINTED DEPUTY GOVERNOR—GORGES' HOUSE—REV. GEORGE BURDITT—INDICTMENTS AGAINST HIM—A COURT ORGANIZED—PERMITS TO HUTCHINSON AND OTHERS TO TAKE UP LAND—COMMISSION TO JOHN WHEELRIGHT AND OTHERS TO ALLOT LANDS—FIRST SETTLEMENT UNDER GORGES.

WE, of the present day, wonder that the early adventurers to Northern America should have selected Nova Scotia, or the shores of the St. Lawrence, as the most eligible locations for initiating a settlement. De Monts, Champlain, and Portrincoeur had grown up in a far more congenial atmosphere, blest with a temperature well adapted to personal comfort and the production of the necessaries and luxuries of life. It is not often that intelligent men are induced to abandon the milder for a more rigorous climate. They coasted the whole distance from Port Royal to Cape Cod, with the leading purpose of discovering a site better adapted for the settlement and expansion of a colony. But none of the localities, where now are found flourishing towns and cities, commended themselves to their judgment for the noble object in view. They had entire liberty where to choose. France claimed the whole territory. Their philosophy and prophetic inspiration were not, by any means, equal to their fortitude and daring. No hazard cooled their ardor for adventure; but it would seem that they were wonderfully deficient in that provident forecast which would have dictated a careful consideration of the special aptitudes of the different places visited for the implanting and enlargement of a civilized community.

Where could a harbor more inviting have been found than that of Portland? How could considerate men, with such an object in view, have passed by a position so alluring in all its features for this purpose, and have planted themselves on the shores of the Bay of Fundy or any adjacent territory? It may have been that the philosophy of the age was, in some measure, at fault in controlling the movements of these navigators and colonists. Men naturally concluded that the same latitudes, on various parts of the earth, would be attended with the same climates; that Port Royal and the atmosphere on the shores of the Bay of Fundy would be as congenial as that of Bordeaux, or of the shores of the Bay of Biscay. They were here in the summer season, and had no opportunity of acquiring that instructive experience which was necessary to disprove some of the philosophy then current. They had never been obliged to fellowship with the rigor of an Acadian or New England winter. George Popham, when he landed his colony at the mouth of the Kennebec, did not dream that his brave men, who had been accustomed to the mild climate of England, were thereby to be exposed to a severe temperature which their constitutions were unfitted to withstand. It had been supposed that there might be a short passage to the East Indies through the gulf and river of St. Lawrence; but all hope in this direction had proved groundless. The business now was to plant civilization; to grow up here a new France.

It might have been that the fisheries in the immediate neighborhood, in which so many vessels were engaged, presented inducements for a settlement there sufficient to counterbalance the more favorable aspects of a New England locality. They had also been well received by the natives, with whom a very friendly intercourse prevailed. Whereas, in a visit at one or two places at the West, they had met with disaster in conflict with some of the tribes. In the paucity of their numbers the utmost prudence was required for their personal safety.

But it is not less remarkable that so long a period from the discovery of Columbus should have elapsed before any attempts were made by the English to settle New England. The bay and the banks were crowded with fishing vessels. In 1578, there were between three and four hundred vessels, of various nations, at Newfoundland and vicinity in one season. Probably many of them pursued their business on the coast of Maine. The men from these

vessels were, of necessity, continually landing on our shores, and every return vessel could not fail to carry home some new information in regard to this western world. There surely must have been enough in the scenery and the annual products of nature, even in its wildness, to have arrested their attention and awakened an interest in subjecting it to the benefit of civilization.

No part of the seacoast of Maine could have failed to invite man to its profitable use and enjoyment. The marine border of Wells must have presented allurements to any one imbued with that common element of humanity, the love of money. Its forests, in their original grandeur, abounding with oak and pine, and innumerable varieties of trees, its mill privileges, its four or five navigable rivers, with their commercial advantages, its extensive marshes, its clam-beds and adjacent sea fisheries, we should have supposed, would have offered attractions which the seeker after wealth or the common comforts of life could not have resisted. Its soil too and its climate, though in no degree remarkable, were equally as favorable as any to be met with on the northern and eastern coast of the continent.

But we have no definite knowledge of its occupation by civilized man prior to 1640, though there are facts on the pages of history which seem to indicate very clearly that some persons had previously had a fixed habitation here. In the grants and locations made about this time, creeks, brooks, hills, etc., are mentioned, bearing names which must have been derived from some previous owner or possessor. Before this time, also, there was a regular communication between Agamenticus and Saco, and, as a consequence of this travel, there must have been settlers by the way. In 1640, all the inhabitants from Piscataqua to Kennebunk were required, as soon as they had a minister, to bring their children to be baptized. From this it may well be inferred that there were inhabitants at the eastward of Agamenticus; otherwise, the order would only have included York.

The authors of the different histories of our seacoast towns have generally given a brief account of the early voyages to this part of the western world, as inducements to the narration of the beginning and progress of civilization, and the settlement of that portion of the territory of which they propose to treat. The motive for this course seems to be the impression that some prestige is given to the

town from its early visitation by the bold navigators who came here on the noble enterprise of discovery and colonization. This feeling is a natural one, and no injury can come from its reasonable indulgence. But the character of a town or country must depend on its intrinsic elements; on its resources, and the skill and energy of its inhabitants in their application and use; on those active virtues which give strength to the soul, and thus build up a population of solid men, who draw to themselves public confidence, and thereby impart an abiding stability to the community of which they are a part.

We have, therefore, no such feeling to indulge in commencing this history. Wells was, undoubtedly, visited at a very early period. Its rivers were entered by some of the first adventurers to this coast; but its influence and prominence, in the confederacy of towns composing the State, are not aided or extended by any such adventitious circumstances. It is sufficient for our purpose that it was one of the earliest of the settlements and aggregate corporations of Maine. The State will forever have the honor of having been the first in New England on whose shores the light of civilization, religion, science, and civil law first shed its beams. Those bold and fearless men who landed at Sabino in 1607, and there erected a house for the worship of God, imparting to the redmen of the forest the knowledge of the one great Father, and of the revelation of the Christian faith, the wonderful effects and benefits of intellectual culture and mechanical skill, have given to the State a name imperishable, in which all the towns have a common inheritance.

Gorges obtained his charter of the Province of Maine in 1639. As in Wells, so also along the whole coast from Piscataqua to Sagadahock, there were probably settlers. Some of these were men who had come over the water for the purpose of fishing, and by the allurements of the country had been induced to abandon that business and take to themselves some tracts of land which invited occupation, and hazard future developments, whatever they might be. Some had emigrated to Massachusetts Bay, but, for various reasons, chose to migrate to the East and establish themselves here. They were not men of high moral tone, or of ordinary intellectual culture, or possessed of any considerable amount of property. Among the number might be found a few who had a small real estate in England and possibly held something personal. But they were adven-

turers, coming hither to take advantage of what might turn up in the evolutions anticipated in the few years following this rush to the new world. Some of them were, perhaps, outlaws, driven from the mother country by their crimes. At any rate, the moral manifestations of many of them were not of a character highly honorable to our common humanity.

In 1640, Gorges, having secured his right to the Province, sent over Thomas Gorges, his nephew, as deputy governor. The general indications of the state of affairs, on his arrival here, were not very flattering. Gorges had previously erected in York a mansion house of respectable dimensions and style, superior to the others with which it was surrounded, and furnished it in a manner becoming the dignity of the lord proprietor. But, notwithstanding its high ownership, it was not held sacred in the view of the marauders who had seated themselves in the neighborhood. The lieutenant governor, on entering it, was surprised to find even the building itself very much injured, and of all the household furniture nothing remaining "but an old pot, a pair of tongs, and a couple of cob-irons." The utterances of such a profanation of the proprietor's house were not very favorable to the character of those over whom he was to exercise his authority, and he began to think his position might not be a very enviable one.

On going forth to a further examination of the condition of the settlers, he soon learned that the desolations which he had here witnessed were only the counterpart of the moral desolation which prevailed among the people. Being removed from the power of an enlightened civilization, and from the restraints of law, some of them had given themselves up to the dominion of passion, and vice was ruling with unlimited sway. Even those who had previously sustained characters which had drawn to them the respect and esteem of the best part of the settlement had indulged in iniquities of the most disreputable nature and destructive of the peace and good order of all decent society. Even the Rev. George Burditt, a man of cultivated intellect, who had enjoyed the good opinion of his fellow-pioneers previously in New Hampshire, so far as to be elected to office of high trust, had suffered himself to be carried away by the seductions of unrestrained liberty. He had been repeatedly guilty of adultery, and of all those misdemeanors invariably concomitant. Females of respectable standing, wives of men of irre-

proachable life, were induced to forget their marriage vows, and fellowship with him in his wickedness. He had a wife and children in England. With such an example before a people uncultivated, and under slight legal restraint, Gorges might well feel that the public morals were far below the Christian standard, and that the havoc made of the lord proprietor's establishment was easily explained.

Gorges having organized a court which was to be holden at Saco, the lieutenant governor determined to adopt the necessary procedure to stay the torrent of vice which was thus undermining the foundation of all good citizenship. He caused Burditt to be indicted as "a man of ill name and fame, infamous for incontinency, a publisher and broacher of divers dangerous speeches, the better to seduce the weak sex of women to his incontinent practices." He was by the bench found guilty and sentenced to pay ten pounds sterling to the king. He was also indicted "by the whole bench" "for deflouring Ruth, the wife of John Gooch," and for this offence was fined twenty pounds sterling.

In this period of our history there was no such deference to the female character in social or civil life as to lead the court or people to avert their eyes from the transgressions of the sex. On the contrary, there was even less sympathy for their frailties and less disposition to palliate and forgive their misdoings than was cherished toward those of the other sex. There were in office, or in social life, few who had been educated to the intercourse of refined society. The courts first established by Gorges were, perhaps, better fitted for their position than most of those which succeeded them, yet they were evidently not overflowing with courtesy for the better part of humanity. Woman did not receive much mercy at their hands.

"Mary, the wife of George Puddington, was indicted" by the whole bench "for often frequenting the house and company of Mr. George Burditt, minister of Agamenticus, privately in his bed chamber and elsewhere in a very suspicious manner, notwithstanding the said Mary was often forewarned thereof by her said husband, and the constable of the said plantation, with divers others, to the great disturbance and scandal of the said plantation," and she was required to make this public confession: "I, Mary Puddington, do hereby acknowledge that I have dishonored God, the place where I live, and wronged my husband by my disobedient and light car-

riage, for which I am heartily sorry, and desire forgiveness of this court and of my husband, and do promise amendment of life and manners henceforth;" and having made this confession to ask her husband's pardon on her knees. Another female, who was a participant with Burditt in his guilt, was censured by the court, and ordered "to stand in a white sheet publicly in the congregation at Agamenticus two several Sabbath days, and likewise one day at this general court, when she shall be thereunto called by the councilors of this Province, according to his Majesty's laws in that case provided."

Such a spectacle in the house of worship, on the Lord's day, would not be a very effectual means of grace, or very likely to elevate the standard of morality among the rising generation, and perhaps not among those of more advanced years. Some crimes are not much diminished by making them the subject of conversation in every household.

But Gorges was determined, if possible, to renew a right spirit among the people. He felt that morality and religion were indispensable supports to any good and prosperous government. He was educated in the belief that even forms, instituted by Infinite Wisdom, were of essential importance in his endeavors to renovate the public morals. Infant baptism, an institution of this high authority, in his opinion, would be followed by the divine benediction, though unrecognized by the subject of it, and though exacted even of the unwilling parent by the requirements of law. Whether his conclusion was well founded or not is immaterial to our purpose. We are not inclined to deny its validity. It was, undoubtedly, at the instigation of Gorges that the order, to which we have before referred, requiring all the children to be brought to baptism, and that disobedience to the decree should subject the offender to prosecution for contempt, was issued by the court in 1640.

It was considered, both in Maine and Massachusetts, a great offence to deny baptism to children, and a few years after this, one Pointer was publicly whipped for refusing to have his child baptized. How far such a procedure would tend to promote the moral advancement of a community it would not seem very difficult to determine. But in those days of ignorance and lawlessness many errors of judgment are pardonable, when we know that the acts which they authorized had their origin in aspirations for the com-

mon welfare, and for an entire compliance with the law of God. But that any such measures, so enforced, had any tendency to bring men up out of the moral darkness in which they were involved, we, of this age, cannot, for a moment, believe.

The new government, Gorges' general court, being legislative as well as judicial in its action, did not confine itself to the moral improvement of the people only, but at the same time looked carefully to their physical economy. It may seem a small matter to have made any general enactments in regard to wolves. But to the settlers it was much more important that they should be extirpated than it has been at any time since that salmon, shad, and alewives should be preserved from destruction, or that the agriculture of the country should be protected against the ravages of the crow. Wolves then abounded all along the coast. The town of Wells was infested with them. Their hideous howlings made night terrible to the settlers. The little stock on the farms was always in peril, and every precaution was necessary to guard against their attacks. They were the worst enemies that the pioneers had to encounter. Hitherto they had had free access to the coast, and it was impossible to drive them away from the old ground, while new temptations were offered to them in the flocks of sheep and cattle which were rapidly being introduced into their territories. Every settler was interested in their extermination, and at this court it was "ordered that every family between Piscataqua and Kennebunk River should pay twelve pence for every wolf that should be killed." This, it will be seen, was in the whole a large bounty, but not larger than the interests of all the people required. We do not know that it was effectual in diminishing the number of wolves. More than a hundred years subsequent to this time they continued their direful havoc and howlings, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants.

The planters had, at this time, no other laws than these occasional orders of the general court, and such law of the mother country as was appropriate to their condition. The legislative action of the court was communicated to the people in no other way, that we are aware of, than by the record of the court's proceedings. There were no newspapers or printing presses to perform this work as it is done at the present day. Ignorance of law must have prevailed to a great extent, and there were many who manifestly felt that they were not the subjects of any civil government. The Province was

divided into two districts; the western, embracing the territory between Piscataqua and Kennebunk Rivers; the eastern, including the remainder.

The title to the territory being now considered as vested in Gorges, and a government established over it, those in the mother country, whose impulses led them to adventure to the new world to secure a part in its virgin soil, were naturally attracted to this portion of New England. Gorges, who had labored so hard in its colonization, was extensively known, and his character highly appreciated, throughout England. From what part of it most of those came who settled in the western portions of Maine we have no satisfactory information. The probability is that many of them came from his vicinity. John Wheelright came from Lincolnshire, and perhaps his followers, who adhered to him, at the cost of severe trial and persecution, and came with him to Wells, may have been residents of that county and perhaps members of his church. The following instrument suggests the first step, introductory to the permanent occupation of the town:

“Whereas, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Needham, and some others of the plantation of Exeter have been with me, Thomas Gorges, Superintendent of the affairs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, Lord Proprietor of the Province of Mayne, and have desired in behalf of themselves and others to take a certain tract of land lying between Ogunquitt River and Kennebunk, and for eight miles up into the country, but whereas a part of said land (as I heard) is claimed by Mr. Stratton and others, I cannot for the present give any further answer than this: That all the right and interest Sir Ferdinando Gorges hath in the said land shall be freely granted unto them, reserving to Sir Ferdinando Gorges five shillings for every hundred acres of land as well as marsh and uplands that they shall manure, and to me, Thomas Gorges, the priety of Ogunquitt River, of which I have desired a patent, which, when I have received, I do promise to surrender upon reasonable demands anything that may be beneficial to them, not doing myself any notable damage. In the meanwhile they have free liberty to build and take up any lands that are therein Sir Ferdinando Gorges’ power to grant, to have and to hold to them and their heirs and assigns forever. Given under my hands Sept. 27, 1641.

THOMAS GORGES.”

On the receipt of this license Edmund Littlefield, John Wheelright, Edward Rishworth, Henry Boade, and others entered on the land and begun to make it subservient to the uses of man. In due time, Ferdinando Gorges having ascertained his undoubted right to the territory, agreeably to his promise, made the following grant to Wheelright and others :

“Witnesseth these presents that I, Thomas Gorges, Deputy Governor of the Province of Mayne, according unto the power given unto me from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, Lord Proprietor of the said province, have, for divers good causes and considerations in and thereunto moving, given and granted unto Mr. John Wheelright, minister of God’s word, Mr. Henry Boads, and Mr. Edward Rishworth, of Wells, full and absolute power to alot bounds and sett forth any lott or bounds unto any man that shall come to inhabit in the plantation, themselves paying for any land they hold from Sir Ferdinando Gorges five shillings for every hundred acres they make use of, the rest five shillings for every hundred acres that shall be allotted unto them by the said Mr. John Wheelright, Henry Boads, and Edward Rishworth. The bounds of the plantation to begin from the northeast side of Ogunquitt River to the southwest side of Kennebunk River, and to run eight miles up into the country, and in case differences arise between the said Mr. John Wheelright, Henry Boads, and Edward Rishworth concerning the admission of any man into the plantation, or of bounding any land, the said difference shall be determined by the agent or agents of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to whom full power is reserved of admitting any one into the aforesaid limitt. Given under my hand and seal at armes this 14th July, 1643. THO. GORGES.”

“Saco—Memo. at a court holden here the 14th day of August, 1644, this grant was here exhibited and is by us allowed ; for further confirmation we have hereunto sett our hands in court the day and year above written.

RICHARD VINES, Deputy Governor.

NICHOLAS SHAPLEIGH.

HENRY JOCELINE.

FRANCIS ROBINSON.

RICH BONIGHTON.

ROGER GARD.”

The records of the town are introduced with the foregoing documents. They are the only relics which we have of any propositions

for the settlement of its territory previously to 1643. The neglect of their full transcription in several works in which they have been introduced has been a source of much error. In a concise account of the history of the town, in the first volume of the Maine Historical Collections, the first is set out with the omission of its true date, so that the reader is informed that the plantation or settlement was commenced in 1643. Gov. Sullivan, also, in his History of Maine, gives the same impression. The record, to be sure, is not what it should be. The instrument purports to be dated July 14, 1643, and also Sept. 27, 1641, closing with the latter and beginning with the former. But why the first should have been omitted altogether, and the latter altered from 1641 to 1643, it is not very easy to explain. The intrinsic evidence and extrinsic facts make it plain that 1641 was the true date. Sullivan may have copied from some other copy of the original, and Greenleaf and others from Sullivan. Both of the instruments were recorded at the same time, and the former was placed there to show under what authority the settlers had been occupying.

We do not find in any of the sketches of Wheelright's proceedings and motions, after he was driven from Boston, the time stated definitely when he left Exeter. We believe it to have been not far from the earliest date before mentioned. Judge Smith, in his Centennial Address at that place, does not state the year. He had access to the best sources of information and probably used them, but on this question they furnished no decisive information. It is believed that he, and Williamson, in his History of Maine, relied on Sullivan's statement that he began the settlement at Wells in 1643.

The instrument itself, of which we have given a true copy, requires a different construction. Though Wheelright's name does not appear in it, yet the applicants were his special friends and associates, and the request to Gorges was, undoubtedly, made in behalf of the whole company. Whether he was one of the petitioners or not is immaterial to our purpose, as our inquiry is, when the settlement commenced under Gorges' authority.

We think the petition, or the answer of Gorges embodying the petition, with other established facts, justifies the conclusion that Hutchinson and others came here in the latter part of 1641 or the beginning of 1642. The precise time when they asked for the grant does not appear. Gorges says that they had been here, but how

long previously he does not state. New Hampshire was about submitting to Massachusetts, in which case Wheelright and his companions would be exposed immediately to a new banishment. Gorges had assumed the authority over Maine, and they could not fail to be assured that under him they might find a refuge which would not be exposed to the spiritual tyranny of Massachusetts. They had applied to him previously to September, 1641, for a place of habitation in his possessions, and it was granted to them in the reply. Gorges says he was so situated at that time that he could make no definite grant. John Stratton had a grant of 2,000 acres on the western side of Cape Porpoise River. Whether this was valid or not he had no means of ascertaining. That question was to be settled in England. If valid, he could make no grants until its location was determined. He also had applied for a grant of 5,000 acres to himself adjoining Ogunquit River. Whether his petition would be favorably answered or not he did not know. When these two matters were settled they should have what they wished. He then gave them liberty to enter upon the land, in the meantime, and occupy where they pleased. It must, necessarily, have taken much time when their intercourse with England was so limited, to obtain the information required.

Having this liberty, there is no reason for the presumption that they did not at once accept Gorges' offer. They would not ask a year, or two years, in advance of their desired removal, and the reply of Gorges, that they might have immediate possession, would seem to imply that they had asked for it. Emigrants were then rushing to New England, and they would not be very likely to forego the opportunity of securing what lands they wished, before they fell into the hands of others. Some writers have regarded the license of 1641 as the charter of the plantation. We take no such view of it. It is simply a permission to Hutchinson, Needham, and others to go on and occupy the territory until he could give them some more substantial title. If either of the documents is to be regarded as a charter, it is that of July 14, 1643, in which the commissioners were authorized to proceed in the allotment of the land, and make grants to such persons as they thought proper. This grant, it will be seen, entirely disregards John Stratton's claim, as it covers the whole land between Ogunquit and Kennebunk River. It is

strange that any considerate writer should have regarded this document as prior to that of September, 1641.

We do not pretend to determine precisely the time when Wheelright came to Wells. We have full confidence that his associates, Hutchinson, Needham, and others, came here as pioneers, or to examine the land, in 1641. Whether either of the two, at any time, had a residence here we have no reliable evidence. We think Wheelright followed them in 1642. In that year Henry Boade came from Saco. In the deed to Wheelright of April, 1643, he is styled pastor of the church in Exeter, but we suppose his connection with that church had not been dissolved. A portion of his church were still there, and there was no occasion for immediate dissolution. He fled to Maine for his personal safety.

CHAPTER II.

GRANT TO THOMAS GORGES—GRANT TO WHEELRIGHT—LYGONIA PATENT—CLAIM OF COL. ALEXANDER RIGBY—DECISION IN HIS FAVOR—EDWARD GODFREY—COURTS HELD AT WELLS AND GORGEANA—CLAIM OF MASSACHUSETTS—COMPACT BETWEEN GORGEANA, KITTERY, AND WELLS—CHARACTER OF GODFREY—COMMISSIONERS SENT BY MASSACHUSETTS INTO MAINE—ADDRESS TO GODFREY—HIS REPLY—INCORPORATION OF GORGEANA—INDIAN DEED TO WADLEIGH—VARIOUS NAMES OF THE PLANTATION—ORIGIN OF THE NAME WELLS—HOUSE OF BOWLES BURNT—NAMES OF INHABITANTS OF THE PLANTATION, WITH BRIEF SKETCHES—MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSIONERS REQUIRE SUBMISSION TO HER AUTHORITY—THEIR COURT AT KITTERY AND WELLS—JURISDICTION OF MASSACHUSETTS ACKNOWLEDGED—OGUNQUIT JOINED TO CAPE NEDDICK—COMMISSIONERS GRANT CORPORATE POWERS TO WELLS—COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO SETTLE BOUNDARY BETWEEN WELLS AND YORK.

THOMAS GORGES, in due time, had received his grant of 5,000 acres, but we have been unable to find any location of it. It does not appear to have interfered with allotments in any part of the plantation. Immigrants selected lands without reference to it. Whether he availed himself of it the record does not show.

In 1643, Gorges conveyed to Wheelright a tract of land, of about 400 acres, on the easterly side of Ogunquit River. Wheelright did not dwell on this lot, though when referred to, it is designated as the Wheelright farm. His house was nearer the Cape Porpoise or Mousam River than the Ogunquit, but sufficiently far from the former not to be reached by the Stratton claim, or the lot asked for by Thomas Gorges. Under the authority to Wheelright, Boade, and Rishworth, to lay out and assign lots to settlers, but little seems to have been done. A very small number of grants are found, or are referred to on the records. Wheelright does not appear to have acted long on this commission. His residence in Wells was short, probably not continued beyond three years. Several of his associates remained in Wells; some for a few years; others made it a permanent abiding place.

These agents of Gorges were invested with a very important right. He committed to them the power of determining who should be admitted to the plantation. Similar authority had been invested in the plantations in Massachusetts. If wisely exercised, it would have been fruitful of most salutary effects. Had the policy indicated by this provision been continued and made appurtenant to the franchise of our plantations and towns, we might have built up in this State municipalities which would have elevated us far above our present status. In the exercise of such a power all unworthy applicants might have been excluded from an inhabitancy among us. We need not have been troubled by the inroads of rum-selling, profanity, and the various iniquities which destroy the peace of communities, impede the progress of virtue, and delay the advancement of a sound civilization. Our towns might have been built up in a style of beauty and magnificence of which we have now no example, while the niggardly and contracted souls, who sympathize with no philanthropic work, might have congregated elsewhere, in a township of their own, and in the congeniality of mutual selfishness and cupidity freely enjoyed all that happiness which the kingdom of darkness imparts to its subjects.

Soon after the appointment of Wheelright, Boade, and Rishworth, as agents for allotting the plantation, the Lygonia Patent was revived and came into the possession of the Honorable Colonel Alexander Rigby. Under the terms of this patent, the possessor claimed even to the Cape Porpoise River, so that the title of all that part of Wells between this and Kennebunk River was brought into controversy. The validity of this patent was denied by Gorges; but the governor general and commissioners of American plantations decided in favor of Rigby, though determining Kennebunk River to be its western boundary. Gorges' whole province was now reduced to the territory between Piscataqua and Kennebunk Rivers. Edward Godfrey was the only councillor dwelling within its limits. To save the plantations from falling into anarchy, he called a court at Wells in 1644. At this court he was appointed governor, and Richard Leader, Nicholas Shapleigh, Thomas Withers, and Edward Rishworth, councillors. Rishworth was also chosen recorder. After this the courts were holden at Wells and Gorgeana.

Godfrey was re-elected the next year, and the people for a little while were undisturbed by any collisions of contending proprietors,

and most of them quietly pursued their labors, in bringing the wilderness into a proper state of cultivation, until Massachusetts came in and claimed the whole province as a part of its territory. For many years that province had construed its own charter to extend no further than three miles east of Merrimack River. Great diversity of feeling now existing among the planters in reference to the authority under which they would live, the government of that province deemed it a favorable time to throw over Maine its protecting hand. But the government of Maine cherished no aspirations for her jurisdiction. The people were content to pursue their business under Godfrey, although some of them were willing to submit to the new claim.

In 1649, Gorgeana, Kittery, and Wells held a convention at the first-named place. Ferdinando Gorges, the Lord Proprietor, had deceased, and the status of the territory was in great doubt. Some feared that the right of Gorges died with him, and that both the government and their titles to lands would also lapse and die. To avoid the evils which impended by this event, this convention assembled and entered into the following compact: "We, with our free and voluntary consent, do bind ourselves in a body politic and combination to see these parts of the country and province regulated according to such laws as had formerly been exercised, and such others as shall be thought meet, but not repugnant to the fundamental laws of our native country."

Provision was also made for the choice of councillors annually by the people. The whole province of Maine, over which the new government was now created, embraced only these three towns (Kittery, then including Eliot and Berwick). The whole population was not equal to that of any one of them at the present day, and the government, it is believed, in comparison with the present municipal regulations of these places, would not be regarded as maintaining any striking precedence over them.

Godfrey was not that considerate, reflecting, far-seeing man needed for the chief magistrate of a people entirely unversed in the theory and administration of a wise government. His bombastic, profane introduction of his orders is not significant of a very high appreciation of the reverence which is due from man to his Creator. He was wont to address himself to his sub-officers and people in this style: "To all Christian people to whom these presents shall

come, greeting, in our Lord God everlasting." This was magnifying his office a little more than its dignity would authorize. The selectmen of our towns might, with equal propriety, address their precepts with the same high sanction. Such an irreverent use of assumed divine authority would not be likely to nourish in the minds of the people a veneration of the name of the Infinite.

He had not that calm independence, free from passion and excitement, which becomes one in office of high responsibility. He caused Goody Mendum to be indicted for saying that "she looked upon Mr. Godfrey as a dissembling man." He also brought his action of slander against Francis Raynes and wife, for charging his wife, Ann, "as being a liar." Such charges are not often made without some shadow of a foundation, and it ill became one in Godfrey's position so to notice them as to be seeking compensation for the supposed injury in a court of justice. The respectable office of governor we should judge to be essentially compromised by such proceedings. Goody Mendum's character was not such that her defamatory words would carry with them power for much evil.

Although in his subsequent correspondence with Massachusetts he exhibited some decision of character, his diplomacy manifests but little of that wise and discreet sense of the dignity which should be maintained by one elevated to the high position which he occupied. His views of life, in all its various relations of duty and of social and civil intercourse, do not seem to have differed essentially from those of the court of which he was a member, and from which emanated the heathenish orders of which we have before spoken. We may, also, here add another order of similar character, issued by the court of which he was at the head, holden at Gorgeana in 1649, exhibiting his refined and gentlemanly spirit, and the deference with which he regarded the closest relations of life. "Ordered that any woman who shall abuse her husband, or any others, by opprobrious language, may be put in the stocks two hours, and if incorrigible may afterwards be whipped." Such a government must have in itself very few of those moral attributes on which alone its prosperity could be predicated.

But still Governor Godfrey is worthy of commendation for the persevering and indomitable spirit which he manifested in what he considered to be right, and for his courage in seating himself down in York, an entire wilderness, with none to whom he could look in

his solitude for any help which the emergencies of his condition might require. He located himself there in 1630, building the first house in that place. He was the founder of York. What his motive was in making such a selection for a habitation does not appear. Possibly the fishing business might have tempted him to the adventure. No location could have been better fitted for that purpose. His house was on the north side of the river. But thus away from the intercourse and business haunts of men, he would be little likely to grow in the virtues of social life or in the necessary qualifications for gubernatorial authority. The solitary and recluse do not generally cherish very strong attachments for the female sex, or cultivate any of those attributes which lead them to feel that female association is a necessary element of every stable and prosperous community. He was stronger to meet all the perils of the wilderness than to confront the face of man. Though lord of all he possessed, he suffered adventurers to come in and crowd upon him, so as to reduce his lands to a quantity too small for his own necessary cultivation.

The people being divided in their preferences of the government under which they would live, and Gorges, the Lord Proprietor, being dead, Massachusetts, as before stated, now determined to claim jurisdiction over the whole province. The plain import of the charter of that colony might be in conformity with the new construction now put upon it; but as an entirely different view of its meaning had been heretofore taken, and concurred in by the company on the other side of the water, it would seem that this understanding of all parties ought to have been conclusive as to the extent of the jurisdiction of that colony, more especially when this construction had prevailed more than twenty years, and many grants had been made under the impression that it was acquiesced in by Massachusetts and all interested.

In 1651, Massachusetts sent commissioners into Maine, under instructions to admit the inhabitants as citizens of that province, and at the same time sent an address to Godfrey, setting forth the reasons for their claim. But Godfrey had no disposition to submit to it. He called a general court, and it was determined to send to the home government a petition to establish the confederation into which they had entered. Massachusetts received information of that fact and took measures to defeat the petition. A new survey was also had, satisfactorily establishing the position that their char-

ter carried them to Casco Bay. Godfrey responded to the address of Massachusetts in terms not very acceptable, charging that government with grasping at that which did not belong to it, and concluding with the words, "Such is the charity you have heretofore manifested towards our religion and other interests, that we trust you will excuse us if we are the more wary of your proposals and promises."

A very spirited reply to this letter was sent by Massachusetts, which was followed by a rejoinder from Godfrey not less spirited and decided. Other communications passed between the parties not very conciliatory, and not tending much to God's glory and the peace of the people, at which both claimed to be aiming. Massachusetts insisted that most of the people were in favor of placing themselves under her jurisdiction, while Godfrey declared that there were but few persons with any such leanings, and that these few were criminals and men of no worth. But Maine was powerless for resistance. Massachusetts sent commissioners to assume jurisdiction, and at the same time to protest against the exercise of authority by any in office under Gorges' government, and absolving all from allegiance to it. This maneuvering met with but little success. The people were not yet prepared to avail themselves of her protection; but not long after, in 1653, the opposition was somewhat mollified, and they consented to yield, none of the titles of the settlers being affected by this transfer of jurisdiction.

The settlement at York was one of the inducements to the occupancy of the territory adjoining. Ferdinando Gorges had made great preparation to render it an important center of influence. He had sent there mechanics of various kinds and common laborers to carry forward the work of improvement, and to make the place a useful auxiliary to the other plantations which might be set on foot in the neighborhood. By placing it in a self-sustaining and prosperous condition it would be a very material help for this purpose. Here population was soon concentrated, and immigrants felt a degree of safety in taking up lands not far from it. To render it more effectual for his purposes, he caused it to be incorporated as a city, giving it the name of Gorgeana. It embraced within its limits twenty-one square miles, and extended from York River, east, three miles, and seven miles into the interior from the sea. The village

was located at the harbor. Provision was made for its government, not materially different from that of cities at the present day. It was to have a mayor and recorder, twelve aldermen, and a common council of twenty-four. The mayor and aldermen were authorized to appoint four sergeants, whose badge of office was to be a white rod, and who were to serve all precepts. The mayor, aldermen, and recorder were to hold a court every week. Gorges' claim to all the lands was conveyed to the city. From this array of officers one would think the city teemed with inhabitants; but these forty officers, it is most likely, comprehended more than half of all the settlers. For a few years this city enjoyed some prosperity.

There were yet no indications of trouble with the Indians, and there were strong inducements to those who ventured to seek a habitation here so to locate themselves as to have the benefit of accessibility to some near settlement, where the various demands which must inevitably spring up might possibly be supplied. This was, we may venture to say, one of the principal motives which led Needham, Hutchinson, and others to select Wells as a place of habitation. The plantation, however, did not grow rapidly under these favorable circumstances. The unstable government, of which we have given a concise account, and the uncertainty of title presented very serious obstacles to the increase of its population. It needed the sustaining hand of a firm and effective administration. There is no basis of prosperity aside from this. Without law, establishing and maintaining rights, men cannot, with confidence, give their energies to business. Titles must be sure, labor protected, and order preserved. Some were for the government of the old country, some for Massachusetts, and some for the institution of one among themselves. From this diversity of opinions grew up animosities and bickerings, strifes and contentions, so that there was nothing in the general aspects of the settlements which availed to attract immigration. Gorges had claimed title; so had Massachusetts; and so had Rigby of a part of the town; and grants had been taken from these different lords of the territory, some acknowledging and relying on one, and some on another.

But the foregoing do not embrace all the rights which were supposed to exist in this territory. A great many persons at that day, as well as the present, were full believers in the absolute title of the

natives to the soil of Maine. Expediency, truly, does not find any serious obstacles in getting rid of such a right. New England Puritanism had no conscientious scruples to prevent the seizure of the possession, yet the title was regarded by some as worth as much as the title of either of the contending parties of whom we have been speaking.

There is manifest error in the statement which has found its way into history, that "there is no evidence that the land in Wells was ever purchased of the Indians." It is somewhat remarkable that, with the records near at hand, such an error should have been fallen into. It does not appear that the town acquired any title directly from them; but the remark is understood as affirming that their rights were never released. Even though so many generations have intervened since the territory was entered upon by the white man, it is some satisfaction to the present holders of these lands to be assured that their title did not begin in wrong; that the original owners had voluntarily parted with it.

There is no written evidence surviving that the town, as such, ever had any legal title from the natives, although it may have been acquired, in some way, from the deed to Wadleigh. In a memorial of the inhabitants to Charles II. they allege that they purchased their lands of them. Individuals may have taken deeds directly from some of the Sagamores, but it is more likely that the following instrument was the basis of the allegation :

"Whereas Sagimore Thomas Chabinocke, of Nampscoosecke, by virtue of his last will and testament, had given and bequeathed, and for certain good reasons and considerations him hereunto moving, hath, and by virtue hereof doth, freely and forever give and grant unto John Wadleigh, of Wells, to him, his heirs and successors, and that forever, of his own accord, and with the consent of his mother, Ramanascho, to whom the said Wadleigh has given a consideration, the premises, considered after the manner of a purchase, bargain, and sale; the said Sagamore and his adherents and survivors have, for themselves and successors, confirmed and made sure unto the said John Wadleigh and his successors, to be inherited presently after the death of the said Sagamore, all that the Sagamore, with his whole right, title, and interest, called by the name of Nampscoosecke, bounded between Nogimcoth and Kennebunk, and up as high

as Cape Porpoise Falls, and the same, with all the profits, commodities, and appurtenances, against all men to warrant and defend.

Witness our hands and seals this 18th day of October, 1649.

Sealed signed and

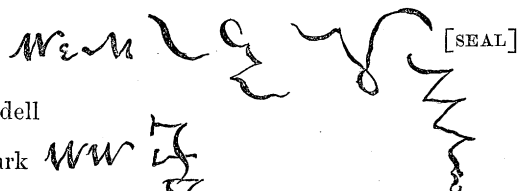
delivered in presence

Philemon Pormorte

The Sagamores marke

with his own hand

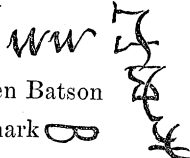
Ramanascho her mark



Will Wardell

Sasagahaway

his mark



his mark

Stephen Batson



his mark



Robert Wadleigh

Nell wife to Sasagohaway

mark



And they all affirm Ceasar consents to this.

William Wardell's testimony,
that this is the act and deed
of Thomas Chabinocke, the Saga-
more of Wells. Taken before
me the 25th of March, '57.

JOSEPH BOWLES,
Commissioner.

Ramanascho, the mother of the Sagamore Thomas Chabinocke, in 1650, quitclaimed to Wadleigh to confirm and establish the foregoing, for ten pounds sterling, which she and the Sagamore received in his lifetime.

"31 March, 1650. John Wadleigh took quiet and peaceable possession of the premises contained in his Indian right, laying the whole continent from Cape Porpoise Falls, and so by a straight line to Neginquit, and so down to the seaside, and further assigns the same, as it shall be inhabited, to be liable to all common charges and rates for the town of Preston, alias Wells, and to this, as in the same or like case required, we the witnesses have subscribed our names."

Some of the sanctions to this transfer of title indicate a very cautious civil polity, and a more extensive regard to some of the relationships of life than we have yet seen among civilized men. The Sagamore's sister signifies her approbation of the act, and the parties and witnesses also affirm that Ceaser gives his consent. Who Ceaser was the record does not show. The mother's rights were also respected. The heritage from the Great Father, which she had so long enjoyed, could not be aliened without her approbation. Some of the ruling principles of savage life, it might be well, even for Christians, to cherish and carry out in their business transactions. We have been accustomed, from the historical accounts which have been presented to us, to look upon woman among the red men of the forest as assigned to a degraded condition; but when we contrast this reverence of the savage for the maternal relation, and the rights and interests of his sister, with the order of the court at Saco, soon after, that "no women or hogs" should be allowed on the Isle of Shoals, we think civilization would see little to boast of.

It will be seen from the foregoing deed of the Sagamore that the territory included in the plantation has had three different names. It was by the Indians called Nampscoscoke. Not being versed in Indian dialect, we are unable to state the import of this name. Without doubt, it was expressive of something in its features or history which was well known and understood by them. It is not very euphonious, but to strangers, perhaps, as much so as Kennebunk. Afterwards it was called Preston, and this name was applied to it, by some, four or five years after its incorporation. From whom this designation came we cannot answer. There was one Edward Preston at Plymouth in 1641. He was "a lewd fellow of the baser sort," and could not have had the honor of giving his name to the town. We know of no other person of that name in the country. Preston is a large manufacturing town in England, in the county of Lancaster, and was then, or had been previously, called Priest's town, from the number of its "religious houses." It may have had this appellation from the fact that John Wheelwright had the charge of superintending and controlling the disposition of the lands within it.

The first grants which were made of lands in the plantation were described as in Wells. When this name was first applied to the territory embraced in it we have not ascertained. It has not been

usual thus to designate plantations; but the name was given to this beyond the period of which we have any record. In a recent publication it is said that the town derives its name from one of its early settlers, Thomas Wells, who came here from Ipswich; but this statement is entirely destitute of foundation. Thomas Wells did not come here till 1657, fifteen years after we find the name applied. Judge Wells, a descendant of Thomas, was accustomed to state it as his opinion that the great number of springs with which it abounds suggested its name; but we are not aware that there are more springs in this than in the towns adjoining, and if there were, when it received its name, the wilderness being unbroken, but few of them could have been discovered. Others have said, and with much more reason, that it was given by Gorges, according to a custom, then common, to apply the names of well-known places in the old country to new places of residence here. Wells was an important city in England, and not far from the residence of Gorges in Somersetshire. Cardinal Woolsey resided there. It was much distinguished for its many public buildings, and it was probably this prominence which led Hubbard, in his History of New England, thus to speak of the application of the name to this plantation: "Between Cape Porpoise and Piscataqua," he says, "there are but two small towns more (though ambitious of great names), the one called Wells, the other York." As he was then living in New England, it is probable that he well understood the reason why this name was given. As this city, also, was within twenty miles of Gorges' residence, some of its inhabitants were, perhaps, influenced by him to come over here, and one of the inducements offered might have been that the name of the old home would go with them to their new settlement.

Owing to the different titles set up, by parties in interest, to the plantation previously to its incorporation, no one could foresee what might be the final adjudication by competent authority. The political and social condition of the people and the general aspect of affairs in this unsettled state of the title presented nothing attractive to those who were anxious to select a permanent residence. During the ten years succeeding the beginning of a settlement here it does not appear that it made very rapid progress. Oblivion has taken to itself the larger part of the history of this period. By the unfortunate burning of the house of Joseph Bowles, in 1657, one of the

volumes of the town records was destroyed, so that we have no means of ascertaining the grants which had been made, or possessions taken and confirmed, excepting so far as we have found copies of these records, or tenants in the occupation of what had been allotted to them. In the period named between thirty and forty persons had here made a home; but previously to 1653 some of them had removed to New Hampshire, the advantages offered in that province being more alluring than any which they could expect to enjoy by continuing in Wells.

The following persons appear to have been inhabitants during the continuance of the plantation: Samuel Austin, John Barret, John Barret, jr., Stephen Batson, Henry Boade, Robert Boothe, Joseph Bowles, John Bush, Nicholas Cole, William Cole, Joseph Emerson, John Gooch, William Hammond, Ezekiel Knight, Edmund Littlefield, Anthony Littlefield, Francis Littlefield, Francis Littlefield, jr., John Littlefield, Thomas Littlefield, Thomas Miles, Philemon Portmotte, Edward Rishworth, John Sanders, Jonathan Thing, John Wakefield, William Wardell, Rev. John Wheelright, Thomas Wheelright, William Wentworth, John Wadleigh, John White.

Whether Nicholas Needham, Edward Hutchinson, or Augustine Story ever resided in Wells cannot now be determined. We have no evidence that any allotment of land was made to either of them; but the foregoing inhabitants, whom we have named, are to be regarded as the founders of Wells. There was great variety of character among them; some were good and worthy, while others had not much to boast of in their moral composition. A want of education, it is believed, was at the root of all their obliquities. A vast proportion of the wickedness of earth has its origin in the same cause. Of many of these settlers a more full biography will be given in the course of this work.

Stephen Batson, Robert Boothe, Philemon Portmotte, or Portmotte, Rev. John Wheelright, and William Wentworth removed from the plantation before its incorporation as a town. Batson was the first occupant of Drake's Island. Here he built his house, the cellar of which is still to be seen, the house having been gone many years. In the middle of the cellar, a few years ago, stood the remains of an old oak tree, which had sprung up after the house had been taken away, grown to a good old age, and then was reft of its branches, nothing remaining but its lifeless trunk. Batson might

have been a man of some usefulness, but he had the misfortune to be united to a woman who had a very imperfect appreciation of her obligations as a wife and mother. She grossly abused her husband and treated a part of her children very unkindly. He was compelled to resort to legal proceedings to curb her tongue and soften her unhallowed temper. The court in those days had but very little sympathy for the sex. As before suggested, some of their legislative acts, as well as their judicial adjudications, show very clearly the low estimate they had of female sensibilities and of the true amenities of life. In this case the court awarded that Mrs. Batson should make acknowledgment of her offences before the court, before the town meeting at Wells, and before the town meeting in Cape Porpoise, and in case of refusal or neglect to do so she was to receive twenty stripes on her naked back. Woman, in those days, appears clearly to have been regarded as the slave of man. No other inference can be drawn from the outrages upon all the refinements of civilization so often appearing in the decrees of the court. What affection could exist, subsequent to procedures of this character, between husband and wife? What respect for those female virtues, which go to make up a refined Christian intercourse, could exist in the minds of judges who could thus tamper with those delicate sensibilities which endear woman to the other sex and make her, as it were, the guardian angel of all that is pure and heavenly in social and domestic life? We are not aware that any of Mrs. Batson's descendants survive in Wells.

Robert Boothe came with Wheelright from Exeter and appears to have acted as clerk of the plantation. We suppose him to have been an influential member of Wheelright's church. He removed from Wells to Saco before the town was incorporated. He was appointed a "commissioner to try small causes," also a commissioner to apportion the county charges on the several towns. He was also a selectman of Saco and a deputy to the general court. It was ordered by the commissioners of Massachusetts "that he should have liberty to exercise his gift for the edification of the people there." It is very likely that he had departed from the faith on which the church in Wells was founded and, disagreeing with his associates, chose to separate himself from them. Massachusetts would never have authorized or allowed him to preach the word if he had inculcated doctrines which rendered it unsafe for him to dwell in the

colony. He continued several years to officiate as a public teacher in that town, and in 1659 the inhabitants voted that "Robert Boothe shall teach the word on the Lord's day until we have a better in his place, and he shall have for his labor all which the town is disposed to give him." That, surely, was a generous offer; but at a town commissioners' court soon after, Saco was ordered to make a tax of ten pounds for his services. Boothe had had a good education, was one of the council of Lygonia, and held various other offices. It would have been well, we think, if the town of Wells could have retained him among its inhabitants.

Philemon Portmote was a man of some intellectual culture. He was made a freeman of Massachusetts in 1635, and was a member of the Boston Church. Probably he was a firm disciple of Wheelright, as he followed him to Exeter, having been advised to depart, on pain of imprisonment, although, previously to this, he was "entreated to become a school-master in Boston for the teaching and nurturing of children." He was one of the combination at Exeter, and had fourteen acres of land assigned to him there. He came with Wheelright to Wells and took an active part in the affairs of the church. But dissensions sprung up, and his theological views not corresponding with those of the ruling power in Massachusetts, he lost favor and was denied the privilege of church communion. He continued several years to make his home here, but what became of him we cannot tell. The records furnish no further information of him. He may have followed Wheelright to Hampton, yet we think he left behind him living memorials of his earthly pilgrimage. In 1680, Elias Pormotte and Lazarus Pormotte were working in the mill of Nicholas Cole. Lazarus was born the 3d of the 12th month, 1635. They were his sons. Pormotte, we suppose, wrote the original deed by which the Indian title to Nampscoscoke came into the hands of the English.

Of Rev. John Wheelright we shall have occasion to speak in connection with the ecclesiastical affairs of the town, and as his name has been so long associated with the original settlement and with the establishment of the church here, we shall hereafter give a more particular account of him.

William Wentworth came to Wells with John Wheelright, from Exeter. He was one of the combination there, and had four acres of land assigned to him. In those days the churches selected cer-

tain members for directors and disciplinarians in matters of interest to the order and well being of the communion. These were called ruling elders. Wentworth was invested with this office, and was always called Elder William Wentworth. He was one of nature's noblemen. We have not been able to ascertain where he resided, but we think it most probable that he was one of the family of Ezekiel Knight, who died in 1687, and in his will gave all his property to the children of his daughter, Elizabeth Wentworth.

We infer from this clause that William Wentworth had married the daughter of Knight. He had lived in Wells several years, but we have been unable to discover any evidence that he owned or occupied a house. He removed to Dover, and in his old age Knight also left Wells and passed the remainder of his days at that place. The principal objection to this inference, on the part of the leading genealogist of the Wentworth family, is the disparity of ages between the elder and any supposed daughter of Knight, Wentworth being thought to be nearly as old as Knight. His first son was born in 1640. Knight may have had a daughter then old enough to be a mother; perhaps she was then sixteen or eighteen. In those days a large excess of years in the husband over the wife was as common as at the present time. If Wentworth was one of the family of Knight, on one side of him was Francis Littlefield, whose wife was eleven years younger than her husband, and on the other side Joseph Bolles, whose wife was sixteen years younger than he was. We think we must adhere to the opinion that old Wells furnished the mother of the distinguished family of the Wentworths, until some new light shall satisfy us that this judgment is erroneous. Wentworth removed from Wells to Dover previously to 1653. He was the progenitor of all the distinguished men of that name in this country. Among his descendants were John Wentworth, lieutenant governor of New Hampshire, and commander in chief of that province for many years, Benning Wentworth, governor of that State twenty-five years, and John Wentworth, his nephew, who was governor several years, ending at the beginning of the Revolution. Hon. John Wentworth, of Chicago, is also one of his descendants. Our late worthy citizens, Benjamin Wentworth and Nahum Wentworth, who came from New Hampshire, have the same honorable ancestry. The elder was a brave man. "In 1689, a large party of Indians made an assault on the garrison at Dover. He was at that

time more than eighty years old, and lodged in Heard's garrison. Awakened from his sleep just as the Indians were entering, he pushed them out, and falling back pressed his feet against the gate and held it till the people were alarmed, so that the women and children were saved." He was an energetic and useful man and an earnest Christian. He died in 1697, at the age of ninety years.

These persons, of whom we have given brief sketches, were among the founders of Wells. It would have been well for the town if they could have remained here. More moral and intellectual strength was needed than seems to have been exhibited by the generation following.

We have endeavored to give as good an account as we are able of the state of the plantation before it was incorporated as a town. The view presented, we feel, is far from complete. Amidst the uncertainties, contradictions, obscurities, and other obstacles with which we meet in the mass of matter found in our various historical archives, it is impossible to obtain a full and satisfactory knowledge of men and things as they existed at the period which we have gone through. But now Massachusetts extends its strong arm over the whole of Gorges' territory, and commands all the people to yield to her jurisdiction. Henceforth we have fuller records and more reliable resorts for historical facts.

To establish and confirm this authority, in 1652 commissioners were appointed to visit Maine and require the submission of the people. These commissioners held a court at Kittery, and as there was no alternative, the people yielded to the demand and declared their loyalty to that colony. Afterwards they went to Agamenticus or Gorgeana, since called York, and summoned the people to appear before them for the same purpose. There was a strong opposition to this claim of Massachusetts and much controversy with the commissioners upon the subject; but the larger proportion of the settlers were finally induced to surrender, and yielded their acknowledgment of the jurisdiction claimed. Godfrey continued, a long time, steadfast in his opposition. He had no love for that colony and looked upon this proceeding as a wicked usurpation. The idea of submitting to it was a little more than his spirit could endure; but, at length, perceiving that all the people were abandoning him, and that resistance could be of no avail, he came forward very reluctantly and signed the submission.

Among those who acknowledged allegiance at this time was Thomas Wheelright, who was an inhabitant of Wells. The explanation of this fact does not appear in any published historical sketch of Wells or York, but it will be well understood from the following order of the court. At a general court holden at Kittery, Dec. 30, 1651, it was ordered that "Mr. Wheelright's farm and Cape Neddock are hereby joined together as a village of this province, and have liberty annually to elect and send a deputy for themselves, who shall have power to grant warrants and appoint any person within the said village to serve them, which village shall so continue with their privileges till they grow to be more capable for a town." This union was continued till the incorporation of York, but when it terminated does not appear. In that year the inhabitants of the village were taxed, or required "to give in their contribution toward building a prison at York." But afterwards their rates were to be divided between York and Kittery. The Wheelright farm embraced most of the upland between Ogunquit and Webhannet Rivers. Some others, who lived on this territory, which seems to have been regarded as an adjunct of York, may have signed the York submission.

The commissioners did not at this time extend their mission further east. For some unknown reason the subjection of the remainder of the province was deferred till next year, when the commissioners, on the fourth of July, assembled at the house of Joseph Emerson, in Wells, to demand allegiance of the inhabitants of this plantation. They were not so ready to give up their independence as were the people of York and Kittery. That day, consecrated to liberty more than a hundred years afterwards, was not thus, in advance, desecrated by an abject surrender of the founders of Wells, though compelled subsequently to come under the yoke. Six only of the inhabitants appeared: Joseph Emerson, Ezekiel Knight, John Gooch, Joseph Bolles, Jonathan Thinge, and John Barret, sen. John Gooch had already laid down his arms and signed the submission at York. Jonathan Thinge and John Barret were not, in our view, very good specimens of a noble humanity, as may be seen in the prosecution of this history. Emerson, Knight, and Bolles were so far tinctured with Puritanism, or rather with the Massachusetts theology, as to feel a much closer sympathy with the spiritual hierarchy of that province than with the Episcopal atmosphere of

Maine. William Wardell, as he was passing by, was notified to come in and answer to his name; but he had no respect for Massachusetts or her commissioners, and treated the notice with contempt, returning rather an insolent reply to the court. He had been one of the Boston church, and was one of the disciples of John Wheelright and Ann Hutchinson, of whom the general court say that "there is just cause of suspicion that they may, upon some revelation, make some sudden eruption upon those who differ from them in judgment," and therefore they were required to deliver up all guns, pistols, swords, powder, and shot in their possession to Mr. Cane, as agent for the province. Wardell was one of the number who were thus disarmed. It is not at all remarkable that he should have thus contemptuously disregarded this summons from these messengers of a hierarchy which had thus trampled upon his rights. One would, with difficulty, be persuaded to believe, were not the evidence so decisive, that professing Christians, who are bound to the exercise of all charity, should tremble for their personal safety, because another professed disciple held to the doctrine that "the Holy Spirit dwells personally in a justified convert, and that sanctification can, in no wise, evince to believers their justification." Who can believe that such a bugbear could ever have found a resting place in the head of any rational man? But Wardell had been, through its power, divested of his rights and his property and driven from his home in Boston. His treatment of the commissioners, therefore, needs no apology. Whatever his character (which we do not think of any great worth), it loses nothing by this expression of his contempt.

But there was no escape from submission. The court ordered him to be arrested and then adjourned to the house of Ezekiel Knight, where the constable brought him before them to answer for his contempt. Here whatever manhood he had failed him. He was inquired of why he did not come in when notified to do so; his answer was, that he did not refuse to do so from any disrespect toward the court, but because he wanted to get the rest of the inhabitants to come in with him. If he had been sanctified, his sanctification was, truly, no evidence of his justification. He had too much of the character of many of those at the present day who hold the most unreasonable doctrines; they are seldom able to hold fast their integrity in perilous times.

Many of the remainder of the inhabitants followed Wardell to the court, and they promising that he should give his attendance the next day, the court adjourned to the fifth at eight o'clock, when, being called by name, the following persons came forward and acknowledged themselves subject to the government of Massachusetts: Henry Boade, John Wadleigh, Edmund Littlefield, John Sanders, William Hamans, Anthony Littlefield, Francis Littlefield, jr., Thomas Littlefield, Nicholas Cole, William Cole, John White, John Bush, Robert Wadleigh, Francis Littlefield, sen., William Wardell, Samuel Austin, John Wakefield, Thomas Miles, John Barret, jr.

Wardell's signature to the submission was received at the special request of the inhabitants. These, together with those who subscribed the day before, with their families, constituted, we suppose, the entire population of the town on the fifth day of July, 1653. The submissionists were all made freemen and took the required oath.

The commissioners then granted to the town of Wells corporate powers similar to those which had been granted to York and Kittery. The following is the act of incorporation :

"1. Wells shall be a towneship by itselfe, alwayes shallbe a part of Yorkshire, and shall enjoy protection, aequall acts of favor and justice with the rest of the people ynhabitting on the South side of the River of Piscatque wthin the limitts of our jurisdiction and enjoy the priviledges of a toune as others of the jurisdiccon have and doe enjoy wth all other libertyes and priviledges to other inhabitants in our jurisdiccon.

"2. That every inhabitant shall have and enjoy all theire just propaietyes, titles, and interests in the howses and lands which they doe possess, whither by graunt of the toune possession, or of the former Genneral Courts.

"3. That all the present inhabitants of Wells shall be freemen of the countrye, and having taken the oath of freemen shall have libertye to give theire voates for the election of Governor, Asistants, and other Genneral officers of ye countrye.

"4. That the sayd toune of Wells shall have three men approoved by the County Court from yeere to yeere to end smale cawses, as other the towneships in the jurisdiccon hath, where no magistrate is, according to lawe; and for this present yeere, Mr. Henry Boade,

Mr. Thomas Wheelwright, and Mr. Ezekiel Knight are appointed and authorised comissioners to end smale cawses under forty shillings, according to lawe. And further these comissioners or any two of them are and shall be impoured and invested with full power and authoritye as magistrates to keepe the peace and in all civill cawses to graunt attachments and executions if neede require. Any of the sayd comissioners have power to examine offenders, to comit to prison unlesse bayle be given according to lawe; and when these, or any of these, shall judge needefull, they shall have power to binde offenders to the peace or good behavior; also any of these comissioners have power to administer oathes according to lawe; also marriage shallbe solemnised by any of the comissioners according to lawe."

The foregoing charter sets out no boundaries to the territory which is thus made a town of itself by the name of Wells. None of the former proceedings of those interested in the township anywhere indicate its western limits. The grant to Wheelright, Boade, and Rishworth was of the land between Ogunquit and Kennebunk Rivers. Previously to this time no grants had been made, by any of the different proprietors of lands, on the west side of the former; neither had there been any actual survey of the plantation. The town seems to have been without any definite boundaries on the north and the west until six years after its incorporation. In May, 1658, Capt. Brian Pendleton, Capt. Nicholas Shapleigh, and Nicholas Frost were appointed by the general court as commissioners "to pitch and lay out the dividing line between York and Wells from that marked tree, at which, formerly, by mutual consent of those two towns, their bounds were set, and to make return thereof at the next session of the court."

At the May term of the court, in 1659, the commissioners made the following return: "We whose names are underwritten, being appointed by the general court to pitch and lay out the dividing line between the towns of York and Wells, from a marked tree, formerly marked by mutual consent of both towns, and according to our power given us, have determind as followeth: to say the dividing line shall run between the two aforesaid towns, from the above named marked tree up into the country on a straight line unto the southwest side of certain marshes called Totnick marshes, directly

against a certain rock on the northeast side of said marshes, dividing the towns of Kittery and Wells." Dated ye 27th (1) ^o 58 59.

NICHOLAS SHAPLEIGH.

BRIAN PENDLETON.

^{marke}
NICHOLAS AF FROSTE.

There is no surviving record of the mutual consent here referred to. The records of Robert Boothe, which are supposed to have been a part of those consumed when Bowles' house was burnt, may have contained it. The place of the marked tree is well known. The bound at the northwestern corner between York and Wells is a rock over Baker's Spring. There has been a tradition, though it has now nearly died out, that under this rock one of the regicides of Charles I. concealed himself for several years; but we have no account that more than three of the persons by whom he was sentenced to death escaped to this country, and the hiding places of these have always been well known. Others of this large court may have fled hither, but history furnishes no evidence to that effect. The other boundaries of the town were Kennebunk River on the east or northeast, and a line from that river to Baker's Spring on the northwest, eight miles from the sea. It is doubtful whether the spring, now the received boundary of the town, is the one thus designated. There is no large rock near it, and nothing which we should call marsh land.

CHAPTER III.

OFFICERS APPOINTED BY THE COMMISSIONERS—FIRST CHURCH IN WELLS—
NAMES OF MEMBERS, BRIEF SKETCHES OF—CHURCH DISSOLVED BY THE
COMMISSIONERS.

WELLS having been brought under the dominion of Massachusetts, and invested with all the necessary powers, may now be regarded as a town, and from this time, July 5, 1653, it has continued to exercise these powers without interference from any source. It was well for the people that they were thus compelled to submit. So long as no stable government existed, there could have been no order, and, in consequence, no prosperity.

The commissioners of Massachusetts seem to have been men of decision and energy, manifesting their determination to thoroughly finish the work on which they were sent. They appointed all necessary municipal officers for the town. Henry Boade, Thomas Wheelright, Ezekiel Knight, John Wadleigh, and John Gooch were appointed selectmen, for the management of its prudential affairs, and Joseph Bowles clerk of the writs, or town clerk. Knight was also appointed a grand jurymen for the year ensuing. John Sanders and Jonathan Thinge were made sergeants, to exercise the soldiers. They also directed the selectmen to appoint some suitable person to keep an ordinary, which was understood to be something in the nature of a public house, where provision was to be made for hungry and thirsty souls, more especially for the latter. Beer and strong waters were then considered necessary to life in the wilderness.

But the interests of religion, at this period, were paramount to all others, and the commissioners assumed it as a part of their duty, under their commission, to examine into the affairs of the church. Before looking at their action in this respect, it becomes necessary to revert to the ecclesiastical history of the period over which we have passed.

If a history of the church in Wells could be recovered from the oblivion which has come over its early years, so that it could be complete down to the present day, there is reason to believe that it would present matter of deep interest and profitable reflection. Whether in its incipient state any record of its action was kept is unknown. The province of Maine had then no connection with Massachusetts, and there was no law in force setting forth rules for the organization of religious societies, or making provision for the gathering and establishment of churches. Gorges was an Episcopalian; but he made no requisition on the planters as to their religious faith, and so long as the people continued independent of that province, liberty of conscience and of religious action was allowed to every man.

The first church in Wells was instituted by Rev. John Wheelright, who, after his banishment from Massachusetts, went to Exeter, supposing that place to be beyond its jurisdiction. Here he established a church, composed of those who were his companions in the excommunication, and of such others as were disposed to come into the compact. The constitution of this church has not come down to us; but we may well infer that it was based on the views which he had enunciated previously, and in which his associates in banishment had concurred. It was said that in his exposition of revealed truth he had concurred with Mrs. Ann Hutchinson. The positions which she had assumed, and which were so offensive, and which caused her expulsion from Massachusetts, were, "that the Holy Spirit dwells personally in the heart of the true believer, and that a believer was more than a creature." She also taught "that sanctification did not evidence justification." How far Wheelright sympathized with her in these views does not clearly appear. It was declared that he preached doctrines very much like these; but in conversation he did not appear to acknowledge that such phraseology precisely expressed his sentiments in regard to the last. His position was antinomian, not admitting the necessity of good works or a virtuous life. It may be safely stated that his theology did not differ widely from the principles here stated; or rather, we may say, that these principles were material elements of his religious faith. We may, thence, safely conclude that they were an important part of the creed of the church established by him at Exeter. Wheelright and a portion of his church removed to Wells; they, of course,

brought their religious principles with them. We must, then, presume that the constitution of the church here formed by him, being the first Congregational Church in Wells, recognized and embraced these principles: "That a believer is more than a creature; that sanctification does not evidence justification; and that a saving faith does not depend on good works or a virtuous life." We shall not attempt any elucidation of these doctrines. It is not, necessarily, the writer's province to do so; if it was, we should at once abandon the task which we have undertaken. We state what we understand to have been the leading principles in the inauguration of the church; their significance or explanation we leave for others who have a taste for labor of that description. If the reader's manhood will permit him to indulge in the examination and illustration of these points, he has abundant room for such a diversion. Whether he has time for that purpose is a matter between him and the Infinite. It is sufficient for our purpose to say that Wheelright was generally acknowledged to be an honest and godly man, and if he was, he had the right to organize a church upon the principles which commended themselves to his conscience, and to preach the gospel as he understood it.

Perhaps we err in speaking of the inauguration of the church here. It is presumed that the larger part of the Exeter communion came with Wheelright to Wells. It may, therefore, with more propriety, be said that that church was transferred to Wells. We have no record of any proceedings here in the nature of an installation. Wheelright continued to expound the Scriptures to the same people, who attended his ministration as though no change had taken place.

As more than two hundred years have elapsed since this organization, or transfer, the names of all those who thus constituted this little church in the wilderness cannot now be recovered from the memorials which have survived; but the following were of the number, and may have constituted the entire church: Robert Boothe, William Cole, Edmund Littlefield, Henry Boade, Philemon Portmotte, Edward Rishworth, William Wardell, and William Wentworth. It is said that Nicholas Needham, Edward Hutchinson, and Susanna Hutchinson, the mother of Ann, came also to Wells, and that the mother died here; if so, these, undoubtedly, were members. They were disciples of the minister, subscribing to his exposition of divine truth; but we have not sufficient evidence to satisfy us that

they had any residence in the plantation, and, therefore, do not include them among the founders of the first Christian congregation.

The material of this spiritual edifice was not all sound. There were some members who, in consonance with the doctrine of unrestrained liberty in matters of religion, availed themselves of this privilege, to a large extent, in the intercourse of life. Our knowledge of these men is not very definite. We wish it was much fuller than it is. It would be exceedingly interesting to have before us a full exemplification of the power of the theology, then prevailing, over the lives of its disciples; the living evidence that a believer is more than a creature; or a specimen of the man sanctified and not justified; or of one saved without any of the fruits of salvation.

Of Robert Boothe we have given a brief account in the preceding chapter, suggesting that the theological speculations of the body of Christian believers here did not, probably, comport with his religious views, and that thence he was induced to change his field of labor. He was a man of fair education, and an earnest worker in the vineyard. While in Wells no stain rested on his character. At Saco, he was moved by the Spirit to give utterance to his feelings and religious sentiments when the people were gathered together in the sanctuary for public worship. For this interruption of the regular pulpit exercises he was condemned by those who loved order in the church, and was brought before the court for the misdemeanor; but the court adjudged him not guilty. Being a zealous man, and of the Massachusetts faith, he could not sit still while mischievous error, as he thought, was being inculcated upon the people.

Edmund Littlefield was also a member of the Exeter church. He was there called Edward; so he frequently was here. Edmund and Edward were regarded as the same name. He was the progenitor of the great family of that name in Wells, and perhaps in New England. We shall have occasion hereafter to give a fuller sketch of him than is necessary in this place. We speak of him now in his connection with the church, of which he was an active member and an honorable one. At the present period, we might be disposed to deny his discipleship, from the employment to which he devoted a part of his time. He was a retailer of intoxicating liquors, but duly licensed for that purpose by the proper authorities. His license shows the high respect in which he was held. He was authorized to sell to the Indians to such an extent as he thought for their good.

When so much care and precaution were thought necessary to guard against any troubles with the natives, it affords strong testimony in favor of Littlefield's discretion and moral stability that the sale was submitted entirely to his judgment. The modern doctrine as to the use of intoxicating liquors had not then found a place in Christian morals. A reasonable use of them was recognized by all, as a material aid in the labors of life, or as essential to maintain the vigor of one's constitution, and therefore no discount was to be made from a man's character in consequence of being engaged in the traffic, or because he was accustomed to a moderate indulgence in their use as a drink. When he was appointed, his license was specially honorable to him, as the general court, at the same time, express their abhorrence of the free use of ardent spirits, and even the exceeding sinfulness of the practice, and prohibited the sale by any one else, the object being to restrain and limit the sale and not to extend or aid it. Mr. Littlefield, therefore, must have been regarded as one actuated by sound principles. We think he was a solid member of the church. We have discovered no blemish on his character. He took an active part in the ecclesiastical affairs of the town, and did not side with Massachusetts' religious polity, but was somewhat antinomian in his religious views, espousing, of course, the doctrines which expelled Wheelright from Massachusetts. We shall speak of him and of Henry Boade more particularly hereafter.

Edward Rishworth was a prominent man in western Maine at this period. He is frequently called Rushworth, which was the family name in England. He married Susan, daughter of Wheelright, and was with him at Exeter, where he was clerk of the courts. For many years he held important offices in Maine. He was a magistrate of the county, and, we think, superior to most of his associates. He was, likewise, thirteen years representative from York, to which place he removed from Wells, where he was engaged in milling. Having married into the Wheelright family, he shared largely in their religious opinions. The religion and civil polity of Massachusetts found no support in him. He partook very much of the feelings of the father-in-law, though he never was disposed, like him, to succumb to the usurpations of Massachusetts. We have reason to believe that he was of a litigious temperament, and that the spirit of the Gospel and his spirit were not entirely in harmony. He was a party in court when it would have been better for him to be at

home. He suffered small executions to come out against him, indicating indifference to his obligations. We have considered him as obstinate in his feelings, and not such a man as would be likely to do much in building up a substantial church.

Of William Wardell we have before spoken briefly. He was an ignorant and obstinate Christian, having no sympathy with the Puritanism whose wrath he had experienced in his expulsion from Boston, because his religious sentiments, if he had any, were not just what the ruling powers in that city thought they should be. We are very well satisfied that his religious sympathies were not in accordance with any religion known to the church of Christ. He could not write his own name, and we presume had never learned to read. He was thence well fitted to make trouble in the neighborhood. He never was silent when he had occasion to speak of that for which he had no affection. His slanderous and contemptuous speeches to the commissioners, when called upon to sign the submission to Massachusetts, and his prevarication the next day illustrate, very clearly, the kind of religion with which he was animated. Not being accustomed to bridle his tongue, it frequently involved him in difficulty. He was prosecuted for the language which he used to the commissioners and, at another time, for his reply to the inquiry whether he would give anything to the college, "that it was no ordinance of God, and that it was contrary to his judgment." His wife was not what she ought to have been. She was no lover of public worship, and was indicted for not attending meeting on the Sabbath. His imperfect Christianity may have been her work, though we think it most likely that the reverse was the truth. It sometimes requires a good wife to keep a man straight in his religion, but very frequently her defection is owing to his irreligious deportment. As to Wardell, we do not think he was a very good Christian.

Of William Cole our knowledge is very imperfect. He came from Exeter, where he had twelve acres and sixty rods assigned to him, as one of the combination. We have not succeeded in obtaining any material information as to his character. He was evidently a quiet and peaceable man, avoiding all controversies and troubles with his neighbors, and we are glad to give him the benefit of the old maxim, that all men are to be presumed to be of sound morals until the presumption is proved erroneous. He followed Wheelright to Hampton, and there died May 26, 1662, in his eighty-second year.

Of Pormotte and William Wentworth we have before written. The former, we think, must have left the place at the time when the commissioners were in Wells. He did not sign the submission, and no one living in Wells could have avoided doing so without subjecting himself to prosecution. Wentworth may have left two or three years before.

We have not included Ezekiel Knight in the list of the members of this church. He was a Christian of the Massachusetts stamp, and we are not sure that any of that religion had fellowship with it. Boothe was plainly not a sympathizer with antinomianism when he went to Saco, but the controversy in the church at Wells possibly changed his theology; it may have been so with Knight.

The foregoing is as complete an account of the individuals of this church, at the time the Massachusetts commissioners came to bring Maine into subjection, as we are able to give. We are inclined to the opinion that the materials, as a whole, were as sound as those which constituted other churches in the land. The band was a small one, but still as large as could be expected from the small number of inhabitants then commorant here. We know not what females had come into the union, but it is a fair presumption that the number equaled that of the males; it is seldom a church is found in this country where the former do not outnumber the latter. But we have much reason to believe that it was a doctrinal, and not a spiritual, church. Wheelright, though uncommonly versed in Biblical knowledge, and deep-rooted and grounded in the Christian faith, and animated with the spirit of the Master, had just been transferred from the Episcopal hierarchy of England to the enjoyment, as he supposed, of unrestrained Christian liberty. As is natural to religious men, he had meditated deeply on the various questions which must present themselves to the mind of one who endeavors to understand fully his relationship to the earth, where he is, and to the unknown future, to which he constantly tends. These meditations will always suggest questions which become of deep interest, some of which are so magnified by frequent and intense thought as to absorb all the powers of the soul. He had been led to feel that certain doctrinal deductions, from the words of Christ, but more from the conclusions of untrammelled reason, were necessary, and should be made material parts of a true and faithful ministration. Opposition only gave additional strength to his convictions, so that he began to

feel, as did the apostle, that woe was in store for him if he preached not these truths which presented themselves to his mind as of divine inspiration. Such is the tendency, almost invariably, of the early Christian life. The disciples are led to feel that the doctrines of those with whom they are brought into fellowship are all-important, and that those who do not assent to them must, necessarily, be out of the kingdom, forgetting the great rule of Christian life and intercourse laid down by the Master, that true religion is of the spirit and indicated by the fruits of life. Churches built on any other foundation than this cannot stand. No theological speculations can ever make a true man. Any religious institution founded on principles other than practical righteousness has in it nothing which can guarantee its peace, usefulness, and perpetuity. The true Christian church alone is eternal.

After the commissioners had finished the work, specially assigned them, of bringing the inhabitants of Wells to acknowledge and submit to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they turned their attention to other matters having relation to the peace and welfare of the settlers. They had before understood that discord and confusion were universal; that the church had destroyed all harmony and good feeling. Some members believed one thing and some another; some were partially Episcopalian; some of the Wheelright school, and others of the Massachusetts faith; whether any of them were of Puritanic sentiments we do not know. After John Wheelright left them there was no controlling head, and we may well presume that his tergiversation raised up a new subject of discord. Some, possibly, thought his acknowledgment and repentance were right and justifiable; others thought them as rather derogating from his character, and betraying the principles for which they had made so great sacrifices. But all the trouble arose from the malformation of the church, in building it of materials which had nothing solid and enduring. What was there in the speculation that a believer was more than a creature, or that sanctification is no evidence of justification, or that saving faith does not depend on a virtuous life, to bind a society together and sustain a living piety in the hearts of its members? There is nothing like religious differences, with some persons, to produce wrangling and ill feeling. Men, and especially the ignorant, are very unwilling to doubt the validity of their own opinions, and to think that others may be right while they are

wrong. If this division in the church had not extended beyond its borders, it might not have been so prolific of evil; but the inhabitants took sides according to their own religious proclivities. It was admitted before the commissioners that the discord which prevailed in the town was principally owing to those who claimed to be of the church, and they did not, therefore, feel that they had discharged their duty till they had taken effectual measures to quell the disturbances, by looking into the condition of the church, and taking such measures in relation to it as the good of the people might require. On making this examination, they ascertained that most of the members had dissolved their connection or been expelled, so that now there were only three members, and these were determined to hold on and claim to be the church. Those who had made the disturbance seem to have been Boade, Edmund Littlefield, and William Wardell. The commissioners had dismissed Pormotte and Wardell, at their own request, and they also notified Boade and Littlefield that their connection with the church was dissolved. Which of these four claimed to be the church, by the obscurity of the record, we cannot determine. The commissioners, in their return, alleged there were but three remaining members. Pormotte and Wardell had become wearied or disgusted with the state of affairs, and therefore chose to withdraw; but Littlefield and Boade chose to maintain their church relation. The commissioners ordered it to be dissolved, and thus, as we understand the posture of affairs, the whole church was dissolved. Where these commissioners obtained the authority for this act we know not. There is no precedent for it in our ecclesiastical history. We should judge an order of Massachusetts commissioners, dismissing members or dissolving a church, about as effectual as a license of the selectmen to sell intoxicating liquors would be at the bar of God.

We suppose that the principal reason for this procedure was that the opponents of the ruling theology of Massachusetts had the ascendancy in the church. We believe that the four whose names are mentioned were in that position. But, whatever the cause, they based their action entirely on the ground that it was necessary for the peace of the people, and directed these men to hold their tongues and give themselves to some other business more conducive to their peace and well-being, adding, if they did not, they should bear witness against them. And so ends the first church in Wells.

The instruction derived from this history is that ignorant men had better confine themselves to the Christian life, and not undertake to discuss matters of theology which they do not understand, and thus excite a spirit of strife and ill-will where nothing should prevail but harmony and mutual love. A man who is enthusiastic in doctrine is seldom so in Christian duty. What a sad fact in history is it that these few men in the wilderness could not dwell together in the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace, when mutual and friendly support and the joys of Christian intercourse were so necessary for them in their new and solitary condition! What was it to Littlefield if Pormotte thought a believer was more than a creature, or that sanctification did not evidence justification? Or, why should Boade's soul have been vexed if Wardell loved the rites and forms of Episcopacy? How much better it would have been to have loved one another in their differences, and so have fulfilled the law of Christ and made themselves a happy community, than to have permitted the church to be torn and rent asunder by these unchristian wranglings about modes of faith and matters which have no tendency to lift up the soul, and make man worthy his noble and holy parentage.

CHAPTER IV.

SUBMISSION OF CAPE PORPOISE AND SACO TO MASSACHUSETTS—FIRST ROAD LAID OUT IN WELLS—FERRY OVER KENNEBUNK RIVER—WM. REYNOLDS—FIRST HOUSES IN WELLS—SCARCITY OF CORN—LITTLEFIELD'S MILLS—FIRST SETTLERS IN WELLS—WHEELRIGHT'S MILL—SKETCH OF HIS LIFE.

THE commissioners, having finished their business with the inhabitants of Wells, required those of Cape Porpoise and Saco to come before them and signify their submission. The people of the former place do not appear to have manifested any opposition to the surrender, but those of Saco were more persistent in their resistance to the assumption of Massachusetts. Some of them refused to come to any terms with the court, feeling that they had no authority, whatever, over their persons or estates. Sixteen persons came in and signed the submission. Saco and Biddeford were then one town or plantation.

The inhabitants of these places having thus been peaceably brought under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, the court, desiring to improve their condition and make their union with Massachusetts more acceptable, adopted measures for making communication between the towns more convenient and expeditious. At this time between two and three days were allowed for travel from Cape Porpoise, now Kennebunkport, to York. The beach was the only road to which the people could resort for this purpose. This was a very uncertain way, in consequence of the tides, and the forests through which one must pass where there was no beach. The court, therefore, ordered the towns of Wells, Cape Porpoise and Saco "to make sufficient highways in their town, from house to house, cleare and fitt for foot and cart, before the next Court of the County, under the penalty of ten pounds for every towas defect in this particular, and that they lay out a sufficient highway for horse and foot between towne and towne within that time." This was the first road laid out in the town of Wells. We have no return of its location, but sup-

pose that the present main road through the village constituted a part of it. That the road might fully answer its purpose, they ordered a ferry to be established at the mouth of Kennebunk river. Travelers had been in the habit of wading across at what has ever since been called the wading-place. There was no bridge near the sea until the one now standing, which was built within the century. William Reynolds was appointed or allowed to be ferryman, and to receive three pence a passenger. He had already assumed the business, the court having ordered in 1647 that he should have two hundred acres of land as an encouragement to carry it on. He lived on the Cape Porpoise side of the river, near its mouth; and Bradbury says this two hundred acres embraced the territory of the village of Kennebunkport. The court, in their order, do not say from whom this lot was to come. As it was located in Cape Porpoise it was granted probably by the proprietor of Lygonia, or by the proprietors of that plantation.

These orders of court, it will be seen, make no mention of carriages. It was many years before anything of that description found its way into the town.

We have endeavored to give some account of those who inhabited here at the time of the incorporation of the town. Before advancing further in this history, we must finish up the work which we have left behind giving, as far as we are able, a brief statement of what has been done by the settlers. Who was the first white man who here laid the axe to the tree, for the purpose of providing for himself a fixed habitation, we have been unable to learn. It would not seem reasonable to suppose that any one man would have had the resolution to come and seat himself alone here in the wilderness. One whose temperament would have led him to such a decision, would not be likely to bring any great energy to the work of subduing the wilderness. Solitude has no tendency to make one active and vigorous. The mind needs to be in contact and associated with mind, to inspire it with courage and animation and impel it to zealous exertion. We have been led to the conclusion that several persons must have established themselves here before Wheelright and his fellow-refugees come from Exeter. Previously to this period there was no regular road in any part of the town. When the pioneers came into the wilderness it was regarded as material, that sites for habitation should be selected where the least work would be required for that

purpose. They built where there were the fewest trees to be felled, and where there were meadows and marshes for the readiest supply of food for whatever animals they might be able to obtain. They had no markets to which they could resort, and no other families on which they could rely for the supply of their wants. The sea and the flats were important adjuncts to every homestead. Accordingly, the first houses in Wells were built near the site of the new Island Ledge House, on or about Drake's Island, and on the land between that and Little river. Ezekiel Knight, John Cross, Stephen Batson, Henry Boade, George Raboune and Edward Rishworth located themselves in this vicinity. John Sanders lived on the eastern side of Little river, on land now owned by Henry C. Hart. One would suppose that life here at that time would not have been very congenial to civilized man; there would seem to have been nothing to impart to it even endurability. The year 1643 was very unfavorable for the initiation, or progress of a settlement. Those whom we have named were here before that time. This year the earth was very niggardly in her increase, and there was a great scarcity of corn throughout the land; but these men persevered in maintaining their ground. Ezekiel Knight was not the man to be moved from his resolution by mere inconveniences or inadequate supplies. If his life could be renewed now with the fresh memories of his pilgrimage on this spot, he could address himself with power, and give useful instruction to the fast young men and women of the present day, who are not easily satisfied with the abundance which flows in upon them from every quarter. Having no roads, they had no communication except with York, to which place the journey of a day was to be performed, over any ground where the horse could find a track, or wherever men could pick their way.

At the southwesterly end of the plantation Edmund Littlefield had built a saw-mill and a grist-mill. From this some kinds of lumber were obtained for their buildings. As has been the case in all new towns since the country was settled, it may well be supposed that their houses were built principally of logs, cemented by clay; but with their magnificent fireplaces, and an unlimited amount of fuel, needing to be got rid of, the inmates amidst the cold and storms of earth found as much physical comfort as is enjoyed in the palaces of modern times, and perhaps as much real happiness ruled within as is now found in our richest mansions. Wealth is not satisfaction.

Abundance does not insure contentment. Physical appliances and indulgencies make no heaven upon earth. Poor as Ezekiel Knight and his comrades were, enjoyment was no stranger to their dwellings. The few settlers about Drake's Island were obliged to work hard for even a very meagre fare. Whatever lumber they could obtain from Littlefield's mill, may have been transported by rafting down the river; but how they obtained other articles, which seem to be indispensable for building and for the support of life, tradition furnishes no answer. These families had never been favored with the privileges of education, so material to a happy and quiet life. We suppose Rishworth may have had the benefit of early instruction, but we can cherish no such presumption in regard to the other settlers. It is strange that Knight, who claimed to be a religious man, should not have given to his family at least the rudiments of education. He was probably able to read the Bible. Though they had no access to schools, they might have been instructed to read and write; but even his own wife was unable to write her name. To be sure, they were without books to employ what little leisure time they were permitted to enjoy, but we cannot comprehend the feelings of a christian who can calmly permit his children to grow up in ignorance when it was in his own power to impart to them the instruction necessary to fit them for the ordinary intercourse and business of life. Most of the people here, we think, were very much of Wardell's opinion; who, when asked to give something to the college, replied, that it was "no ordinance of God and contrary to his judgment." There appears to have been among the most enlightened of the inhabitants, an almost universal indifference upon the subject of education.

We have stated that it is now too late to obtain any clear evidence, decisive of the question, who was the first actual settler in Wells; but so far as we have been able to examine that matter, we are led to think that Edmund Littlefield has the precedence. We have seen no evidence that any other man had, previously to 1641, made any attempt to settle here. Though he was of the Exeter church, he came to Wells before the body of believers there thought of removing, and finding this mill privilege at the falls of the Webhannet river, close by the marsh or open ground, where lumber could be transported by water, he concluded to appropriate it and try his fortune in the lumber business. Though there were a good many other sites,

far superior as privileges, yet they were not accessible for the purposes of a saw-mill when the forests all around were in their native wildness. For this reason the falls at Ogunquit, and of the small brook, lately occupied by William Gooch, and of the Little river, were selected as privileges as soon as any persons came here to inhabit, though the valuable situations farther interior were for many years neglected. Littlefield's mills were built not far from the site of the steam saw-mill now owned by Buffum; and his house on the Eastern side of the river, where stood the house of the late Benjamin Littlefield, who was a great-grandson of Edmund. We may with safety assert that this was the first house on the main traveled road. There may have been small houses for merely temporary purposes erected on the seawall.

Rev. John Wheelright, in 1642 or 1643, built a small house near the site of the dwelling of the late John Rankin. It may reasonably be supposed that Littlefield's successful location of himself and family, and his favorable descriptions of the neighboring territory, induced Wheelright to seek a home in the vicinity. Those who first settled here seem to have regarded mill privileges as of prime importance, and a source of profitable income. There was no other source of immediate profit; Wheelright accordingly seized upon the brook near his house as the only remaining one where the enterprise of a saw-mill could be attempted. We think Ogunquit Falls was already in some way secured by Littlefield, as his son John soon after was in the possession of it, and the mill is referred to in some instrument before this time. We know that Wheelright petitioned to Gorges for a grant of the land adjoining Ogunquit, and that the Wheelright farm embraced what was called the neck between the Ogunquit and the town river, and that he had a suit against John Littlefield in relation to the mill here, a few years afterwards, perhaps contesting his right to the privilege. Wheelright built a saw-mill on the brook, we suppose, in 1642 or 1643, as he left Wells the last of 1645 or in 1646. His daughter says she lived in the house with his grandson two years, about 1647, and the saw-mill was then standing there. His son, Samuel, lived on the farm called the neck, between the Ogunquit and town river. His house stood near the site of the house of the late Noah M. Littlefield. This was the great Wheelright farm, which was deeded to Rev. John Wheelright by Thomas Gorges, one-half of that farm having been conveyed to

Samuel by his father. Thomas, also a son of Rev. John, set out to build a house on the other part of the farm, and made some progress in the work. He was then anticipating the bright day when he should be a participant in the closest of human fellowships; when the endearments of love would come home with their cheery influences to his soul, and in their snug little home he and the partner of his joys would go on their way rejoicing; but then, as now, it was not an uncommon occurrence, for love as well as money, to take to itself wings and fly away. His beloved was not his as he had felt sure. Her affections wandered away to fasten on some other more congenial object, and Thomas was bereft of all his bright hopes. His soul withered under the crushing blight, and never again so renewed its vigor that he had any aspirations for conjugal life. He abandoned the work which he had begun and finished up the remainder of life's pilgrimage alone, leaving behind him no mementos of his earthly existence. The cellar, which may now be seen, still bears the name "Thomas' cellar."

We suppose there must have been other houses here beside that of Samuel Wheelright. William Hammond built a house near where John S. Littlefield now lives, and we are not certain that John Cross resided at Drake's Island. So obscure are the descriptions of this early period, that if we had not other explanatory testimony, we could not be positive as to the residence of any of the settlers; but the order of the court of Dec. 10, 1651, uniting the Wheelright farm and Cape Neddock, seems to imply that there were several houses here.

John Wheelright continued in Wells but two or three years; but as he is regarded by many as the founder of the plantation, we have thought that some concise account of his previous history, especially of that which induced his resort to Wells, might not be inappropriate or uninteresting. Though all have heard of him, and have had some very imperfect ideas of his previous relations to the people of Massachusetts, very few have had the opportunity of learning the reasons of his expulsion from that State.

Massachusetts did not have its birth in Puritanism. Those who laid the foundation of that Commonwealth were men of widely different temperament from those of Plymouth, who abandoned their homes beyond the waters entirely from the impulses of religious liberty; from a conviction of the right of free thought and accordant

free moral action. These Massachusetts pioneers, however, instructed in Christian morality, and imbued with the spirit, were moved to emigration from motives of less noble character, not widely different from those which rule the world at the present day. They were remarkable for that selfishness and conceit which aim at magnifying one's own importance, and assuming all that is valuable of thought, opinion and religion. They had imbibed certain views in theology, which they believed were the sure and only therapeutics whereby the soul was to be healed from the diseases of sin, and fitted to enjoy the privileges of their association. Assumed infallibility never permits itself to be questioned or inquires as to the validity of its foundation.

Rev. John Wheelright came to this country in 1636. Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, said to be his sister, preceded him, and being gifted with those endowments which fit one for public declamation, she exercised her faculties in exhortations to the people as to their religious obligations. As is natural to people of that class, by their too much speaking, she was probably every day uttering some crude and unconsidered thoughts to the multitude who thronged to hear her. Winthrop says she inculcated two dangerous errors: "That the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person, and that no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification." It is difficult to perceive how the spiritual or civil welfare of a people is hazarded by the first, or how any rational man or woman should give utterance to the second. But it was said that Wheelright, who had been a silenced minister in England, adopted and preached the same errors. Being of the same family, it is very likely they did not differ widely in their religious views. He was admitted to the Boston church the year of his arrival. The court had appointed a fast on the 19th of February following and on that day Wheelright preached a discourse which produced great dissatisfaction, resulting in an excitement in which it was said that he "inveighed against all that walked in a covenant of works," as he described it to be, viz.: such as maintain sanctification as an evidence of justification, and called them anti-Christ, and stirred up the people against them with much bitterness and vehemency."

This sermon contains nothing which could justify any judicial proceedings against him. Its positions do not vary materially from sentiments which are freely uttered from the pulpit at the present

day; but he was required to make his appearance before the general court to answer to the assumed offence. The result was, that he was declared guilty of contempt and sedition, and on such conviction he was sentenced to be disfranchised and banished, fourteen days being allowed him to settle up his affairs and depart out of the jurisdiction. Being in the winter season, and the wilderness east or west of Boston being but slightly subdued, it must have been with him a question of no small difficulty which way he should flee; but he determined on Piscataqua as his refuge. Thither he succeeded in reaching, though "it was marvellous he got there by reason of the deep snow in which he might have perished." He was not the only person banished at this time, but others were driven from the colony merely for sustaining the positions of his sermon and sympathizing with him in his religious views, and among these were some of the members of the court. Governor Vane objected to all these proceedings, yet his opposition was without avail. Wheelright established himself at Exeter, taking possession of a tract of land under his Indian deed. With several others who were the companions of his banishment, he laid the foundation of that town. Here he preached the gospel to great acceptance four or five years, when Massachusetts having assumed the position that this place was within the jurisdiction of that colony, he was compelled to remove further eastward. A few of his strong friends then made application to Thomas Gorges for an assignment of a tract of land within his province at Wells.

No better man could have been selected to begin the enterprise of clearing the wilderness, and introducing the blessings of civilization. He had been educated at the University and was a trained man, qualified with all the necessary science for a skilfull pioneer in these great objects. He was, withal, a man able to handle the axe and do his part in the physical labor needed to bring the wilds into subjection to the service of man. He possessed a muscular, athletic organism adequate to any work. He had Oliver Cromwell as a companion at the University, and the latter used to say that he never had so much fear in front of an army as he had of Wheelright when they were together at the institution. He was a distinguished wrestler; and Cromwell always felt himself in danger of his kicks when playing with him at foot-ball. The probability is that he entered on his work at Wells with a strong and determined hand, and that the

land was soon made to minister to his necessities. But this seclusion from the activities of more extensive communities failed to satisfy his aspirations. He preached the gospel here to a very small congregation. He soon tired, we have reason to think, both of his physical and ministerial labors in Wells. There was at that time but little intercourse with the other settlements. It was seldom that one could visit places as far distant as Boston. There was no regularly located way, and the business of coasting had not yet commenced; it was many years before vessels entered any of the harbors. Educated as Wheelright had been amid an extended civilization, and eager to have a part in its movements, it is not strange that he should soon tire of the monotony of this secluded agricultural life. But it is strange that he should permit this desire for a change of location to overrule his self-respect, and lead him to demean himself by making confession to his persecutors of error in his teachings, especially when his ministrations had had the approval and support of some of the best of those who had knowledge of his theology; some of whom had shared with him in his fortunes. Such a confession must have come with a sad influence to the house of his friends. There is nothing more mortifying than the secession of one who has been an earnest defender of principles which have always commended themselves to his supporters as sound, and to which they have given a hearty support. And such a renunciation is doubly sad when the seceder confesses himself in his utterances to have been moved by the instigation of the devil. We cannot but feel that such a departure is treason to the interests of truth. The motives which led him to confess his errors, are not clearly apparent. If his conscience convicted him of error in the positions on which his expulsion was based, his professed repentance and acknowledgment of wrong were commendable. It is always wise to abandon error.

Mr. Vane had ceased to be governor, and John Winthrop was his successor in office; and after only a two years' residence in Wells, Wheelright addressed to him two letters, the first of which, dated Wells (7) 10, 43, is taken from Winthrop's History, and is as follows: "Right Worshipful. Upon the long and mature consideration of things, I perceive that the main difference between yourselves and some of the Reverend elders and me in point of justification and the evidencing thereof, is not of that nature and consequence as was then presented to me in the false glass of Satan's temptations, and

mine own distempered passions, which makes me unfeignedly sorry that I had such an hand in those sharp and vehement, contentions raised thereabouts to the great disturbance of the churches of Christ. It is the grief of my soul that I used such vehement, censorious speeches in the application of my sermon, or in any other writing, whereby I reflected any dishonor upon your worships, the reverend elders, or of any of contrary judgment to myself. It repents me that I did so much adhere to persons of corrupt judgment, to the countenancing of them in any of their errors or evil practices, though I intended no such thing; and that in the synod I used such unsafe and obscure expressions falling from me as a man dazzled with the buffetings of Satan, and that I did appeal from misapprehension of things. I confess that herein I have done very sinfully, and do humbly crave pardon of this honored State. If it shall appear to me by Scripture light, that in any carriage, word, writing or action, I have walked contrary to rule, I shall be ready, by the grace of God, to give satisfaction; thus hoping that you will pardon my boldness, I humbly take leave of your worship, committing you to the good providence of the Almighty; and ever remain your worships in all service to be commanded in the Lord. J. WHEELRIGHT."

It seems almost incredible that a man of sound moral principle, and of vigorous intellect, should thus fawningly have sought to restore himself to the favor of a bigotry which has had but few counterparts in history; and especially that in preaching the gospel from the fullness of his heart, he should have admitted himself to have been instigated by the wiles of the devil. John Wheelright, we cannot but think, was more honest in his first ministrations in Boston than he was in the recantation. By most of the good and worthy he had been regarded as a faithful disciple; an effective laborer in Christ's kingdom; but this subterfuge to get back to Boston, by ascribing his previous Christian zeal to the inspiration of Satan, posterity will not regard as giving him a desirable consolidation of character. It answered his purpose, and at the court in 1644, it was "ordered that Mr. Wheelright, upon a particular solemn, and serious acknowledgment and confession by letters, of his evil carriage, and of the court's justice upon him, hath his banishment taken off and is received in as a member of the Commonwealth."

How much more honorable to him it would have been to have maintained the positions which he had assumed before his expulsion,

and to have said to his persecutors, if I have committed sedition, then I ought to suffer for my offence. But assured that I have not, if you proceed against me I shall appeal to the king. I shall retract nothing. He had had the support of sixty worthy men, who affiliated with him in his religious teachings. Some of these had been banished, some disfranchised; and all had been deprived of their arms, on the pretense that they might use them in a rebellion. In penning this letter he should have remembered his brethren, who, for conscience sake, had suffered an adversity like his own; not one of whom so demeaned himself as to renounce his faith, and beg for liberty to come back to Massachusetts.

But still John Wheelright is to be held in reverence and respect. What life has not been marked with error? He misjudged wherein he had been led astray by the machinations of the devil. Out of the abundance of a true heart he had preached Christ; but the desolation and labors of the wilderness; the longings for the associations which had been the comfort and joy of his spirit, and the strong desire which he had for larger sympathies and a more congenial companionship, waked up these impulses for a return to Boston. When one preaches the gospel from the convictions of conscience and of the understanding, the devil will have no agency in inspiring his enunciations. It is only when he wilfully attempts to pervert it and lead men astray, that he can have satanic aid. He undoubtedly did much good by the liberty which he exercised before and after his banishment, in boldly speaking his own thoughts, much to the discomfort of a bigotry which, more than any other cause, has been a stumbling block in the progress of a heavenly kingdom. Some of his views are too ridiculous to find acceptance with the intelligence of the present age. But they were the dictates of his heart, and he boldly uttered them, transmitting to us an example of fearlessness in the discharge of duty in the midst of an iron bigotry, worthy the adoption of every citizen who would fulfill the purposes of his earthly mission.

John Wheelright's pioneer life in Wells, will be seen in the course of this history, was not without important benefit to those who succeeded him. He came here, bringing with him courageous men to assist in starting the plantation. He soon opened the way for other settlers. He consecrated the soil to liberty of opinion; freedom to worship God according to the convictions of one's own understand-

ing, and to the right of private judgment on all questions of religious duty and Christian truth.

Here also he laid the foundation of a family, whose action has been fruitful of much good to the town. He left sons whose energies were instrumental in building it up, and giving it a respectable and influential position in the public councils; men whose services were of immense benefit in those early days, when souls were exposed to the most severe tests of a true citizenship. The present generation have not, as they ought, studied the history of the worthy men of the first century of the town's existence, and one principal object of this history is to rescue from oblivion the names of some of them whose memory should never fade from the minds of those who have "entered into their labors."

As before stated, we have recognized Wheelright as initiating the settlement, because tradition has generally ascribed the work to him, but no surviving record seems to justify that conclusion. He was in Wells only between two and three years. Some of the Exeter combination were here before him, and remained during life. Hutchinson and Needham came to Wells, and applied to Gorges for a grant. Wheelright was not named in the application. Afterwards Wheelright, Rishworth and Boade were appointed agents for laying out the plantation and assigning lots. Wheelright continued here only a year afterwards. Scarcely an act of his appears in any surviving record. His biography has been given to the public so frequently, that we deem it unnecessary to extend this sketch any further.

CHAPTER V.

OPPOSITION TO JURISDICTION OF MASSACHUSETTS—PETITION TO OLIVER CROMWELL—INDICTMENTS—LAWS RELATING TO RELIGIOUS OPINION—ORDER FOR ERECTION OF JAIL—FIRST COUNTY TAX IN WELLS—MILITIA ORGANIZED—REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT AGAINST THE CLAIM OF MASSACHUSETTS—AGENT SENT OVER BY HEIR OF GORGES—COUNCIL APPOINTED—DEMAND OF MASSACHUSETTS UPON COUNCILORS—THEIR REPLY—GENERAL COURT HELD AT LITTLEFIELD'S HOUSE—POLITICAL COMPLICATIONS—INDICTMENTS—ORDER OF KING CHARLES—COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY HIM—PETITION OF INHABITANTS OF CASCO—COURT HELD AT SACO UNDER AUTHORITY OF KING'S COMMISSIONERS—FAST DAY APPOINTED—COURT HELD AT YORK BY COMMISSIONERS OF MASSACHUSETTS—CONFERENCE OF THE TWO BOARDS OF COMMISSIONERS—CONFLICT BETWEEN THEM—THOMAS WHEELRIGHT'S LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR—PETITION TO THE GENERAL COURT—WELLS MADE A SHIRE TOWN.

THE history of Wells, during the fifteen years following its incorporation, is almost entirely embraced in its political and ecclesiastical action. The attention of the people was so absorbed in matters of general concern that but little progress was made by individuals, in their agricultural interests, or in any branch of business. The great questions, whose subjects were they? who were the lawful proprietors of the town? were not settled satisfactorily to many of them; the troubles in the church also interfered very much with the welfare and growth of the settlement.

When Massachusetts had subjugated the several towns and plantations in Maine to her government, it was supposed that tranquility would be restored, and that the people would be content under the administration of that colony; but there can be no well grounded assurance of peace when an abiding sense of wrong has fastened itself on the popular mind. Massachusetts seems to have had full confidence that a large majority of the settlers were, or would be, gratified in the extension of her jurisdiction over them. Edward

Rishworth, who, perhaps, may be regarded as prominent among the settlers for intellectual ability, a short time after the submission, wrote to Governor Endicott that the best part, if not the greatest part, of those who subscribed the submission were very ready to comply with the new state of things, and quietly acquiesce in the authority of Massachusetts. This letter, we suppose, inspired the confidence in that colony as to the peaceful settlement of the question of jurisdiction; but it is very doubtful whether the statement of Rishworth was well founded. It is certain that there were many persons of influence who had no sympathy for that government, and who acted under the conviction that its assumed authority was an unwarrantable usurpation. Such men would never heartily give their assent to its rule. People were not made loyal by the compulsory act of submission. In the town of Saco, there were strong men who had no disposition to yield the rights which they had under the Gorges or Rigby charter. Cleaves, Joscelyn, Bonythan, Jordan, and others were determined to resist. We suppose that those inhabitants of Wells who did not take part in the action to establish the jurisdiction of that colony over Maine are to be regarded as opposed to the procedure. The advocates of the Massachusetts claim forwarded a petition to "Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland," setting forth the reasons why they would have the government of that colony continued over them. One cannot read this petition without interest, but its length precludes us from copying it entire. We select some of the salient portions of it, exhibiting the reasons for their preference.

"1st. Because of ourselves, we have small power to carry on government, being a people but few in number, and those not competent persons to manage weighty affairs, our weakness occasioning distraction, our paucity, division, our meanness, contempt, as our former experience hath fully evinced, to the subverting of all civil order amongst us.

"2dly. Because changes cannot reduce things from impossibilities, to make things of such as are not, to be. The case is ours; the places of our residence admit of but small enlargement; the generality of the country from us eastward is so confusedly taken up, being of sterill lands, swamps, and rocky mountaynes, as not more than a few shreads are left by the seashore fitt for Cohabitation, and these already populated by an inconsiderate number of people.

How ye wisest of such can settle a well governed Commonweale upon such basis we leave to your wisdom to judge.

"3dly. Because changes in these times may prove dangerous, where discontented spirits wait for such opportunities, which have not been the least part of that small number amongst us, who were professed Royalists, whose breathings that way since our subjecting to their authoritie have been so farre stifled as that ye activitie of such spirits cannot find any or the least opportunity of motion.

"4thly. Changing may throw us back into our former estate, to live under negligent masters, ye danger of a confused anarchy, and such other inconveniences as may make us a fitt shelter for ye worst of men, delinquents and ill affected persons, to make their resort unto, thereby to exempt themselves from justly deserved punishment.

"5thly. Changes are apt to Innihilate, unlesse they prove much for the better, especially in weak bodyes, where heads are farr remote; touching such events our former experience hath taught us something else we crave of those gentlemen who are now so solicitous for government over us. What meant the deepnesse of their silence several years, both in their tongues and penns, as not after our frequency of writing to them, they not so much as return us one syllable of answer, or afford us the least assistance in government, the want thereof let us sink into great distractions; for our recovery thence several among us petitioned for government under ye colony of ye Mass, who after some debate with us, and confirmation of some articles of agreement to us, took us under their authoritie, unto which we subjected ourselves, under whose protection to continue we account it not the least part of our securitie and happiness.

"Our humble request, therefore, is that your goodnesse would favor our reasonable entreaties, whose weakness calls for support, our manners for some strictness of rule, whose distractions for some present settlement," etc.

This petition was signed by the following persons: Samuel Austin, John Barret, sen., Henry Boade, John West, Edward Rishworth, Ezekiel Knight, William Hamman, Nicholas Cole, John Gooch, sen., John Gooch, jr., William Symons, Joseph Emerson, Thomas Wheelright, Phillip Hatch, and Robert Wadleigh.

The remainder of the inhabitants of the town, being about one-half, we think, did not concur in the matter of this petition, but were opposed entirely to Massachusetts rule. This opposition in-

cluded all the Littlefields, Bolles, Thinge, Miles or Mills, John Wadleigh, Sanders, White, Bush, Wardell, John Barret, jr., and William Cole.

Having brought the principal part of the settlers into subjection, the government of Massachusetts put forth all necessary strength to maintain their authority over this province. The court ordered Jordan and Joscelyn to be arrested for their opposition, and finding no means of escape, they came into court and submitted; so also did Bonython. But this submission, being involuntary, was of no effect in quieting the opposition. The spirit of the opponents was in no degree changed. Strong feelings were engendered on both sides, and, as is invariably the case with excited, ignorant men, they were ready in their exasperation to harrass and vex each other in every possible way, but especially through the aid of judicial proceedings. In 1653, George Cleaves was presented for denying to vote for magistrates, and for saying "if the people would vote for Miss Clark to be a witch he would vote."

William Wardell was presented "for casting an aspersion on the magistrates of the bay, as namely, upon those worthiest gentlemen, the commissioners, which were at Wells, in saying that the messenger that brought the letter to Wells said in it was contained a prohibition restraining all transactions by any by virtue of their church estate, was begged of the gentlemen by the messenger, Jonathan Thinge, that brought it."

Jonathan Thinge was presented "for a common disturber of order, obstructing of the peace of the town of Wells at their town meetings and upon other occasions."

He was also presented for "speaking discomfully of the court at York, saying, no question but you may cast any cause at the court at York so long as Harry, the coachman, sits judge." "The said Thinge slighted the government in saying he cared not what the governor said, nor never a governor in the country." Edmund Littlefield was presented for putting in a vote for one of his sons without his consent. The feeling upon the question who should rule over them had become so intensified, it is highly probable, that most of the criminal prosecutions before the court had their origin in this exasperation.

It will be seen that there was then no respect of persons, in the midst of the excitement growing out of their political condition, or

their social and civil relationships. Hugh Gunnison, who was the representative of Wells, and Mrs. Bachelor, who was the wife of the minister of York, were indicted for offences. Others, who were men of influence, were complained of for misdemeanors. The political difficulties of the people were somewhat enhanced by the theological notions which prevailed. The general court, in 1653, had undertaken to legislate very freely in regard to the religious belief and action of the people. In that colony no man had the right of suffrage who was not a member of the church. In Maine such membership had not been necessary. But though the people of Maine, who signed the submission, were, at the same time, made freemen, with the right of voting, the laws of Massachusetts were so repugnant to their religious sentiments that this modification of law, in its application to Maine, did not go far in quelling the dissensions previously existing. Other legislation was not less offensive. It attempted to control the religious views of the settlers by severe enactments against freedom of opinion, and thus to declare that "to affirm that a man is justified by his own works, and not by Christ's righteousness, or to deny the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the authority of the fourth commandment, or the authority of magistracy, should be heresy, and the person maintaining views adverse to this declaration could not be admitted to the church, and therefore had not the right of suffrage. Baptists, also, denying the validity of infant baptism, were declared incendiaries in the church and State. Some few persons in Wells, of course, would not brook such an assumption on the part of the government, and they would be ready to fan the flame of discord, and do anything to augment the disaffection to this new state of things. As a whole, real religion did not have a very strong hold on the affections of the people of Maine. The inhabitants of Kittery, theretofore Episcopalian, after submission to Massachusetts, went over to Congregationalism. A religion so readily laid aside, while another is substituted by law, would not do much for peace. Those who were heartily loyal to the new government, of course, were not looked up to with much favor by its opponents. The bad spirit of the hour was manifested on all occasions; in the courts, in the church, town-meetings, and wherever men gathered together. Such disunion was not favorable to progress; but the courts and the administration exercised their authority in the adoption of measures to promote the settle-

ment of the province, providing for convenient ways and other public necessities. The boundaries of the town had not yet been fully settled. A jail was ordered to be erected for the benefit of the county. The tax assessed for this and other county expenses, in 1654, was £91.15. Thirteen pounds and ten cents were assigned to Wells. This was the first county tax which the town was required to pay. The militia was also organized, and a company established in Wells. Nicholas Shapleigh, of Kittery, was appointed commander of the whole.

But to many of the people the subsisting government was not acceptable. Godfrey, though he finally signed the submission, was inveterate in his opposition to it. He went to England, and there labored assiduously that Massachusetts might be divested of her jurisdiction and the province be restored to the heirs of Gorges; and in 1661, a committee of the Parliament reported adversely to the claim of Massachusetts. This was a source of much joy to those discontented with their political relations with that government. The religious attachments, as before suggested, bore an important part in the maintenance of the discord which prevailed so much to the injury of the general welfare. The opponents of Massachusetts were generally Episcopalians, maintaining their loyalty to the church of England. Edmund Littlefield, Francis Littlefield, Boade, Pormotte, and others, as before named, were of this class. The opposition to Massachusetts was so strong that the town, in 1662, would send no representative to the general court. Ferdinando Gorges had deceased, but his heir persevered in his endeavors to recover his right to the province, and so succeeded in his purposes that an agent was sent over in 1662, who here invested various persons with official authority. The contention in the town received new impulse from this turn of affairs in England. A council of twelve persons was appointed, of which Joseph Bowles and Edward Rishworth were two, and Gorges assumed the government of the province. The commissioners of Massachusetts called on these councilors to return to their obedience; but Joscelyn, one of the council, replied that they were "ready to give all Christian and civil return when they shall ask for it in their own name."

On the 27th of May, in this year (1662), a general court was holden at the house of Francis Littlefield, sen.

The time of their assembling was one of deep interest to the in-

habitants of Maine. There was, probably, a great gathering of the people of Wells to witness the proceedings. Some were for Massachusetts, some for Gorges. Dennison, Hawthorne, and Waldron, commissioners of the former, demanded of the council that this assembly should be dissolved, and that the members should return to their loyalty. "We are not affrighted," they say, "by any commission from Ferdinando Gorges, Esq. You have made too large a progress in these disorderly actings, wherein if you shall continue, to the disturbance of the king's peace, you will force us to change our style. You know we cannot own the Gorges commissioners." The government of Massachusetts demanded of this court under what authority they assembled here; but the leaders in the opposition were not affrighted by any threats from that quarter. They did not believe in the justice of the claim which that colony was endeavoring to enforce, and they had reason to believe that they should have countenance and support on the other side of the water, and they persevered in their opposition and in the business on which they had come together.

It is much to be regretted that we are unable to give a particular account of the proceedings of this body. Neither record or tradition furnishes us with any details. We know not what officers were elected, or what measures were adopted toward maintaining the rights of the people. But whatever may have been the result of its deliberations, they were not effectual in silencing the demands of Massachusetts. That colony still persisted in the determination to hold the western part of the province of Maine, and the next year (1663) its inhabitants were directed to choose associates and other officers, according to the requirements of law. Some of the towns acquiesced. York, Kittery, Falmouth, and Scarboro elected representatives; but Wells would not yield to its authority. The Littlefield family, notwithstanding the death of its head (of whom an account must be deferred to the next chapter), was influential in the political action of the inhabitants. Gorges' commissioners protested against the usurpation of Massachusetts, so that the strife was still continued by the increased zeal of both parties. The Massachusetts interest was exercising its judicial power to drive the rebels into submission. William Hilton was indicted for tearing the seal from a warrant. James Wiggin for saying that "he would give his trencher of fish, if poison, to the bay magistrates," for which he was sen-

tenced to receive fifteen lashes on his naked back, and again, "for his contempt of Massachusetts authority." Phillip Hatch and several others were indicted for not voting for governor. Thomas Booth for calling "the magistrates a company of hypocritical rogues, who feared neither God nor man." The foregoing are a few of the prosecutions growing out of these political complications.

It may well be supposed that, during this period, there would be but little addition to the population by immigration. Land titles had become exceedingly uncertain, and no one could reach such a reliable conclusion, as to which of the parties would be triumphant, as to assure himself of safety in accepting a grant. Massachusetts, to relieve the anxiety of the settlers, and to produce quiet as much as possible, confirmed all existing titles. This had the effect, in some degree, to strengthen her jurisdiction. There was now, evidently, a majority siding with that colony. But various reasons operated in the home government to give matters a different turn, and King Charles, under his own hand, ordered the governor of Massachusetts to restore the territory and its jurisdiction to the heir of Gorges, and the people of Maine were required to submit to his authority; but Massachusetts was yet unrelenting and would not relax her grasp. The king's commissioners labored in vain to induce an abandonment of her claim.

In 1665, Henry Joscelyn, Robert Jordan, Edward Rishworth, and Francis Neale were appointed by the king's commissioners to govern the province. Samuel Wheelright was appointed magistrate for Wells. Still Massachusetts was inexorable, and insisted that all her officers should faithfully discharge their duties. Rishworth, formerly of Wells, now of York, was recorder; but he was manifestly veering to the support of the Gorges jurisdiction, and provision was made, if he would not continue to act in submission to Massachusetts, that Peter Wyer should supply his place. Ezekiel Knight was, at the same time, appointed magistrate for Wells, so that we now have two justices of the peace, one acting under the law of the mother country and the other under that of Massachusetts, and a conviction or judgment by one would be no bar to that of the other. Any act, by authority of the government of Massachusetts, would be of no weight on any question before Wheelright.

Having made all necessary appointments, the commissioners felt that they had established the affairs of the province so that all were

under the immediate government of the king; but Massachusetts would not relinquish any of her pretended rights, and ordered Danforth and several others to go to York and there hold a court. Car, one of the king's commissioners, was apprised of this order, and "by a sharp letter," stopped these men on their way, at Portsmouth, from whence they returned to Boston.

Having fulfilled the purposes of their mission, and supposing the affairs of the province well settled, the commissioners now returned to England, and the excitement soon subsided. Still a very strong party, and perhaps a majority of the people, clung to Massachusetts. Those of Casco petitioned to the king to be permitted to remain under her jurisdiction. Republicanism and Puritanism were gradually taking hold of the souls of men. In July, 1666, a court, consisting of Henry Joscelyn, Francis Hooke, Edward Rishworth, and Samuel Wheelright, justices of the peace by special commission from the king's commissioners, was holden at Saco. At this court there were no less than twelve indictments for the offences of drunkenness and swearing, and fifteen for not attending public worship. One or two cases will exhibit something of the character of other prosecutions instituted at the same time. Jonathan Hammond was presented for charging John Barret with slighting and abusing his wife, "saying, what hath any man to do with it; have I not power to correct my own wife?" "Francis White for saying that Samuel Wheelright was a lying justice." At the next term, Andrew Haley was presented for swearing blasphemously many desperate oaths, for which being reproved by Robert Mendum, one of the grand jury, because he did so swear and blaspheme the name of God, the said Haley did swear again, very desperately, several oaths; said he would put the said Mendum in his pocket.

The late excitement had been fruitful of an extra amount of iniquity. Much of its development was in profanity. Congenial and sympathizing souls sustained themselves by the exhilarating effects of the intoxicating cup. The morals of the settlers were not much improved by the trials through which they had passed. The good men of the day felt that the evils of various kinds which had come over them during the period of strife and contention, were the judgment of the Almighty for their forgetfulness of his holy laws, and November 20th of this year was appointed a fast "because of sins, blastings, mildews, drought, grasshoppers, caterpillars and small pox,

wars and pestilence in England, the low state of the true professors of religion in all parts." But the affairs of the province were in some degree tranquilized. Massachusetts still had no disposition to withdraw her authority from it. Believing that Episcopalianism was at the root of the revolt from her government, new enactments were made to restrain its progress, providing that, "whoever keeps Christmas day is to pay five pounds." Mr. Jordan had before been imprisoned for baptizing children in the Episcopal mode. Such proceedings, in terrorem, availed but little in bringing the whole people into subjection. It was useless to contend against the king; he did not fall in with the Massachusetts pretensions, and none of her proceedings in this contest met his approval. The malcontents under the government of that colony were thus made to feel secure in their position.

But Massachusetts was strong, and Maine was without available power. Might makes right too often, even in Christian commonwealths. That colony could enforce her claim, and, therefore, she would. It is clearly manifest, also, that now a majority of the people of the province had come over to its support; and believing that the settlers were anxious to have the government of that colony established over them on a permanent basis, and their wishes having been continually thwarted by the interference of the king's commissioners, that government appointed commissioners on their part to go to York and hold a court; and to arrest and bring to trial all persons presuming to exercise authority, not coming from them, and punish them according to their offences; authorizing them at the same time, to assure the inhabitants that all grants and titles should be effectual to holders as then existing. They were further directed to quell all disturbances.

The commissioners arrived at York July 6. Nathaniel Masterson, who was marshal for the county, had been put in prison by Gorges' officers. They ordered him to be immediately discharged. Joscelyn and his associates met the commissioners and they agreed upon a conference the next day.

At the time appointed they came together. Joscelyn told the commissioners there were not more than four or five men of any standing in York that had any sympathy for Massachusetts; and that they should exercise their authority according to the king's orders. The commissioners said they knew all about the authority which

they had, and that the whole matter had been carefully considered; and that he and his companions had no force whatever, and that, if necessary, they would satisfy them on that point, they having taken with them a force of horse and foot equal to the demands of the occasion.

The commissioners then went to the meeting-house, which stood on the easterly side of the old road leading from York village to the Short Sands, a few rods from the road and near the sea, and ordered the votes for associates and jurymen to be returned. Five towns had made returns. The others were prevented doing so by Joscelyn and his associates.

In the midst of these proceedings the voice of Joscelyn was heard at the door, "Let all here listen and attend to his majesty's commands." The commissioners then directed the marshal to say, if any body had any command from his majesty, let him show it and he shall be heard. The justices then came in, showed their papers, and asked to have them read. The commissioners replied, if they would come in, in the afternoon, after they had finished their work, they should be heard.

The justices had summoned an assembly of deputies from the towns to meet the same day at the meeting-house, and after the commissioners adjourned at noon they came in and took possession of it. The commissioners afterwards sent notice to the justices that they would like to have a conference. They answered, you can have it here. At the same time they sent the marshal through the street, ordering all persons to obey the officers appointed by the king. Some one asked them to show their authority for making this disturbance, but they answered that they should do no such thing; and added, let every man take heed of his majesty's power.

The commissioners then went to the meeting-house, where the assembly had convened. The house was crowded by the people. While thus sitting here in all the dignity and solemnity of a legislative body, the marshal directed the people to make way for the commissioners. These came forward and addressing the assembly, said:

"We did not expect such an affront as this, but it will do you no good. You should have called the meeting at another time, somewhere else. We shall pay no regard to your proceedings. You will not frighten us from our work." Then commenced a melee of which we can give no account. Men were rising and talking all over the house, as the spirit moved.

The commissioners directed the house to be cleared. Joscelyn advised the assembly to retire. Why, it does not appear, but they rushed out. The commissioners and justices then took their seats, and conferred together. The king's letter and the commission of the justices were read; but, having heard them, the commissioners said, "We were sent here to settle the peace of the province, and, God willing, we mean to finish up what we have begun. We know that the king's commissioners have charged Massachusetts with treachery and threatened her with the vengeance of the king, but by divine assistance we have the power and mean to exercise it." They then went on to carry out the programme of their mission, and declared the election of five associates. Ezekiel Knight of Wells was one. Next they completed a military organization, appointing officers in the various towns, and following the practice of the present day, in giving offices to recent converts instead of their old, steadfast friends. John Littlefield was appointed Lieutenant, and Francis Littlefield, jr., Ensign, for Wells. Other matters were finished up and the court adjourned on the ninth day of July, 1668.

The general court of Massachusetts were highly gratified with the success of this commission, and rendered their thanks to the commissioners for their labors. It would have been interesting to have added their own report of the proceedings at York, but it is too long to admit of its insertion here. Some of our readers may object even to the account which we have given of this long controversy.

Notwithstanding all the exertions of the king's officers to bring about and establish a steady government for the people, the means instituted were not sufficient for the purpose. They needed a government nearer home, and more efficient than the remote government of England. The courts established were not held in high respect. Intoxicating drinks corrupted the minds of many. Public worship, the most potent cohesive power to hold and bind men together, was very much neglected, and in consequence the feeling for a union with Massachusetts, among the considerate portion of the settlers, was daily gaining strength. The people of Wells were becoming more united in their feelings in regard to a connection with that colony. They were wearied with the strife and uncertainties which had so long retarded the settlement and destroyed the peace of the inhabitants. The following letter from Thomas Wheelright to the governor exhibits the feelings which had come over the hearts of the peo-

ple. "Worshipful Mr. Bellingham. My humble service presented unto you. By the importunity of some of our neighbors, (I have to say) that the town of Wells is in a sad condition for lack of good government, which they hoped they should have enjoyed; but their hopes so defeated that it hath made their heart sick. Their humble desire is, that you would hasten.

So prays he likewise that is at your service,

THOMAS WHEELRIGHT."

Such also had become the views and desires of most of the people who had any property imperiled by the existing state of things, approaching almost to anarchy. Though it was rather humiliating to acknowledge their error, yet these leading men came to the conclusion that their only safety was in confessing their mistake, and requesting to be again received into the care and under the protection of Massachusetts. The Littlefields seem to have been among the number of those who had come to this conclusion. It was manifest to all that that colony was determined not to give up its claims, and a further continuation of the struggle was fraught only with injury to their estates. They accordingly subscribed and forwarded the following petition:

"To the Hon. General Court now assembled in Boston, New England.

The humble petition of the town of Wells in the county of York, most humbly shows, that whereas your humble petitioners having lived by the good providence of God several years under your authority and government, whereby your petitioners enjoyed many great benefits, but now are deprived of those privileges by some among us, who have doubtless been ill affected to your government. Your honors may justly blame your petitioners in revolting and turning from our former obedience. But we must in some measure make known the cause of it. Mr. Edward Rishworth and some others presented objection to the inhabitants of this county, who being well affected, with said Rishworth and confiding in him, was so far deluded by him and some others that he got several hands to the petition, which petition was to be under his majesty's immediate protection. But not long after those who assigned that petition, were sensible of their own evil therein and some part of the sad effects which they had brought upon themselves and others who did not assign that petition. His majesty's commissioners did also assure some of us,

that doubtless his majesty would soon put an issue to the matter whereby in a very short time the government would be settled. But in consideration of the length of time passed, and nothing hath appeared to your petitioners, whereby we are now persuaded in what condition we in this country were left; and now at present some persons amongst us very active in the management of another petition, fearing thereby we may be driven to further evils, for the prevention whereof, our humble request and desires are to this Honorable Court that our case may be taken under your tuition and government, that so your honorable care of justice may be exercised among us as formerly, for the preventing in falling into disorder and divisions among ourselves, which your petitioners have great cause to fear, will unavoidably come upon us, if God in his Providence do not prevent. So craving pardon for our boldness your poor petitioners shall in bonds of duty, pray for you; whereunto your petitioners have hereunto set our hands this 30th of April, 1668.

EZEKIEL KNIGHT.

WILLIAM HAMMOND.

FRANCIS LITTLEFIELD, SEN.

THOMAS LITTLEFIELD.

PETER CLAISS.

WILL DESBLE.

JOHN BARRETT.

THOMAS PATY.

JOSEPH CROSS.

JACOB WORMWOOD.

FRANCIS LITTLEFIELD, JR.

SAMUEL AUSTIN.

JOHN LITTLEFIELD.

JOHN GOOCH.

JOHN WELLS.

JAMES GOOCH.

JONATHAN HAMMOND.

JOHN CLAYES.

WILLIAM HOBBS.

WILLIAM JOHNSON.

EZEKIEL KNIGHT, JR.

JOHN ASOF.

Some of the people of the county were in a great rage; so much so that they would not abide under the rule of Massachusetts, but moved out of the province. The town of Wells, notwithstanding so many had gone over to the usurper, would not yet acquiesce in this subjugation. Kittery, York, Scarboro and Falmouth sent representatives to the general court at Boston; but this town would not be represented there. They had been represented three years previously by Francis Littlefield, sen., who, we suppose, had then become a convert to the Massachusetts dynasty. This would seem to indicate that the opposition to that government was now stronger than in 1665, unless Littlefield's opinions were modified after his election.

Perhaps at no period in the history of Maine, was there ever a

collision of parties more interesting and exciting than that of which we have here endeavored to give a brief history. It was a struggle involving many interests and reaching every household. Whatever we may think of the claim of Massachusetts, we are inclined to the opinion that it was no detriment to us thus to have been taken under her fostering care. Our character and progress thereby became interwoven with hers, and the influences of such an union were undoubtedly favorable to the intellectual, moral and physical progress of both. The people gradually became of this opinion, and the opposition to Massachusetts to the same extent died away.

By the Act of the Legislature, soon after the return of the commissioners, Wells was made a shire town, and the courts, thereafter, were to be holden here and at York, alternately. There still remained some discontented spirits in the county, and these courts could not escape the troubles and complaints growing out of this long controversy. The feelings of some had become embittered to such a degree that the unruly member could not be restrained from giving them utterance. These malcontents were men of influence. Their feelings were very well represented in the libelous remarks of one John Bonithon of Saco, then a man of note. He was indicted, "For contempt of Massachusetts authority, and for saying that the Baymen are Rogues and Rebels against his majesty, and saying that Rogue, Major Leverett, he hoped, will be hanged; and if he wanted a hangman, he would be hangman for them." The spirit on the other side was not much better, and was well illustrated in an indictment of Thomas Bonithon and John Bonithon, "for living in a disorderly family in the house of their father, John Bonithon, a contemner of Massachusetts authority." These prosecutions did not do much for pacification. No rational man would bear with much meekness the complaint or taunt of abiding in the house of his father, much more a criminal prosecution for it, and the proceeding against the father for words uttered in the great excitement which had spread over the county, had no tendency to restore quiet. Men in those days did not differ much from the race as it is now. The moral effects of vengeance have never been very favorable to virtue and quiet.

CHAPTER VI.

HENRY BOADE—EDMUND LITTLEFIELD—STORY OF FRANCIS LITTLEFIELD, SEN.—JOHN GOOCH—JOHN GOOCH, JR.—JAMES GOOCH—ANTHONY LITTLEFIELD—JONATHAN THINGE—THOMAS MILES—JOHN BARRET—JOHN WHITE—JOHN BUSH—ROBERT WADLEIGH—JOHN WAKEFIELD—WILLIAM COLE—LIST OF INHABITANTS AFTER THE INCORPORATION, AND PRIOR TO 1670.

DURING this long period of political strife, not much progress was made in the settlement and improvement of the town. Some valuable citizens had died, and others had moved from it. Among the former was Henry Boade. He was one of the first settlers. For several years he had lived at Winter Harbor. In 1642, he removed to Wells. He was appointed by Gorges an agent, with Wheelright and Rishworth, to divide and allot the township for the purposes of settlement. In 1646 and 1648, he was chosen one of the assistants of the province. When the town was incorporated, he was made chairman of the first board of selectmen, and one of the commissioners to try small causes. He was a sound and reliable man, not easily moved from his opinions. He belonged to Wheelright's church, and persevered in maintaining that institution until the Massachusetts commissioners decided that the church should be dissolved, as those that adhered to it, it was said, were thereby disturbing the peace. The members were not in fellowship with the ruling hierarchy of Massachusetts, and on that account, it is supposed, they were charged with disorderly conduct. After the organization of the town, Boade came to the conclusion that it would be well for it to remain under Massachusetts. This change of opinion was brought about by his relationship to some of the leading men of that colony. He was cousin of John Winthrop, the governor, and also of Rev. Timothy Dalton, of Hampton. He did not long survive the incorporation, to do much for the benefit of the town. He died in 1657, leaving Ann Boade, his widow, who soon afterwards married a

Winsley, who lived at the west. In 1659, Winsley and wife sold the homestead to Hartakendon Symonds and William Symonds. The name Boade disappeared from Wells after the marriage of his widow.

In December, 1661, died EDMUND LITTLEFIELD. We have spoken of him briefly in his relation to the first church in Wells; but as, from the earliest period in the settlement of Wells, the Littlefields have constituted an important part of the population, we deem it proper to give a more full account of the great ancestor. The branches of the family are now so extensive that a complete genealogy would make a large volume. Probably no one has attempted to elaborate its pedigree, and it may reasonably be supposed that very few have acquainted themselves, to any considerable extent, with their lateral relationships. Most people take but little interest even in their own genealogy. They can go back to their grandparents, but here their knowledge ends. Family history has presented to them no attractions. But a new impulse has recently been given to studies of this character, and perhaps it will be interesting to many who bear the name of Littlefield to have some more extensive knowledge of their ancestry than they have hitherto possessed. The family has been a remarkable one. The names of nearly all who were the original settlers of the town have disappeared from the list of inhabitants, but the Littlefields have yearly become more numerous. Embracing all, parents and children, there are now living, in various places, more than a thousand persons who must trace their descent from the first settler of Wells.

Edmund Littlefield, the great progenitor, probably came here in 1641 from Exeter. We suppose he came over to this country, from Southampton, about the same time with Rev. John Wheelright. He was one of his church at Exeter in 1630, and one of the combination, having twenty-one acres of land assigned to him. This church was founded by those whose theology was denounced by the Massachusetts church, and who could find no resting place under that government. As Littlefield's name does not appear in the list of those who were driven from that colony, we infer that he may have arrived at Boston in 1637, a little while before the expulsion took place. Pormotte, who was with him at Exeter and Wells, and adhered, with him, to the church, and, we suppose, a special friend,

came over in 1634; but, as Littlefield was never of the Boston church, we think he did not arrive until his friends were involved in the trouble with the ruling hierarchy in Boston, and thence took care not to become one of the subjects upon whom its wrath was to be vented.

He had eight children, five sons and three daughters: Francis, Anthony, Elizabeth, John, Thomas, Mary, Hannah, and Francis, junior. Anthony came over with the father, all the rest of the family remaining in England. Having determined to abide in the country, he sent for them to come, and his wife, Annas Littlefield, and her six children left their home and took passage for Boston, in the *Bevis*, of Hampton, Capt. Tounes, in May, 1638. Francis, the oldest son, has a peculiar history. It will be seen that there were two of the children of this name. The circumstances connected with this singular fact have been variously stated; but from a defect of knowledge in regard to the ages of the children, and of certain other facts which appear of record, the tradition has gathered to itself some material errors. Francis, the elder, was born in 1619. From some cause, of which we have no explanation, in early childhood he disappeared from his father's house. He could not then have been more than six or seven years old. Francis, junior, was born about twelve years after. This is manifest from the fact that he was required to sign the submission to Massachusetts in 1653, which he would not have done had he then been a minor. The absence of Francis, senior, must have been voluntary. He could not have been abducted. If he had been, he would, at some subsequent time, surely, have notified his parents of that fact. It is strange that a young child like him should conceive the idea of abandoning the scene of all his comforts and all his support. The roving impulse, sometimes manifesting itself in boys, may have been strong within him and have led him to London or some of the great cities of the kingdom. We are very confident he did not then come to New England. No vessel would have taken an unknown boy of that age. But when he approached manhood it is very probable that the spirit of adventure may have taken hold of him. Great numbers were then flocking to these western shores. Ship after ship was leaving England, laden with passengers seeking their fortunes beyond the waters. Vessels were returning, bringing cargoes of fish, furs, and other articles, the product of their voyages to the western world. All were

talking of this wonderful country, abounding in gold, silver, precious stones, and other commodities, and the heart of the young man was touched by the fascinations which allured so many of maturer age. He could not resist the temptations which came over him, in the general excitement, somehow or other, to follow the multitude in the rush to the new world. He contrived to secure a passage, perhaps as a cabin boy, or as a servant to some one who was leaving his country for a home in the far-off Eldorado. He had left his parents, weeping at his departure, and now, under some assumed name, without sending to them the cheering word that he was still in the land of the living, he joins the multitude for the new world. He seems to have been one of those, found here and there, whose thoughts are more absorbed in their immediate surroundings than in the remembrance or happiness of the dear ones at home. Years passed away and no tidings came from him. The hearts of his parents were filled with sadness. Though the professed followers of Christ, the faith which comes by him is not always sufficient to sustain the soul. Weak and imperfect humanity will sometimes give way, even under temporary bereavements. The heart, for a time, will be bowed down by such family separations. Thoughts of the lost one will intrude, despite of all our self-control and all our Christian trust. No light beamed in upon them as to his fate. At last, all hope of seeing him again died within them, and they were obliged to come to the conclusion that he was dead. But Providence has many ways of compensation for these saddening incidents of our human condition. The bereaved parents had a new object of interest and affection presented by their Creator to cheer their wounded hearts. Another son was born to them, and they could give him no other name than Francis.

The parents were not satisfied with their condition in England. Though arrived at middle age, the fever for adventure took hold of them. Littlefield was a man of energy and resolution, and while so many of the young about him were crowding the passenger ships for the new land of freedom and imagined wealth, he could not keep aloof from the enterprise, but took passage and came to New England. From Boston he went to Exeter with Wheelright and his associates. His son, Anthony, was already with him, and he was soon joined by his wife and the children who came with her. This change, from the midst of civilized life to an entire wilderness, must

have been appalling indeed to his large family. The night howlings of the wolves, then so abundant, must have come to their ears with fearful power, and the deprivations which they began to experience have filled their souls with longings for the peace and comforts of the old homestead in England.

The precise year when the meeting with Francis took place does not appear from any surviving record. He was not living at the time, as has been said in some histories, on a farm in Wells. In 1639, he was, without doubt, at Exeter. He was then twenty years old, but was, with his father, so far acknowledged a member of the Wheelright combination as to have a lot of land assigned to him. In the list occurs the name "Goodman Littlefield, four acres, twenty rods," and afterwards "Goodman Littlefield" occurs again, with an assignment of twenty-one acres. This was for Edmund Littlefield, his wife, and children, while the former was for Francis, who would soon be of age and could then assume the responsibilities of one of the combination. From Exeter Francis went to Woburn. Here he was married; but his wife, Jane, died on the 20th of December, 1646, leaving a daughter, Mary, four days old. We suppose this child did not long survive her mother, as the father does not record her name with the family. He left Woburn as soon as his wife died and came to Wells.

Littlefield and his sons were millmen and farmers, principally of the latter class. Such, also, has been the occupation of nearly all their descendants. They have been, generally, industrious, hardy, and respectable agriculturists. Devoting themselves to the cultivation of the soil, and invigorated by the salubrious and strengthening air of a New England climate, they have sent forth their branches all around. Possessing physical constitutions unimpaired by the luxuries and indulgencies which enervate so many of the race, they have wonderfully carried out the injunction given to our first parents. In looking over the various family records, so far as we have had opportunity, we cannot but wonder at the large families with which so many of them have been blessed. The Littlefields have been favored with more twins than all the rest of the inhabitants.

The ancestor of this family was a man of respectable standing, of fearless enterprise, and sound moral principle. Though we have no reliable evidence that any particular person established himself here

before him, yet there are many facts which justify the supposition that he was not the first settler. Others must have preceded him on the plantation. He had built a saw-mill and grist-mill on Webbanet river in 1641. This fact would seem to indicate that he could not have been alone in the wilderness. A grist-mill would have been a very unprofitable establishment where there were no customers. It would seem very unlikely that he would have gone into the manufacture of meal, at a large expense, unless to supply others besides his own family. The fishermen on the coast might, perhaps, have availed themselves of the opportunity of obtaining flour or meal for their own use; but most of them were engaged in their business at the eastward, and would not be very likely to come to Wells for such supplies. In addition to this, without producers, where would the corn come from? At this time there were no coasters here, and it would be highly improbable that vessels would have been chartered to bring corn to Wells for grinding and then carry back the flour to Boston or some other mart.

The argument in regard to the saw-mill is of a similar character, though not so conclusive, as here the material for the manufacture of lumber was very abundant; but still no reasonable man, at that period, when lumber was so easily and cheaply obtained, would have thought of building a saw-mill, remote from any settlement, for the purpose of its manufacture, where no aid was to be had, and where there was no such intercourse with any other mart as to furnish opportunity for sale.

But this is not the place for discussing the question, who were the first settlers of Wells. It will be manifest to every reader that there must have been inhabitants here before John Wheelright left Exeter. We have spoken of him as having initiated the settlement, because it has been so understood, and for the reason that, coming here, as he did, with several persons of substantial character, he gave a sudden impulse to the progress of the plantation.

Littlefield was, without doubt, fully satisfied that numbers must be speedily added to his neighborhood. His surroundings were of such a character as to captivate the attention of men seeking for a location fitted for the acquisition of a comfortable support. Here every facility was offered for that purpose, and his anticipations were soon realized in the acquisition of Wheelright and his company of persevering adherents. Probably the work done by Littlefield, in-

troductory to clearing the wilderness and subjecting the territory to the uses of civilization, and the aid which his mills would give in providing for their families, did much toward inducing their emigration to this place, and on this account we think he is entitled to be regarded as the father of Wells. With the aid of his large family, he here prepared the way for the habitation of man.

We have before stated that, on account of his firm moral character, he was appointed by the governor of Massachusetts agent for the sale of ardent spirits in Wells, it being then of the utmost importance that great discretion should be used in the sale of liquor to the Indians. He was also one of the committee for settling the boundary between Wells and Cape Porpoise, and a commissioner to try small causes, elected by the people for the years 1654, 1655, 1658, 1660, and 1661. He was also agent of Gorges to give possession of lots to settlers. He is called, in some instruments, "Old Edmund Littlefield," not on account of his age, but because one of the sons of Francis, the elder, had been given the same name. All his family survived him. His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married John Wakefield; Mary married John Barret and Thomas Page, of Saco; Hannah married Peter Cloyes.

JOHN GOOCH died in the beginning of the year 1667. We have no knowledge of the time when he came from England to this country. We suppose that he came from Slymbridge, where he owned a house, garden, and orchard, which he purchased of William Hammond; but whether before or after his emigration we are not informed. He first located himself at Newbury. From thence he came to York, where he owned a farm. This he sold in 16— and came to Wells, where he resided when Maine became subject to Massachusetts. He was one of the first to yield to that usurpation. We judge him to have been a man of peace, anxious to avoid all troubles and collisions, and he seems to have been successful in that respect. Although nearly every inhabitant of the town was complained of for some misdemeanor, he appears to have been one of the few on whom the law never laid its hands. He had had some little trouble at Newbury, and perhaps that led him to exercise a wise precaution in regard to the future. He was not in Massachusetts long enough to be made a freeman of that colony. It may be that its theology and its manifestations did not commend themselves

to his mind ; but still, when here, he seems to have been firmly fixed in the opinion that a union with it would be for the benefit of the people of Maine, and he signed the petition to Cromwell that that government might be maintained over this territory. He was probably Puritanic in principle, though not satisfied with all the religious developments of that colony. He was an honest and worthy citizen. While living at York, he had a severe trial in an unfortunate aberration of his wife. Still he had the kindest feelings toward her, and spoke of her afterwards affectionately, there never having been, apparently, any interruption of the conjugal harmony.

He was one of the first selectmen of the town, and in 1662 was chosen constable. More importance was attached to the latter office at that time than at the present day ; the most worthy and respectable citizens were selected for it.

He left Ruth Gooch, his widow, to whom he gave all his personal property ; sons, John, to whom he gave his homestead ; James, to whom he gave his estate in England ; and Elizabeth Donnell, Mary, Hannah, Phebe, Peter, Nathaniel, and Ruth Weare, and Elizabeth Austin, his grandchildren, to whom he gave small legacies. We have not ascertained whether his daughters, the mothers of these grandchildren, were living or not. We suppose one of them married Peter Weare ; but his conjugal affections were exceedingly limited, not leading him to provide for her or enjoy her company, and thence Gooch gave the legacy to the children, so that it might not fall into his hands. We presume, also, that his daughter, Frances, married Henry Donnell, and thence he gave the legacy to her daughter, Elizabeth, he having deserted his family, leaving them to take care of themselves. Elizabeth Austin, we think, was the daughter of Samuel Austin, and that her mother had deceased. We state these probabilities, not thinking it of sufficient importance to offer the reasons on which we base them.

JOHN GOOCH, JR., died in 1672. His widow, Lydia Gooch, not having a high opinion of single life, was remarried so soon after as to be precluded from administering on her husband's estate. James Gooch died in 1676. He left a respectable property for that period, keeping a yoke of oxen and eight cows. Ruth, the mother, and widow of the elder John, died at the close of the same year. From John and Ruth Gooch have descended all of that name who have dwelt in Wells.

We have not succeeded in acquainting ourselves fully with the signers of the submission to Massachusetts, who lived in Wells at the time of the incorporation, but who died or removed therefrom soon after. Of such persons, we cannot speak particularly.

ANTHONY LITTLEFIELD died in 1662. He was the son of Edmund and one of the first inhabitants. He had a grant of 230 acres of land on the easterly side of Mousam river, which included Great Hill. This lot he sold to Hartakendon Symonds in 1658. He was a man of little energy and made no other investment in real estate. When he died, he had but a hundred dollars in personal property, as the result of twenty years' labor. We have good reason for the belief that he was not a temperate man. His father, by his will, gave him nothing but his old clothes, or his wearing apparel. He had had no education, and thence would not be likely to have any just appreciation of life and its responsibilities.

Of JOSEPH EMERSON we shall have occasion to speak in the history of the church.

JONATHAN THINGE, we think, has left no representatives in town. There was no element of his character which would make him of essential service in promoting its moral or physical growth. He came here from Ipswich, where he had been guilty of the crime of rape, for which he had been severely whipped, both at Boston and Ipswich. He was appointed constable for the town of Wells in 1653, and a commissioner to try small causes for the Isle of Shoals in 1655, and by the court, the same year, was required to give bonds for his good behavior. There were four different indictments against him at the same time. "For telling a lie;" for being "a common disturber of order;" for "serving a notice on the Lord's day," and for "speaking discernfully of the court" and saying he did "not care for what the governor said, nor never a governor in the country." Such persons we are very willing to spare from our ancestry; though it is not unusual for men of that stamp, even at the present day, to be made conservators of the public morals, and even the keepers of the public property.

Of THOMAS MILES, or MILLS, we know very little. He married Mary, the daughter of John Wadleigh. As a man he made no special demonstrations; and thence his character has not found its way into the book of human life.

JOHN BARRET died in 1662. He married Mary, the daughter of Edmund Littlefield. In 1658 he was appointed ensign of the military company in Wells. He left a respectable property for that period. His only descendant, of whom we have knowledge, was his son, John Barret, jr., who subsequently moved to Cape Porpoise. He was also ensign of the militia, but did not bring much honor to his father. He was deficient in true manliness of character; disregarding his conjugal obligations, and treating his wife with unkindness, and sometimes with great severity. The town lost nothing by his removal beyond its borders.

Of JOHN WHITE, we have no other knowledge, than that he came to this country in April, 1635, and that he had a son, John White, jr.

JOHN BUSH came from England in May of the same year, and to Wells about the same time with Wheelright. In 1647 he was appointed commissioner to try small causes, and again to the same office in 1655. He was also constable in 1654. A few years after, he sold his land of two hundred and fifty acres to Hartakendon Symonds and left the town.

ROBERT WADLEIGH was a brother of John, and witnessed the deed of the Indians to him. He was clerk of the writs in 1653. He moved from Wells to Kittery, where he was licensed in 1661 to keep an ordinary, and also the ferry at Kittery Point.

Of WILLIAM WARDELL, we have given a brief sketch in his relation to the church. He did not continue long in Wells after its incorporation.

JOHN WAKEFIELD was a commissioner of Wells in 1648, and afterwards one of the selectmen. He bought Drake's Island of Stephen Batson in 1652, and occupied it two or three years, when he sold it

to Samuel Austin and moved to Scarboro. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Littlefield.

WILLIAM COLE was one of the Exeter combination, and came from that place, we presume, with Wheelright. We have no special knowledge of him. We think he followed Wheelright to Salisbury after 1659. We suppose him to have been the father of Nicholas Cole, who signed the submission to Massachusetts. But little of the genealogy of this family is found on the town records. We find in various places several of the name of Nicholas, and thus have had much difficulty in tracing the descent. Nicholas does not appear to have remained long in the town. He removed to North Yarmouth, and in 1672 bought, with John Purrington, of the Indians, the meadow on a great island near Great Chebeague. Previous to this he owned and occupied a house in that vicinity; but the Indian war of 1676 drove him from his possession, and he fled to Wells for safety. He did not return there after the close of the war, but lived in Wells until his death in 1688. In the year of the incorporation, 1653, he was constable of the town. But he seems to have had some difficulties with his neighbors and with the minister, Rev. Seth Fletcher, which perhaps induced him to leave the town and move to the eastward. He was a useful man; a carpenter and millwright, and also a surveyor of lands—locating and surveying many of the town lots. His life was a checkered one—full of misfortunes, embarrassments and disappointed hopes. Mary Symonds, of Ipswich, in writing to a friend in 1687, says Nicholas Cole has had great losses and troubles. These probably hastened his end.

Of those bold and fearless men, who were the first to apply their energies to subdue the wilderness, and who were inhabitants at the incorporation of the town, one-third had died or sought a habitation in some other place before 1670. There was nothing in the prospect to encourage one of a peaceful and quiet spirit to persevere in his endeavors for a livelihood. The settlement was divided in itself, and the political atmosphere was uncongenial and always lowering. These men were needed to help it onward, but more especially in the trying hour which was approaching, to save it from desolation. Though the places which were vacated were supplied by others, the

souls of the new-comers had not been tried by the adversities and hardships which the pioneers had experienced. The stay of many of them was short; and our knowledge of them is very imperfect. The information which we have would be of no special interest, excepting to those who are engaged in genealogical pursuits; and we therefore merely mention in this connection the names of those who became inhabitants of Wells after the incorporation, and previously to 1670: William Ashley, William Butland, John Butland, Francis Barkhouse, John Cloyes, John Cross, Peter Cloyes, Joseph Cross, John Dymond, Thomas Clôyes, Samuel Hatch, Philip Hatch, Robert Heathersy, John Smith, John Wells, Thomas Wells, William Wormwood, Garret Reaves, Nathaniel Masters, Abraham Tilton, Peter Bass, John Wallis, Thomas Boston, Thomas Cousins, John Trott, Jacob Wormwood, William Hobbs, William Johnson, John Asof, John Bennett, Thomas Paty, Henry Sayward, John Reed, John West, Thomas Marriner.

Of those who remained here, we shall have occasion to speak in the prosecution of this work. The descendants of some of them are still found among the worthy inhabitants of the town.

CHAPTER VII.

FIRST SETTLERS IN KENNEBUNK—JOHN SANDERS—MOUSAM RIVER FERRY—JOHN CHEATER—LITTLE RIVER FERRY—FIRST PUBLIC HOUSE IN KENNEBUNK—GEORGE BUCKLAND—WILLIAM SYMONDS—DANIEL PIERCE—BOUNDARY ESTABLISHED BETWEEN WELLS AND CAPE PORPOISE—ROAD ALONG THE SEA WALL—FIRST BRIDGE—BRIAN PENDLETON APPOINTED SURVEYOR—CAPE PORPOISE RIVER FERRY—FIRST ROAD TO KENNEBUNK.

IN consequence of the loss of the volume of the town records, by the burning of the house of Joseph Bolles, the town clerk in 1657, it requires more research than the importance of the matter would justify to answer the question where the first settlers located themselves; but of some we can learn the residence by the boundaries set out, and the references contained in their grants, and in deeds subsequently made. The first settlers in that part of the town, known as Kennebunk from the earliest settlement, were John Sanders, John Cheater, and perhaps George Buckland. Sanders had a grant of 150 acres of upland and fifty of marsh from Thomas Gorges, deputy governor, and Richard Vines in 1643. This grant embraced what is now the farm of Henry C. Hart. The house, we are inclined to believe, stood on the verge of the point near the sea. The land, since that day, has been materially encroached upon by the surf. From the descriptions, as set out in subsequent transfers, we should infer that his whole establishment was of considerable magnificence, did not the impossibility of obtaining the necessary materials preclude any such inference. There were no mills in the vicinity; that of John Littlefield was the nearest; and for the purposes of show or ornament no means were at hand. The house was, probably, very much like those of all the early settlers on the coast, built for immediate occupancy. There were, indeed, in this case, reasons for larger accommodations than his own family required. We suppose that he built his house here partly for the entertainment of travelers, this being the only way of journeying from the Piscataqua,

east. The Mousam river then ran out by the eastern side of Hart's Rocks. Here, at high water, ferriage was needed, and Sanders provided himself with boats for that purpose. The river then abounded with salmon and shad, and he erected a weir to take them. Owning the marsh on both the Mousam and Little rivers, he had a constant supply of such hay, as it never fails to yield. So that, including the "treasures hidden in the sand" and the "abundance of the sea," he had everything necessary for man and beast. He was a man of some note, but of no education. In 1653, he was chosen lieutenant for the town of Wells. His location was one well fitted for the acquisition of a moderate property, and he seems to have been somewhat successful. But for some cause, of which we have no explanation, in 1663 he conveyed his farm to John Cutts, of Portsmouth, afterwards president of New Hampshire. He may have been indebted to him for materials used in building his house. The fishing business was then profitable, and Cutts may have purchased the establishment for the purpose of carrying it on. After selling his lands in Wells, Sanders moved to Cape Porpoise, where he died in 1670, having entailed a part of his property in this manner: He gives his estate at Cape Porpoise to his wife, Ann Sanders, during her natural life; after her decease to his son Thomas, then to his son John; and "so from heir to heir and next of kin surviving the deceased proprietor." He gave to his son John about 1,000 acres of land, eight or nine miles above Cape Porpoise river falls, and the rest of his property he left to be divided among his other children after the decease of their mother. His widow died the same year.

JOHN CHEATER had a tract of land next above that of George Buckland, on the Kennebunk river. Buckland's commenced at the sea and extended back one mile, and by the sea westward to the bathing beach. We have not ascertained that Buckland lived on his lot. If he did, it is probable that he built the house occupied by Harding a few years after. Cheater came to Wells from Newbury in 1655, or about that time, having left that place in consequence of some misdemeanor of his wife, Alice, with one Daniel Gunn, with which he did not fully sympathize, she, for her unchaste behavior, having been admonished by the court and required to stand tied to the whipping post one hour. These aberrations of the sex in those days seldom produced a disruption of the conjugal tie; but it was not

pleasant to continue a residence where the wife of his bosom had been through this shameful ordeal, and was thus subject to the scoffs of those who had been the witnesses of it, and Cheater left the place and came into the wilderness. He lived near the Mousam river, but the site of his house is unknown. He may have occupied that of Sanders after it was sold to Cutts. He was a surveyor of lands, and also lieutenant of the militia, and was generally called Leftenant Cheater. In 1662, he was appointed ferryman for Mousam river and also for Little river; and for ferriage over each he was authorized to tax twelve pence for a man and horse, and at low water, six pence. As in those days it was considered that some stimulation was an absolute necessity for travelers, he was licensed to keep an ordinary to meet this demand, and he had "liberty to draw one-third of a barrel of strong waters which he had in his house, and likewise wine and beer, and keep victualing." Such establishments, in the subsequent century, were called taverns. They were indispensable, but not always very serviceable in promoting the public morals. This was the first public house in Kennebunk, but its character we cannot vouch for. The landlady was not rigidly virtuous, and order and peace, we think, did not always prevail in it. They had a servant man, Thomas Latimer, who did not like his position and ran away; whether he bettered his condition or not we cannot determine. The last that we know of him is furnished by the following record: "4 month 24 1661. A Jewry impanelled to inquier of the death of Thomas Latimer, which lived with John Chater of Wells, and ran away from him this month, and was found drowned in Saco river." "Thayr verdick is, he was accidentally drowned through his own default." Cheater and his family soon disappeared from among the inhabitants of Wells.

GEORGE BUCKLAND, WILLIAM SYMONDS, and DANIEL PIERCE were in possession of lands within the limits of Kennebunk when the Indians conveyed the whole territory of the town to John Wadleigh in 1649. This is manifest from their deed; but we have no evidence that any of them resided on their lots. George Buckland soon after lived in Ogunquit; William Symonds on the western side of Little river, near the sea. In 1658, he bought of Anthony Littlefield the Great Hill farm of about 230 acres, embracing tillage, pasture, and upland, bounded by the Cape Porpoise river and by the first great

creek, and thence by the sea, extending eastward far enough to embrace the number of acres. He may have built the house which soon after stood on Great Hill. If Daniel Pierce occupied his tract as a home lot, he lived near where the Wentworths or Boothbys have since lived; but we have no satisfactory evidence that either of them dwelt on this territory.

These are the only persons residing in the eastern end of the town previously to the year 1660. It is a remarkable fact, though so many years had elapsed since its incorporation, that there never had been any definite settlement of its entire boundaries. The act by which it was made a town simply says that "Wells shall be a township by itself." No boundaries are stated, and no allusion is made to its limits in any direction. Grants had been made of its lands by two different proprietors; but Massachusetts claimed the whole territory from Piscataqua, far east of Wells, and ordered a settlement of the line, commissioners being appointed by the general court for the purpose, who in May, 1659, made the report which we have before stated, upon the line between Wells, York, and Kittery.

But the principal difficulty in adjusting the boundaries arose from the uncertainty of the line on the northeastern side of the town. Which was the Kennebunk river seems to have been an unsettled question. The inhabitants of Cape Porpoise insisted that the river then called the Cape Porpoise was the Kennebunk; that the town derived its name from the river passing through it, and that it would have been absurd that a river two miles from it should be called the Cape Porpoise, when navigators would be thereby so much deceived as to enter a harbor which was not the one to which they were bound. One would have supposed that the Indians, who were then living on the territory, could have settled this matter beyond controversy. Kennebunk is an Indian name, and they surely knew to which stream it belonged. They had lived on the banks of the most westerly for centuries. Cape Porpoise was an English name of recent application. But the people of those days were not remarkable for quickness and accuracy of perception, or for sound reasoning; and as the territory was not very valuable at this period, there being but two or three inhabitants on it, neither party, we think, took very great pains to ascertain the truth in regard to the matter in controversy. But sufficient excitement had been awak-

ened by the dispute to render it necessary that the question should be settled, and committees of the two towns were appointed for the purpose; Edmund Littlefield and William Hammond on the part of Wells, and Morgan Howell and William Scadlock on the part of Cape Porpoise. They met at the house at the mouth of Kennebunk river, which was afterwards occupied by Harding. It may have been at this time occupied by William Reynolds, the ferryman. The ferrymen were generally licensed for the sale of liquors and the accommodation of man and beast with the necessaries of life. Littlefield and Hammond were men of integrity. We are not particularly acquainted with Howell and Scadlock, but their characters were such as to commend them to their townsmen, though we have sufficient knowledge of the latter to wonder that to him should be committed a public trust of any importance whatever. Towns, as well as individuals, must expect to reap the fruits of their own action. The commissioners entered upon the examination of the business with which they were entrusted. It was then the custom to introduce all such consultations and prepare for the work by stimulating the vital energies, and awakening every faculty to the discharge of its appropriate duty. Scadlock was an old hand in this mode of action. What progress they made in the duties of their commission, from day to day, has not come down to us; but on the first day of their meeting a violent storm arose, so that they were confined to the house. As they were not educated men, instructed in argumentation, they did not spend much time in discussion, and thus time passed very tediously, so that they felt the need of frequent inspiration to maintain their equanimity. The bottle, of course, was the resort to refresh the inner man. The storm continued three days, and the expenses reached a magnitude rather startling. Cape Porpoise was poor, and the thought came over the commissioners from that town, that there would be some complaint among the people about the costs of this proceeding. They had made no progress in the settlement of the question submitted to them, and fearing that the bill, if they continued there longer, would be more than the town would pay, and having become sufficiently elevated by their liberal potations, they made to the Wells committee the proposition that, if they would pay all the bills, they would agree on Kennebunk river as the boundary of the towns. The

committee from Wells at once assenting, they sat down and made this return :

“ We whose names are here underwritten, being chosen by the towns of Cape Porpoise and Wells for the laying out of the dividing line of said towns, do mutually agree that the river Kennebunk shall be the bounds of Cape Porpoise and Wells, to the utmost extent of both the towns, being eight miles up into the country. Witness our hands the tenth day of May, 1660.

EDMUND LITTLEFIELD,
MORGAN HOWELL,

The Court allows and approves of this
return, as attest, Edward Rawson.

WM. HAMANS,
WM. SCADLOCK.

Thus was the boundary between the two towns permanently settled. Our impression is that the evidence preponderated in favor of the claim of Cape Porpoise ; but we do not think it expedient here to enter on any discussion of the subject. The result affords a striking illustration of the evil of committing important interests to the hands of men who are in the habit of indulging in the free use of intoxicating liquors. The most valuable portion of the town of Kennebunk, it is very probable, was the just property of Kennebunkport. But the folly of the people of that town, in entrusting their rights to the care of intemperate men, had its due reward in the loss which they thereby suffered. The towns, situated along each side of the river, might have constituted a convenient and influential corporation, now numbering a population of six or seven thousand souls.

One of the arguments in favor of the claim of Cape Porpoise was, that Rigby, whose patent extended to Kennebunk river, made grants of territory bounded on the river furthest west, which grants had not been interfered with by the proprietors of the Wells plantation. In 1641, under this authority, what is now termed the Great Hill farm was granted to John Wakefield and John Littlefield. The hill at that time extended much farther into the sea than it now does ; and with the projecting land at the eastern end was called the Great Neck. The features of this interesting locality have undergone a wonderful modification since that period. Within the memory of many now on the stage of life, the sea has swallowed up a large part of the soil. Not many years since the point was connected with the

hill by a broad surface of land, which was always kept in a state of cultivation by the occupant, whose house stood on the small part of it still remaining. The sea, by its inroads, disconnected it with the shore, and from that time it has been rapidly disappearing. Between Great Hill and the Mousam river there was nothing but a pine swamp. Wakefield and Littlefield did not take possession and occupy under this grant. If the eastern river was the Cape Porpoise, then the Lygonia patent did not include this territory. Perhaps this uncertainty as to the title was the reason why possession was not taken. Wakefield afterwards lived on Drake's Island, and Littlefield in Ogunquit.

In the year 1653, when Wells was ordered to make the road by the sea, the towns of Kittery and York were ordered to make "straight and convenient way along East for man and horse." York and Kittery had then become villages of considerable population, and Wells contained about 150 inhabitants. Cape Porpoise and Saco also had a population of several hundred. The next year a road was ordered to be made from York to Newichewannock, then a part of Kittery, afterwards called Berwick, and the same year Kittery and Wells were required to make a way from Newichewannock to Wells, so that, from this time, the people of Wells had regular communication with the West. Soon after this, in 1658, the way was required to be improved easterly as far as Kennebunk river. This road went along Hart's Beach, over Great Hill and Gooch's Beach to Reynold's Ferry, so that settlers might conveniently locate themselves on any of the lands near the sea. At the same time the people were required to improve the road from York to Wells. A bridge was required to be built over the Ogunquit. This was the first erection of that character in town. The people were very backward in fulfilling the order, and were indicted for their neglect; but it was soon after built, and a good passable way was thus made from York to Kennebunk.

In the year 1664, Brian Pendleton was appointed surveyor of highways throughout the province, with authority to order all matters at his discretion, for the purpose of making them meet for the public necessities. The marshal of the province was required to attend him in making his surveys, so that, having the supervision of the whole way from Kittery through the settlements, all the obstructions might be removed, and a passable road made for all travelers on foot

or on horseback. This, we think, was one of the wisest provisions which mark the administrative action of the courts at that period.

The people now began to be sensible of the necessity of convenient roads, and some interest was excited in making intercommunication more free and easy. The King's road from Ogunquit river through Wells, as far as Cole's Corner, varied but little from its present location. From this latter terminus, toward the sea and over Little river, the passage had been very inconvenient, and an arrangement was made July 13, 1664, with Nicholas Cole, one of the most energetic men of the town, to have this part of the way put in good condition, and suitable provision made for transportation over the Cape Porpoise. Liberty was granted to him to keep a ferry over Cape Porpoise river for seven years, and for setting over every single person, a stranger, who would pass, he was authorized to take six pence, if more than one at a time four pence each, and the same price for horses if they swam; and for every townsman of Wells who passed he was to have three pence, and the same for their horses. He was required to make a way from his own house toward the sea into the road going east, provide a good canoe, and to make two or three bridges needed for the convenient passage of horse and man from his house over the creeks which crossed the way between Little river and Cape Porpoise river. To do the work of making the bridges the town agreed to furnish a man for three days, and one day yearly to keep them in repair. Cole resided at the corner, where his descendants have lived ever since. This would seem to be a hard bargain. To travel two or three miles to the Mousam river and set a man over for six pence would be rather an unprofitable job, but money was then scarce and valuable. Two years before, Cheater was allowed twelve pence for a man and horse, and had none of the burdens which Cole assumed. We know not how to explain this strange fact, except on the hypothesis that the travel had largely increased. How the people obtained any money we are not informed. They had nothing to sell. The ordinaries and the ferries brought something to their possessors; but we have never learned that, up to this time, there was any such land or water transportation to the older places west as to furnish conveyance for any products of the soil or sea, which they might chance to have to send to market. If Cole's daily receipts were small, perhaps the income was as valuable to him as would have been the labors of husbandry.

This was the first established road to Kennebunk, the way by the house of William Symonds, being principally over the beach. The previous year a ferry had been established over Cape Neddock river. Sylvester Stover was the ferryman. So that now there was a continuous way from Portsmouth to the town of Cape Porpoise. In 1653, a way was ordered within the towns of Wells and Cape Porpoise "fit for footmen and horses, and fit for carts from house to house." This seems to have been an order for a town way only; to accommodate those residing in these towns. Perhaps the road by Symonds' house was made at this time.

At this period no one was allowed to be a drone or loafer, when there was work to be done for the common good. Every one had occasion to travel the highway, and all alike had the benefit of it. It was thence regarded as just that all should share in the labor of making and repairing, so that a few years afterwards, in 1671, the town voted, "that every male person sixteen years old and upward, that is in a capacity to work, being warned by the surveyor, shall attend that service, and that a yoke of oxen shall go in lieu of a man." This was a wise provision. Young men should be early inspired with the knowledge that they are members of a community, and that material duties grow out of that relation; that they should contribute their aid to the common necessities. They should be made to feel that they have an interest in whatever is for the public welfare; that their characters, as good citizens, depend very materially on their ready, cheerful acquiescence in the labors which it demands of them.

CHAPTER VIII.

LOW CONDITION OF THE CHURCH—REV. SETH FLETCHER EMPLOYED TO PREACH—ORDERS OF THE GENERAL COURT IN RELATION TO CHARGES AGAINST HIM—INJUNCTION AGAINST HIM—PETITION OF INHABITANTS TO DISSOLVE INJUNCTION—ORDERS OF GENERAL COURT TO THE INHABITANTS TO PROCURE A MINISTER—INHABITANTS INDICTED FOR NOT PROVIDING A PLACE OF WORSHIP—JOSEPH EMERSON ENGAGED—REV. JEREMIAH HUBBARD ENGAGED—THE CONNECTION DISSOLVED.

IN a former chapter, we have given a brief account of the first church in Wells and of its untimely dissolution. The people were then in the darkness of ignorance. With scarcely any intellectual culture, unable to read or write, and thus untrained to reason, they could have no firm basis on which to build up a true Christian character. John Wheelright was a man of education, fitted for the exercise of moral power, and thereby drawing to himself the deference of those with whom he was here associated. Few of them could have any just comprehension of his speculations, and those who did, if such there were, reaped no benefit from his instructions. His metaphysical Christianity imbued them with speculative proclivities, which were indulged to such a degree as to drive from their souls all true devotion to God and duty, and they became wranglers about justification, sanctification, and the numerous theological questions which are born always of the flesh and not of the spirit. Beside his immediate friends, who came with him, there were here others, supporters of the Puritan theology, and also some who were adherents to the forms and principles of the mother church beyond the waters. All of them had some religious notions, but whence they came they had not the power to explain. The ignorant are much more tenacious of their dogmatic religion than those who have had the ability, opportunity, and means of examination and deep thought. Ignorance is generally obstinate and unyielding. So that this church, thus compounded, was rather an institution for strife and debate

than for the advancement of a reliable piety and the harmonies of a true Christian union; but notwithstanding the manifestations of a spirit adverse to that of peace and unity, we have seen no evidence that "muscular Christianity" came in at any time to settle the contention.

But what a sad spectacle to the true Christian soul was here exhibited! These men came over to this country to occupy this land under a charter which made it one of their principal duties to extend the light of civilization and the influence of true religion over this western world, then overshadowed with the darkness of heathenism; to lead the red men of these forests to a knowledge of those great truths and principles, which would work out for them a social state, promotive of peace and good will, and elevate them to the dignity and happiness of children of God. But what a comment is here on the obligations of that charter, and what an illustration of the blessings of a Christian civilization! A few men in a wilderness, dependent on each other for sympathy and support, away from all aid and comfort but that of the unfailing Providence, quarreling with each other, and assuming God's prerogative in condemning each other, each denying the Christian character of the other, and refusing Christian fellowship, surrounded by savages, whose hearts they came here to soften by the power and example of the gentle influences of the true faith of Christ! But so it has been in all ages of the church. The truth of God is made to be a lie to the ignorant and uncultivated. What we call a religion of union and love, the speculations and creeds of men have converted into an agency to destroy the kindlier affections of life, and keep alive the fires of strife and ill-will in the heart.

Notwithstanding this unfavorable aspect of the moral condition of the church, we would not say that there was not something of the spirit of true religion abiding with the people. Elder Wentworth had gone off, abandoning the place before 1650; but Ezekiel Knight, William Hammond, William Cole, Philemon Pormotte, Edmund Littlefield, and other solid men were still here. They were persons of good and honest hearts, selected for important trusts, and active in advancing the settlement of the place. Knight may, possibly, be regarded as not entirely sound, from the fact that he consented to act with John Baker, who was denounced as drunken, lying, and worthless by the church in Boston, which excommunicated him, and

declared that Christ had ratified the excommunication by giving him up to Satan, as one of the agents of Colonel Alexander Rigby in allotting lands under the Lygonia Patent. A Christian should not be associated in business with one of that stamp. Fellowship with Satan in any kind of work will be very apt to poison some element of the soul; and in this very business which they had assumed he may have been led astray by Baker, as they allotted a tract of land on the western side of the Mousam river, and all persons, who have familiarized themselves with this part of the history of the State, know very well that no one pretended that Rigby's Patent covered that part of Wells. But still the evidence is satisfactory that Knight was regarded as a reliable man.

From the time when the commissioners left Wells, two years forward, there was here no regularly established ministration of the Gospel, and, of course, religion did not receive that attention which the public welfare demanded. The material interests of the world, in such a season, will gain the ascendancy over the moral. The spiritual will, to a great extent, be lost sight of; and in the eagerness of the pursuit of temporal interests, in the strifes which personal advantage may engender, men forget their higher and more important relations, and fall into habits of thought and action in no measure akin to those which religion inculcates. It does not appear that the true men of the town forsook the assembling of themselves together on the Christian Sabbath. Probably some of the laymen were in the habit of exhortation. Still the people went astray. Disorder and profanity prevailed, and intemperance added to its votaries.

After the dissolution of the church, by reason of the discord which ruled within the fold and the irregularities and misdemeanors of some who had been ejected from it, it may well be inferred that the people of Wells would not be in a very suitable frame of mind to set about the renewal of public worship and the re-establishment of the church. Professing Christians, whose faith rests on any other foundation than righteousness of heart and life, are too apt to indulge and manifest an arbitrary and sometimes a revengeful spirit toward those who do not feel to unite with them in carrying out their purposes. And especially in cases where contrariety of opinion has once resulted in division and its animosities and bickerings, the prospect of the restoration of unity and concord is not to be relied upon with any great confidence. Such is humanity that it will sometimes

find satisfaction in the humiliation and trials of those who do not accord with its own thoughts and prepossessions. Christianity finds enemies in its own household. Before the commissioners came to Wells, the church, by excommunication or voluntary excision, had been reduced to three members, and now these three were compelled, by the judgment of this court, to abandon the organization. All alike were out of the church, and the criminations and recriminations which such a state would excite may well be imagined. To settle a true man of God would be almost an impossibility. If one discovered that another, who had been instrumental in his deprivation of church privileges, was anxious for the employment of a particular person for the ministry of the word, the first impulse of his heart would be very likely to resist the measure, under the assurance that the sympathies and opinions of one so chosen would assimilate him to his opponents. Some would even be ready to install in the sacred desk a man of unholy temperament and life, provided he accorded with them in his theology. In the circumstances of this case, we are inclined to think the evil one had a good deal to do in the employment of a minister. Having lived two years in this graceless condition, the people, by some means, managed to engage Rev. Seth Fletcher to preach the Gospel. In 1655, he was hired by the year, without ordination, as a stated pastor. As might be expected, in this unfortunate state of feeling, the evil element seems to have gained the ascendancy. Any man, who is versed in the history of Massachusetts at this time, cannot fail to be conversant of the fact that the government had done much to engender a contentious and bigoted spirit, and thence, as an almost inevitable consequence, a wide departure from the teachings of Christ. Men were terribly persecuted for righteousness' sake, and the spirit of those in authority became the ruling spirit of their constituents. Bigotry and intolerance will work out an ungodly temperament in other relations, as well as in the church. These men of Wells could not be expected to be better than their rulers. The government represents the people.

Wells, in 1654, elected Hugh Gunnison as its representative, and in 1657 he was chosen representative from Kittery; but such had been his character that the general court refused to admit him as a member, charging him to be unfit for the office. He was a licensed rumseller, and, without doubt, his supporters in Wells were

men whose propensities found gratification by his ministrations. Though not criminal in law or morals, at that day, this vending of ardent spirit not unfrequently led to such a close communion and fellowship with the destroyer that the evil one had the soul of the vender in chains before he suspected he was in danger. We will not say that his election was an illustration of the character of the whole people. We assume that he was the true representative of a majority. The remainder, undoubtedly conscientious and of religious impulses, were men who fell in with the sentiment, then prevailing to a most lamentable extent, that the religion which the government had taken under its special care, or that which they felt to be in conformity with the teachings of the Gospel, was the only reliable basis of public happiness and prosperity. This class it was which enacted at this time that infamous law which denounced "the people commonly called quakers" as "a cursed set of heretics," and subjected any one inculcating their religious opinions to the most odious punishments. Thus in 1661, Judah Brown and Peter Pier-son, who had been in prison, were discharged from confinement, delivered to the constable, and tied to the cart's tail by the executioner, whipped through Boston with twenty stripes each, and then sent out of the colony, to be put to death if they returned. Thus Christianity has always found some of its worst enemies in the house of its friends.

Now it is very reasonable to presume that the inhabitants of Wells who sided with the religion of the Massachusetts government, voted with those whom we have supposed to constitute the majority for Mr. Fletcher, so that he may have received the vote of the whole people. Men who are the antipodes on moral and religious questions, and others of no moral stamina, are not unfrequently found uniting in a common object. Fletcher, we think, answered the purposes of all. Religious, according to the prevalent sentiment, in doctrine and in persecution of the quakers, there was in him but little of that sound moral sense, which the gospel requires of minister and people. In a letter from him at Elizabethtown, some years after this, to Increase Mather he says, "I have been much molested with Quakers here since I came, new ones coming in one after another." Some of these had enquired what he had to object against them. His reply was "that a Quaker, living and dying as a Quaker (without repentance), must find out a new gospel which might afford hope of

salvation; for what God hath revealed in his holy word, there was no salvation for them in their impenitent condition." He meant, of course, that there was no salvation for that sect. Quakerism must be repented of.

Although Mr. Fletcher was not without education, and was endowed with an intellect which might have elevated him to a high position in his profession, yet, losing sight of the first principle of Christianity, an abiding sense that he was a fallible man and forbidden to judge and condemn his brother on account of his opinions, he stirred up strifes and contentions wherever he undertook to minister the word. When one forgets his own weakness and ignorance, and denounces others better than himself as enemies of God, it may be safely assumed that he is not a man after God's own heart; and will show himself a disturber of the peace and destitute of true godliness. Accordingly he soon began to sow discord, and thus to excite to every evil work within his pastorate, and matters came to such a state that the general court were obliged to interfere; and at the session in May, 1660, the following order was issued:

"Whereas, some late difference seems to appear to us, between Mr. Fletcher, jr., and part of the inhabitants of Wells as touching his unfitness for the place of the ministry, which occasionally for near two years past, as is apprehended, relating both to the sanctifying of the Sabbath, and the performance of God's holy worship therein, hath drawn them into general neglects for future prevention thereof, it is therefore ordered by authority of this court, that due notice be given to the inhabitants of Wells and Mr. Fletcher, that they do make their appearance at the next county court at York, thereby either to justify those exceptions of unmeetness they seem to charge against him, or otherwise from them the said Fletcher may be acquitted."

These charges were undoubtedly made by those who professed to be the followers of Christ. If Fletcher, the minister, was indifferent to the sanctification of the Sabbath, the people would not be long in reaching the conclusion that the religious worship of the day was not material to a healthy spiritual state.

The people and the minister, agreeably to this order, appeared before the court at York, at the May term, with their available testi-

mony, and after hearing the same, the court determined to give no opinion in the case, but adopted the following order :

“Whereas, this Court by order of the last general court was appointed to hear and, as they see cause, to determine in matters of some difference depending between the town of Wells and Mr. Fletcher, having had the examination thereof, do judge meet upon due consideration to leave the said Fletcher and the town of Wells in the same state wherein the Court found them, giving the town in the meantime free liberty to procure some godly and able minister. And this court in the meantime to make return of the full state of the case as to them it appeareth, to the next general court.”

This order was returned to the general court at its session in October, and after consideration the following injunction against Mr. Fletcher was issued: “The Court having perused the several evidences presented to this Court referring to Mr. Fletcher and the town of Wells, do judge meet to declare to the said inhabitants that they have not only liberty, but are hereby enjoined to procure some godly, able minister to be helpfull to them; and the said Fletcher is hereby enjoined to forbear any more to preach amongst them.”

Notwithstanding this man was thus ejected from the pulpit in Wells, the very next year he was employed to preach the gospel in Saco and continued there a year. He preached at several other places, but was continually exciting dissensions. Still, we have reason to believe there was something in his ministrations which captivated the attention of many good men. The inhabitants of Wells were about equally divided the next year as to his fitness for the sacred office. After his dismissal he seems to have undergone some change which operated strongly in his favor, inducing nearly half of the people to wish for his restoration. In 1661 they addressed the following petition: “To the much Honored General Court of the Massachusetts Colony, assembled at Boston May 22, 1661.

This petition of ours, who are inhabitants in Wells, humbly sheweth to your right Worshipful, Worshipful, and much honored, that when as it hath been your good pleasure by an order dated Oct. 16, 1660, to enjoin Mr. Seth Fletcher to forbear preaching any more among us, we humbly and earnestly request that you would be pleased to take off the said injunction, and that the said Fletcher

may have liberty to accept a call and to settle himself amongst us, or any other people, for the dispensing of the unsearchable riches of Christ and the administration of his ordinances. Our grounds of our petitioning to you in this manner, on his behalf, being public, general and particular satisfaction, falling down at the feet of God and men, acknowledging whatsoever (concerning the differences that have been between some particular persons and himself) would be demanded of him. The truth and sincerity of his repentance, his practice doth declare by his humble and holy walking, with a manifestation of his desires not to offend or grieve the spirits of the least or weakest Christians, much less the spirit of Christ itself. And we hope (having no cause otherwise to think), but that if you shall please to yield to our humble implorations, he will prove very servicable and useful to the Church of Christ. Your pleasure to grant your favorable acceptance hereof, and causing us to enjoy our wishes and desires, and your supplicants shall pray God for the preservation of all their honored Assembly, and that under you we may lead a quiet and peaceful life in all godliness and honesty.

EDMUND LITTLEFIELD.

JOHN WADLEIGH.

JOHN CHEATER.

JOS. BOLLES.

ENSIGN JOHN BARRET.

WILL. BURKLAND.

JOHN WEST.

FRANCIS LITTLEFIELD, SEN.

NICHOLAS COLE.

THOMAS LITTLEFIELD.

THOMAS MUSSELL.

WILLIAM COLE.

FRANCIS LITTLEFIELD, JR.

WILL. ASHLEY.

JOHN LITTLEFIELD.

WILL. HAMOND.

These men, for the most part, were exemplary inhabitants of the town, and their opinions were entitled to much respect. But the evidence was insufficient to satisfy the general court that Fletcher should be reinstated. We are not apprised of all the objections against him; but we have some reason to believe that he did not maintain that meek and quiet spirit so becoming to the true minister of Christ. After preaching one year at Saco, he seems to have lived in Wells two or three years, where his relations to his neighbors were not always of the most friendly character.

He was first recommended to the people of Wells by Rev. John Wheelright. We must necessarily infer that he was one of his followers, and preached the doctrines which he had inculcated—that

sanctification did not evidence justification—that there was no necessity of good works to a virtuous life. How long could morality and the graces of Christianity stand up under the promulgation of such principles by one claiming to be an Apostle of Christ? The passions of men might work *ad libitum*; and as to the peaceable fruits of righteousness, such a minister had no right to expect to witness them among his people.

Mr. Fletcher married the daughter of Brian Pendleton. After his last removal from Wells he went to Southampton, on Long Island, where he preached two or three years; and from thence to Elizabethtown, N. Jersey, in 1679, where he preached in the Presbyterian church, till he died in 1682. He probably improved much every way, in the years subsequent to his ministry in this place. It is said in the Historical Magazine that he left a large and valuable library, for the age in which he lived.

Wells was now without a minister, and not regarding the Sabbath, men were walking in the way of their own hearts. Vice and immorality had the field to themselves. But its condition being understood by the general court, they issued the following order: “Upon this Court’s information of the want of a settled, able, and orthodox ministry in Wells, the accomplishment whereof through God’s blessing, might prove an effectual remedy for healing and preventing much disorder, ignorance, and profaneness, it is ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that the inhabitants of the town of Wells shall within six months time after notice given them thereof, use their utmost endeavors to procure some able and pious minister to carry on the work of God amongst them; in due performance whereof, if the town is found deficient, the Court, in the exercise of its power, will make such provision for its supply, as the laws of the jurisdiction require.”

Whether the town desired it or not, the court were not willing that the great interests of the people should be lost in the vortex of selfishness and mere worldly pursuits; and they provided by law that every town should provide for the moral and religious culture of its inhabitants. The principle which was enunciated a hundred years afterwards by the father of his country, that religion and morality were indispensable supports of a nation’s welfare, were then engrafted on the soul of every true patriot and sound legislator. But the developments of their religion, though springing from honest hearts,

were not very favorable to the promotion of a true moral growth. An able and pious minister, as understood at that period, must be one whose creed was trimmed according to the received theology. All others, as we have seen in the case of Wheelright, and we may add Roger Williams, Ann Hutchinson and the many who were banished from that Colony, were regarded as in fellowship with the great adversary, and not allowed to preach the gospel as they understood it. How far the local authorities concurred in this view of the ministry, does not appear. But the people were divided in sentiment; some not respecting very highly the religious manifestations of the ruling powers, while others were in full accord with them. There may have been some middle ground, which some had discretion and consideration enough to maintain. But of this we have no knowledge, and therefore cannot state what were the views dispensed under the following order of the court sitting at York July 1, 1661:

“The town of Wells at present being destitute of any fit person to carry on the worship of God amongst them on the Lord’s day, it is therefore ordered by this Court, that till they can better provide for themselves, which we hope they will not neglect any opportunity to do, that Mr. Ezekiel Knight and William Hammond shall duly attend the place of public meeting on the Lord’s day, and there improve their best abilities in speaking out of the word of God, praying, singing of psalms, and reading some good orthodox sermons, as may tend to the edification of those that hear, and the sanctification of the Sabbath, as the laws of God and this jurisdiction require.”

This order was not very efficient in advancing or maintaining the religious spirit among the townsmen. Knight was not of the most peaceful and gentle temperament, and amidst the political divisions which prevailed, his influence could not have been favorable to religious growth. The remedy was to be found only in the ministrations of some one who had no share in the strife, civil or ecclesiastical, which had so long been the bane of the settlement. It is very manifest that religion was not then very firmly enthroned in the hearts of the people, and but few took any deep interest in its ordinances. The spirit of the legislation, and the effect of judicial action under it were very unfavorable to sound morals, or to any strong attachment to Christian institutions. The people had not yet any fixed place of public worship; and without such a place of gathering for the flock on the Sabbath, but little progress can be made toward

the establishment of a permanent ministry. At the same court some of those who felt the necessity of a house of worship appeared and made complaint against the town for its failure in this respect, and the inhabitants were indicted "for their neglect in not appointing a place for public meeting on the Lord's day, to worship God in, according to their best abilities, till God's Providence do better provide for them, whereby many persons take liberty to neglect, if not profane the Sabbath."

That there was a lamentable profanation of the Sabbath during the whole period anterior to the first Indian war, no one who has carefully studied the early history of the province can doubt. Licentiousness was everywhere rampant. The sanctions of religion were disregarded; and men for the most part were heedless of law and of those moral obligations, a regard for which is indispensable, to social and civil progress. The moral atmosphere of Wells was in no respect more healthy than that of other portions of the province. The religious teachings, apparently, had been powerless for good. But the people were required to provide for the ministration of the word; and in 1664 Joseph Emerson was engaged as the minister of the town.

We are without definite knowledge of his peculiar qualifications for the sacred office. It is said by Felt, that "perhaps he was the son of Joseph Emerson of Ipswich." But of his education nothing is known. He preached at York in 1648, but in 1653 he lived in Wells, and was an inhabitant when the commissioners took the submission of the people, the court being holden at his house. He was a supporter of the claim of Massachusetts, and, necessarily, while the political dissensions continued, could not have had the warm support of a large part of the people. During his residence here, till the year 1664, we do not find him taking any part in the religious action of the town, or in its political or municipal concerns, excepting in signing a petition to Cromwell in 1656, that the province might be continued under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. It may be that he was a man of a very meek and quiet spirit, and so kept himself aloof from all the turmoils which were shedding their baneful influences over the souls of men. He was not a member of the church in 1653, the supporters of the Massachusetts theology having withdrawn from it, or been excommunicated. Having lived a quiet and secluded life for so many years, and avoiding all contro-

versy on the matters which agitated the public mind, the people may have united on him in the belief that he had abjured all partisan feelings, and would devote himself to the cause of peace and mutual good will. But at this period it was an impossibility for any settled minister to preach the gospel without subjecting himself to very trying persecution. Men were so sensitive, we mean those who had any religious impulses, that anything touching unfavorably upon their views of Christian doctrine, was at once branded as false and heretical. Ministers were charged as being liars when presenting any such unwelcome opinions. Thus Robert Jordan was indicted for saying, "John Cotton deceased was a liar, and died with a lie in his mouth, and that he was gone to Hell with a pack of lies;" John Thorp "for scanalizing Mr. Norton and saying he held forth false doctrines." Emerson was indicted the year before his settlement, while, perhaps, preaching as a candidate, for "telling of a lie," and again, "for speaking falsely." One, in those days, who could be a conscientious preacher, and maintain his position as a minister, must have had a wisdom which belongs to few of the present age. He soon lost his hold on the affections of the people, terminating his ministry at Wells in 1667. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Buckley in 1665. He was afterwards pastor of the church in Mendon, where he remained till that village was broken up by the Indians. He then went to Concord, where he died June 3, 1680.

We know not whether a church was organized during his ministry. We have met with no evidence tending to prove that fact. It would have consisted of such discordant materials, that it would not long have maintained any useful position.

The next minister was Rev. Jeremiah Hubbard. We have no records or relicts from which we can satisfactorily ascertain his own character or that of his ministry. What we have to say is mostly matter of inference. He came to Wells from Lynn, Mass., in 1667, and was engaged as the minister of the town for seven years. He does not appear to have been an educated man, but he had certain personal attributes which fitted him to gain the good-will of the people. He was one of a class in the ministry who would hold the attention of the people by his earnestness, rather than by the power of his logic. He evidently did not consider that the preaching of the Gospel and the moral welfare of the people, should be the exclusive objects to which his thoughts should be directed. The goods of

this world he regarded as necessary for himself as for any one else, and he was not disposed to let the town indulge a mean and selfish spirit. If he was to preach the Gospel, they were not only to keep their hearts open to receive the divine message, but were also to supply for him what was necessary to maintain the earthly tabernacle in soundness and comfort. The exhaustion consequent upon patient, persevering labor was to be made up by material compensation.

The people seem to have had some knowledge of him before he was engaged as their minister, and they made to him more generous offers than were usual in these small towns, just starting into life, and agreed to allow him £50 a year, which was, we suppose, nearly as much as the income of any man in the congregation. Life in those days was carried on in a very different way from that which rules at the present period. There were no men burdened down and enslaved by commercial prosperity, or by the result of those speculations whereby the tide of wealth has suddenly overwhelmed them, and washed all generous and benevolent affections from their souls; but every man lived by the sweat of his brow, compelling the earth to respond to his hard labor by giving him what his family needed to keep the spark of life burning within. To have been assured of such an annual income would have stayed and encouraged the heart of many of his hearers.

In addition to the fifty pounds, they agreed to give him thirty-three pounds to aid him in building a house, "a comfortable habitation," as it was termed, on any land which he might select; and that every man should give him a day's work in getting, cutting, and preparing his wood; and also, that he should have the use of the land set apart for the ministry, and that they would fence it and plow up the fallow part of it; also, that they would give him two or three hundred acres of upland and twenty or thirty acres of meadow; and if he should continue with them and die in the ministry, that one-half of the parsonage lot should be his and his heirs forever; and, as a further inducement, that his lands should be free from all taxes. If he should not remain with them during life, but should choose to remove from the town, they agreed to purchase his house and pay the price which referees might fix upon it; and on the acceptance of these proposals, they would remove free of expense, the

danger of the seas excepted, all his furniture and goods from Lynn to Wells.

These offers for the support of the ministry bear an aspect so different from anything before or after visible in our ecclesiastical history, that we do not know in what light to view them. They bear the mark of a generous Christian spirit, and attest an apparently living sense of the value of the services of the sanctuary. True, by law, the inhabitants were required to furnish reasonable support for a good orthodox minister, and if they did not do so the county court was authorized to compel them to make such provision; but what was here offered seems to have exceeded that requirement. It indicates that these propositions were not compulsory, but rather an emanation from honest-hearted, liberal souls. Still, they were insufficient to satisfy the demands of Mr. Hubbard, as a basis of his acceptance. He asked for the still further encouragement toward his settlement, that the town should pay him £63, in six months, to aid him in building his house; that they should haul all the timber to the site selected for it; that they should advance the rest of his annual salary for his present livelihood, and give him a farm at Four Mile Brook; and further, that he should have liberty, twice a year, to visit his relations and friends, in an absence of two or three weeks each time; and finally, that he should not be restrained from "the enjoyment of liberty of conscience therein by authority." Under the mutual assent to all these terms he agreed to "be minister of Wells, and, God willing, continue, desiring all jealousies and hard thoughts past may be forever buried, and love may continue and increase forever." These seem to be pretty severe demands on a people so poor as were those of Wells, and it is difficult to understand by what motives they were led to acquiesce in them.

Mr. Hubbard seems to have been compounded of elements not usually united. His propositions, in some degree, indicate that he was a little too grasping after this world's goods; but still he was high-minded, maintaining a proper respect for his manhood, and duly appreciating the responsibilities of the ministerial office. He claimed to understand the constitution of God's moral government, and he was determined to expound that constitution as he understood it. He knew with whom he had to deal, and meant, before he entered upon his work among them, to prepare the way for its faithful execution. He would preach against any heresies which he

thought were at war with the Gospel of Christ, or obstacles to the advancement of true piety, or he would not preach at all. He would denounce profanity, intemperance, lying, licentiousness, and everything inimical to the religion of Christ, let his words come home to whom they would. No man's sins, whether in the church or out of it, should be shielded from attack, in consequence of his position or influence. As a minister of Christ, while he occupied the pulpit he would fear no man, but boldly declare the whole council of God. This is the translation of "liberty of conscience" in the pulpit. Mr. Hubbard's resolution in this direction is one well worthy the attention of all who assume the high functions of the ministerial office. This cringing to power, or to the soulless demagogue in any station, is demeaning to the highest degree, especially to one who has the charge of the sacred desk.

But, unfortunately, this orthodoxy, though assented to in theory, does not, when carried out, always meet with a ready acceptance. Some souls, corrupted by some long indulged sin, wounded by the enunciation of divine truth, are always ready to rise up in rebellion against the independence of the pulpit, when, in the exercise of its freedom, it denounces the judgments of God against their cherished iniquity. Such men there are in almost every society, the enemies of God and man, the disturbers of the peace, and the bane of every Christian community.

Mr. Hubbard had agreed to minister to the people for the term of seven years; but his connection with them was dissolved in less than five months. We are uninformed as to the cause; but we have little doubt that it had its origin in the neglect of the inhabitants to carry out the programme of the settlement. Possibly he had exercised his liberty of conscience to a greater extent than some of his dissolute hearers anticipated. Some sudden ebullition of wrath, and consequent ill treatment, on account of some home-thrust of the sword of the Spirit, may have induced him to abandon his position. We, of the present day, are not unfrequently compelled to witness the same disruption of the best associations of life, from the same cause. Men and women are very sensitive as to matters suggestive of, or hinting at, their own aberrations. Some claiming to be Christians, even, do not relish the injunction of the apostle, that they should be freely admonished of their faults.

CHAPTER IX.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME KENNEBUNK—HENRY SAYWARD—GRANTS TO SAYWARD, JOHNSON, AND PATTY—FIRST HOUSE IN KENNEBUNK VILLAGE—MOUSAM MILLS—CONFLICT OF TITLES TO THE MILLS—HENRY BROWN AND JAMES CARR—AVALANCHE ON KENNEBUNK RIVER—DISCONTENT TOWARD MASSACHUSETTS.

WE now turn our attention to the eastern part of the town, and chiefly to that portion of it which constitutes the present village of Kennebunk. Perhaps a more beautiful and romantic locality was not to be found on the coast of Maine than was, at that time, presented by the Mousam river and its vicinage. Could it have retained its original wildness until this day, when there is so much demand for water privileges and mill sites, and when in almost every town there is such a demand for manufactories, it is doubtful whether a community of intelligent and refined tastes would have consented to the desecration of the beautiful scenery by substituting in its place the noise, activities, and even profits of any of these establishments. The fall extended nearly half a mile, being in its whole descent about forty feet, and from the beginning to the end was overhung with magnificent oaks, standing on each side of the river and intertwining their branches, so that the stream glided along under an arch surpassing in grandeur and beauty any work of man which could be substituted in its place. The stately pines, out-vieing any now to be found in the vicinity, towering far above all other trees of the forest, stood along the banks, as watchmen, to guard against any vandalism which would attempt to intrude upon and violate its sacred magnificence. At their accustomed seasons, the stream was crowded with salmon, while the wilderness adjoining was vocal with the music of innumerable songsters. The whole scenery was entrancing in the highest degree. Romance here might have found indulgence to the full, and well might the sons of the

forest have called the place Kennebunk, meaning, as some Indian linguists say, the place "where he thanked him."

But the men of that day thought but little of romance or beauty. Life's earnestness was upon a far different errand. The pioneers did not come here to enjoy its splendid scenery. They were not educated for merely visionary life. They had not grown up in the midst of the refinements of aristocracy, or been trained to an education which finds its enjoyment in the contemplation of the marvellous works of the Almighty. Their daily bread was the great, moving impetus. They were compelled to bend all their energies to the support of their families and the acquisition of such a surplus of life's necessities as would meet the demands of feeble and declining years. They wrought for physical life and comfort, and nothing was beautiful to them which did not contribute to this important end. All this grandeur and magnificence, therefore, only awaited the pleasure of the first adventurer who should see on this stream an apt location for his saw-mill.

HENRY SAYWARD came over to this country from England in 1637. He resided a few years at Hampton and Portsmouth, and then came to York. He was by occupation a millwright and carpenter; a man of much enterprise and skill in his business. His services were much needed, as mills were the principal sources of income to the new settlers. Lumber had come to be in great demand, and every encouragement was given by the government toward their erection. He devoted himself to this employment for many years, and to the instruction of others in the like business. In this last respect he was of great service to the people of the town of York, to the towns adjoining, and perhaps to other parts of New England. He speaks of himself as having been so unremittingly employed in this way as to "have thereby neglected looking after land for himself and family, as others have done," while "by the blessing of God, he hath been very beneficial to the country and many persons therein, through several afflictions by the Providence of God it hath been but little to his own benefit; but most especially by reason of a sad Providence that happened in burning of his mills at York, wherein he lost a thousand pounds, which hath brought him much to be behindhand."

The misfortunes which thus fell upon him were not unmingled with good, for they brought to him unmistakable testimony of his high appreciation with the people. He had the best sympathies of all, and though they were poor, those who had had the benefit of his instructions and labors voluntarily came forward and did what they could to alleviate his distress and make up for his loss. The people could all say, as was said of the centurion, "he loveth our nation and hath built us a synagogue." He built the church in York in 1667; and meeting houses in those days, by those who had any sense of their relationship to the Almighty, were revered as indispensable to any community, and the builder drew to himself the interest, friendship, and good-will of those who were to have the benefit of his labors.

But it is to his misfortunes that we are to attribute the origin of the village of Kennebunk. Why he did not rebuild on the site of his burnt mill, we cannot answer in any other way than that the people of Wells so understood his character and usefulness that they pressed him to come here, and offered him all the encouragements in their power. Several of them had been to see him and told him of this fine site on Cape Porpoise river, in the midst of abundance of timber, to which easy access was to be had for the transportation of lumber. Induced by these favorable representations, Sayward, in 1669, abandoned his home in York and came to Wells, and, being satisfied with the eligibility of the situation, petitioned to the town for the necessary grant of the privilege. His petition was favorably received, and a grant of 300 acres on the east side of the river, and one acre on the west side, adjoining the falls, was made to him, provided he made improvements on the same in one year. At the same time a grant was made to James Johnson, of York, and a similar grant to Thomas Patty, of Wells, on the northeast side, subject to the same condition. There was also given to the three liberty to build a saw-mill, and also the privilege of the river for the transportation of lumber, with the right of cutting pitch-pine timber on the river for the use of the mill, upon the joint obligation of all to pay five pounds sterling annually, in lumber, to the town, payment to be made in merchantable boards at the market price, at some convenient landing place to which a boat might have access. The mill was to be built forthwith, as the first payment was to be made in one

year. No particular examination of the land had been made, and the extent and quality of the growth on it was unknown. The town was anxious for the erection of the contemplated mill.

This grant was surely a highly favorable one to the grantees, when viewed in all its relations. The falls, extending so far down, gave them an opportunity of building the dam at the beginning of the descent, and carrying the flume to any distance necessary to obtain the proper power. The expense of the dam was thus very small, the depth of the water being only four or five feet. It was thirty or forty rods above the present one.

In consequence of the difficulties which had arisen in regard to the proprietorship of the province of Maine, it was feared that this grant from the town might not give a reliable title, and therefore Sayward made application to the general court of Massachusetts for liberty of cutting timber on the neighboring land, and for so much meadow and upland as they, in their wisdom, might think meet and convenient, which might be, "by God's blessing, a support and means to help him in the clearing of his engagements, and after his decease be left as a memorial of their worship's favor to his wife and children." The grants were made agreeably to his request, "he not entrenching on any man's propriety."

The first step was to provide for themselves suitable shelter and household accommodation. They accordingly erected a small house in the field opposite the beginning of the falls, six or eight rods west of Alfred street. This was the only house on the territory of Kennebunk village for the following half century. The site of the cellar is still to be seen.

Before they began the erection of the mill, Johnson sold out to Sayward all his interest in the privilege. Patty then followed his example, and also transferred to him his right. The prospect, from some cause or other, was not very encouraging. They were away from all civilized men. Settlers had selected the seaboard as places of habitation. There were yet no roads for the accommodation of those who thus sat down in the wilderness. Their only companions were to be Indians, not always reliable as friends, yet up to this time there had been no manifestations, on their part, adverse to the improvements which civilization was attempting, though two or three years previously some of the leading men had entertained fears that an unfavorable feeling had been engendered in the bosoms of the

natives, which might break forth in much trouble to the settlers. Johnson and Patty may have abandoned on this account, but it is more likely that Sayward's projects were on too large a scale to commend themselves to his co-partners. He was for laying out an establishment which would outvie anything yet set on foot in Maine. There was here an opportunity of erecting buildings of a superior order, worthy of the civilization which had just been introduced to these shores. But Johnson and Patty did not cherish such high aspirations. The expenditures of the projected mills looked to them too large for the means under their control, and they retired from the concern. Sayward had thus the whole burden of the work upon himself, but he was unmoved from his purpose. He may not have well considered the enterprise on which he had embarked, and did not exercise that prudent and cautious foresight which would have brought to his vision the difficulties which he must necessarily encounter in the progress of the establishment. He had not the pecuniary means to meet the required expenditures. It required no small amount of lumber, at that time, to pay for imported articles which he must need. All the materials necessary for the operation of the mill, and all supplies for family use, must be obtained from Boston, by means of the coasters. Whether there were any accommodations for females in the small house which had been built we do not know. The millmen alone, we think, occupied the house.

Sayward was not satisfied with the land which he now possessed, and before beginning on his mill he purchased of Daniel Eppes, of Ipswich, the farm previously belonging to Gooch Austin, on the river below, promising to pay for it in boards; and if not paid for at the time specified, the deed was to be void, and he to pay double rent. Perhaps the farm was obtained for the accommodation of his wife and family. The purchase may speak well for his affection and domestic attributes, but it savors too much of that inconsideration and rashness which mark the action of many kind hearted and easy men of the present day. We have no knowledge of this Gooch Austin. His name does not appear again. It is probable that he was an inhabitant of some town at the west, perhaps Ipswich, where Eppes lived. Though it is called a farm, we think it was never brought under cultivation.

Sayward went forward in the work of building his saw-mill, and completed it in the year 1672. But this erection did not satisfy his

idea of what ought to be done here. He must also build a grist-mill. Where the grist was to come from he did not stop to inquire. Some of the Alnaki Indians had, indeed, accustomed themselves to the annual raising of a little corn, and possibly their number was sufficiently large in the neighborhood to justify the conclusion that their patronage would partially remunerate him. He evidently calculated on a large business from some quarter. He placed two sets of stones in the mill, and was thus prepared to do a good deal of work. He gave to the whole establishment the name of Mousam mills, by which they were always thereafterwards called. The reasons for this appellation have not been ascertained. Previously to this period, the river had been known by the name of Cape Porpoise; soon after, it was called Mousam. The change was probably wrought by this designation of the works on it. It would be natural, in referring to the Mousam mills, as common in the intercourse of life, to give the same name to the territory about it and to the river on which the business of the mill was done. But why Sayward gave it the name Mousam neither record nor tradition reveals to us. The mills afterwards built on the falls next above were called Cat Mousam mills, from some singular catastrophe, which has now escaped our memory, to the domestic animal, a material concomitant of almost every family. Perhaps some peculiar or unusual incident, in which a mouse was involved, in the progress of his work, led Sayward to apply this name to his mills, and the upper was called Cat Mousam, as significant of superiority of that mill over the lower. We do not believe that the name was of Indian origin. There is no apparent reason why, at this time, it should have been substituted by them for the ancient name of Cape Porpoise.

In order to complete his works, Sayward had involved himself in debt to a considerable amount, and he had no sooner finished his building than he was called upon by his creditors to secure their demands against him. He had spent his all in their construction, and was now owing large debts in Boston. Robert Gibbs called upon him for the payment of his account of twelve or thirteen hundred dollars, and he was obliged to mortgage the whole mill and privileges, with his dwelling house and all his land on the east side of the river, to secure to him the payment of that sum. The next year he was obliged to mortgage the same to Simon Lynde of Boston, excepting one-half of the house. Two years after, in 1675, he sold his

land below the mill to John Brown and James Carr. But it does not appear that this sale helped him in the troublesome exigency to which the expenditures on the mill had brought him. He did not pay his debts, and in a short time, in 1675, worn out, we suppose, by his exposure in accomplishing this work, and by the anxiety growing out of his large indebtedment, all his grand projects were terminated, and he was called to pay the great debt which nature requires of all

Sayward was one of the best of men, but enterprise was too prominent an element of his character. He needed cautiousness and discretion to check his zeal. He anticipated no failure. Ardent in his pursuits, he never doubted their successful termination. He gave himself to his work, as confident of a favorable issue as if already reached; and thence, from a want of considerate previous examination, disappointment came from all his exertions. He was in no degree extravagant in his domestic economy. There was no opportunity for a thoughtless and lavish expenditure. He lived on the plainest fare, and all the furniture which his wife had to carry on her household administration was, three beds, a few old pewter dishes, three keelers, two iron pots, two brass kettles, two old tubs, a trammel and pot-hooks, a spit and irons, two water pails, a pair of cards, two table boards, a spinning-wheel, meat-trough and chest. This, we should now regard as rather poor provision for comfortable life. Chairs were not then in vogue very extensively. But all his struggles, notwithstanding his economy, left him in complete insolvency at the close of life; so that nothing remained for his wife and children but her dower in his real estate, and the memory of his virtues and manly character. Fifty years' hard labor, closing in poverty, seems to have been a severe destiny for him. Left almost penniless, his wife Mary, after the severe struggles through which she had passed, was obliged to remove to some more public place and resort to the low business of rum-selling without license, to keep herself from becoming a burden to the people.

The next year, 1678, James Lynde, of Boston, gave public notice that he objected to any grant of administration on these mills, and to any inventory of one-half of the house and one-half of the mills, as the property of Sayward, claiming that they were his by virtue of the mortgage. In 1679 Symon Lynde made a similar objection, claiming that all was his. And in the same year Jonathan Corwine and his wife cautioned all persons against inventorying this saw-mill

and three hundred acres of land as Sayward's, as the same were forfeited and belonged to Robert Gibbs, and that he now had possession of the same by virtue of his mortgage.

These mills were all completed just before the commencement of King Phillip's war, and a road was ordered by the court, from Wells by them to Saco. Previously to this time unbroken amity had prevailed with the Indian tribes. Probably in the progress of the work Sayward had availed himself of their aid, and the idea of any dangerous conflict with them had never entered his mind. The Indian character was very imperfectly understood. Its more complete development was now about to be realized. They were peaceful and inoffensive when everything went on to their satisfaction, but when any wrong came home to them it awakened in their untutored breasts a vengeance, not to be satisfied by merely rendering a return of evil equal to that received. They were then engaged in almost continual wars with each other, and at such times vengeance had no limits in the amount of injury to be inflicted. Every cruelty was resorted to, and they wreaked out their malice with an unsparing hand.

It may well be supposed that the position of all property here must have been exceedingly precarious; and that Sayward could not but feel that all his hopes might be blasted in a moment. King Phillip's war began in 1675. At this time there was not a single inhabitant, excepting his own workmen, whom he could call to his aid at the mills, which were remote from the inhabited part of the town. The site of the present village was an entire wilderness. The dense forests of oak and pine had not been interfered with by the woodman's axe. The Indian, the wolf, the bear, claimed all around as their dominion, where they had liberty to follow their impulses unrestrained. But there was little fear of the wild beasts. The red man, inspired as he was by the labors of French Jesuitry, with the assurance that the English were about to wrest from him his long enjoyed hunting grounds, had now become ready, on any trifling occasion, to assert his rights and vent his vengeance on these intruders upon his God-given domain. The tomahawk and the scalping knife awaited only their fit opportunity. The terrors of Indian warfare soon manifested themselves to the scattered settlers of New England; and Sayward was of necessity obliged to abandon his works, and flee for refuge to some of the garrison houses. Of what avail could it have

been for him with his single arm to remain there? He must fight his own battles against whatever odds. It would have been madness to fight an enemy where defeat and captivity or death were sure. He was not without consideration of his moral responsibilities; understanding his relationships to God and man. He did not bury himself in the woods to escape his social and civil obligations. Though seven or eight miles from the house of God, he was a liberal supporter of public worship, which fact throws much light on his character. Though, as a general postulate, no personal attributes were a protection against Indian violence, yet there were persons whose gracious deportment toward the sons of the forest, was not without its effect on the savage heart. We are inclined to think that Sayward was one of that class, for although he fled from his mills, leaving them to the mercy of the savage foe, yet they remained safe through all the ravages and desolation of this Indian war.

Notwithstanding the cautions of the several mortgagees, these mills were included in the inventory of the estate of Henry Sayward. They were appraised at £1,200, about 4,000 dollars. And as all this value was given to the mills alone, the land at this time being of little worth, they must have been built in a style altogether beyond the demands of the age. After the war was over in 1680, Corwin recovered judgment on his mortgage, and took possession of them under the title of Gibbs. We suppose he was never a resident of Kennebunk. He was a man of considerable note, residing in Salem, and was one of the judges in the disgraceful trials for witchcraft. The mills were entrusted to the care of Henry Brown and James Carr, Scotchmen. These men in 1679, had taken a grant of the land on both sides of the river, bounding on the mill lot. The brook, always termed "the Scotchman's Brook," passed through this land. They came over to this country to engage in business of this kind, bringing with them several mechanics as auxiliaries to their work. They added to the establishment a blacksmith's shop on the western side of the river, and operated the mills very successfully. They enjoyed every facility for the transaction of business. Vessels came up to the Falls, and took their lumber from the landing place. The coasters were of a small burthen, and found no difficulty in entering the river. The inventive powers of man had not then perfected the saw-mill; and the amount of work which it accomplished, we suppose would be small in comparison with the daily results of

operations at this period; but in 1682 one man sawed about 160,000. The coasters engaged in the transportation of lumber, supplied the workmen with all that they needed from Boston, so that, though dwelling in the wilderness, they had all the comforts of life, with the exception of those which flow from social and Christian converse. They were away from the haunts of civilized man, but, like our modern lumbermen, who spend their winters in the woods, away from their families, they enjoyed the activities of the day and the repose of the night; amusing each other in rehearsing stories of Scottish life beyond the water, and possibly with the sweet notes of the bagpipe. They seem to have been men, *sui generis*. The joys of connubial life did not take hold of their hearts. They had no wives or children. They worked here five or six years. How much prosperity followed their labors we cannot say. No addition had been made to the settlement. The wolf, undisturbed by the inroads of civilization, still continued his nightly howlings; and the wild-cat, the bear and the moose still roamed freely through the forests. Such surroundings would not, indeed, commend themselves to the timid souls of the female sex. To them nothing could be more hideous than the night cry of the wolf. The proximity of the savages also, of whose vengeance a few years preceding, they had been witnesses, would be sufficient to send continual dismay to their fearful hearts. No woman would commit her destinies to the care of one who had thus chosen to make his life one of unceasing peril. All the enjoyments of the wedded relation must be more than neutralized by perpetual fear. These men had every viand which could allure the appetite. The woods abounded with game of every kind; and the Mousam teemed with salmon, wending their way to the great pond.

These men being habituated to their condition, very probably had come to enjoy this doleful music of the wilderness. Perhaps it soothed their wearied spirits to their nightly rest. Their intercourse with the natives may have been profitable, and all fears had been subdued, while amidst the beautiful scenery of the long falls, they were led to regard their position as highly captivating; and thence they could not understand why it was that not a single family should be disposed to share with them in its advantages. Perhaps invitations had been extended to some to form with them the most intimate relation of life, and these invitations had touched no accordant

note, and that for this cause they had foresworn all connections with the sex.

Whatever may have been the inducement, they adopted the resolution that none should be sharers in the results of their labors while one of them remained. In the stillness of evening, when the deep shadows of night were all about them, they meditated and talked of their solitary condition. The outward world had no claim on their beneficence. They felt that their position was by no means a safe one; that they had no sure hold on life. But they declared, each for the other, the strongest love and affection. They were not misanthropes; but the sharing of common joys and common exposures, had rooted in their hearts an attachment stronger than that any which the natural relations of life had previously implanted within them. They had in their company a third person by the name of Robert Stuart, who, we suppose, was also of Scotch origin. After meditating on the uncertainty of life, they all came to the solemn determination, that should either of them be taken away the survivors should be the absolute owners of all his estate; houses, lands, cattle, money, goods, movables and immovables, and the same should be the unchangeable law with the survivors, so that the last should be the absolute owner of all that they possessed; and this agreement was sanctioned by a solemn written contract, under seal, declaring that all property of either was the absolute property of the others, and that when one deceased, to the survivors or survivor belonged the whole estate. From the provisions of this contract there was no appeal. Though afterwards separated, no discharge could be had from its demands. The responsibilities were for life.

Operations were continued at the mills until the renewal of hostilities in 1688. It may here be added, that in the biographical sketches which we have given of the members of Wheelright's church, it is stated that Philemon Pormott, the "Boston schoolmaster," left the town before the incorporation, and that nothing is known of his subsequent life. But in the year 1680, his two sons, Elias Pormott and Lazarus Pormott, worked in this mill. But whence they came or whither they went we are unable to state.

A new Indian war now broke out, to the great discomfiture of all the people. As a monition of the rupture of their peaceful relations, the Indians, we conclude, as was their wont, deserted all their wigwams, so that all had notice in season for self-defense and preserva-

tion. The occupants, from necessity, fled from the mills. All over the province the people were obliged to flee to the garrisons. The works were left to the mercy of the Indians. Destruction marked the path of the enemy. Houses and buildings in great numbers were laid waste. Cattle were killed; men, women and children murdered or taken captive; and these mills, built at so great cost, were committed to the flames, and nature resumed, and for many years exercised, the original and exclusive jurisdiction which she had long ages before enjoyed. So closed the first act of the drama of civilized life on the banks of the Mousam.

What became of the possessors of the mill, we are not informed. They soon after ceased to be inhabitants of the town. Stuart made no improvement on the land allotted to him. It remained many years unoccupied. It was then granted to Joseph Preble, a minor, who was to improve it by the time he came to mature age. Sayward did not pay the annual rent of the land which had been conveyed to him; so that all these lands, for aught we can see, reverted to the town, if the right to them was ever in the corporation.

These works at Mousam, the houses of John Sanders and Harding, were the only buildings which are known to have been on what is now the territory of Kennebunk in 1675. The wilderness was elsewhere untouched by civilized man.

Nature still maintained all her grandeur, though the woods were not trackless. There was some intercourse between the mills and the harbor. The accounts of the great event of 1670, of which so much was said at that period, would seem to make that fact certain. In that year, says Hubbard, in his History of New England, "an ominous accident fell out" here. "At a place called Kennebunk in the North East side of Wells, not far from the river side, a piece of clay ground was thrown up by a mineral vapor over the tops of high oaks that grew between it and the river. The said ground so thrown up, fell in the middle of the river and stopped the course thereof, and leaving a hole forty yards square in the place whence it was thrown, in which were found thousands of round pellets of clay, like musket balls. All the whole town of Wells are witnesses of the truth of this relation; and several others have seen sundry of these clay pellets, which the inhabitants have shown to their neighbors of other towns." This ominous accident was regarded by leading men of the day as a wonderful event. It was the subject of long letters

from Governor Winthrop and others to persons in England. Two of them we subjoin.

“Boston Oct. 11, 1670. My Lord: The relation which I am now presenting to your Lordship, is of a very strange and prodigious wonder this last summer in this part of the world; that the like hath not been known for the whole manner of it I do not remember that I have read or heard. There was a hill near Kennebunk river in the Province of Maine, the Eastern part of New England, which is removed out of its place, and the bottom turned upwards. The time is not certain when it was done, but that it is so is very certain, and it is concluded by those who live nearest to it that it was removed either the latter end of June or the beginning of July last. The relation I have from creditable persons respecting it, is this, that the hill being almost eight rods from Kennebunk river’s side on the West side of the river, about four miles from the sea, was removed from its place over the dry land about eight rods or perches, and over the tops of the trees also, between the hill and the river, leaping as it were over them into the river, where it was placed the upper part being downward, and dammed up the river till the water did work itself a passage through it. The length of the hill was two hundred and fifty feet, the breadth almost eighty and the depth of it almost twenty feet. The situation of the place as to the length of it was North West to South East. The earth of it is a blue clay without stones; many round bullets were within it, which seem to be of the same clay hardened. I have not seen the place myself, but sent purposely to enquire into the truth of what had been reported concerning it. I had this relation from Major William Phillips who dwelleth not far from the place, and Mr. Hartakendon Symons who went to the place and took very good notice and brought me the same report of the truth and manner of it, which I had before received from Major Phillips, in answer to my letter of inquiry, and told that the earth of the hill did not lie between the former place of the hill and the river, which seems to be as it were blown up by such force as carried the whole body of it so far together. I had from them some few of those round bullets which were found upon that now upper part, which was before the lower or inner bowels of the hill, as also a small shell or two, of a kind of shell fish commonly found where the sea flows, but how they should be within the hill is strange to

consider. I have sent all that I had from thence to the Royal Society for their repository. I understand also from those parts, that there was no notice taken of an earthquake about that time, nor did I hear of any in any other part of the country. I give your Lordship only a relation of this prodigy as I had it, upon the best inquiry I could make, leaving the discussion of the natural causes which might concern a matter too hard for me to comprehend; but the power of his Almighty arm is too manifest to all who weigheth the hills in a balance, and in whose presence the heavens drop, the hills are melted like wax. Sinai itself is moved.

I hope to have an opportunity to see the place, and if any other matter considerable upon my observations or further inquiry shall appear, I shall be obliged to give your Lordship a further account thereof, and for the present am bold to subscribe myself,

Your right honorable Lordship's humble servant,

To the Lord Brereton.

JOHN WINTHROP.

John Winthrop, it is well known, was the governor of Massachusetts. Major William Phillips lived in Saco. Hartakendon Symons had lived in Wells, but in 1661 moved to Salem.

Extracts from a letter from Henry Oldenburg to John Winthrop, dated April 11, 1671 :

"I soon delivered to the said Society (the Royal Society) their parcel, viz: the shellfish (called horsefoot), the Humming Bird's nest, with the two eggs in it, being yet whole, the feathered fly, and the shells, bullets and clays taken out of the overturned hill, for all which that noble company returns you their hearty thanks. These curiosities being viewed at one of our public meetings, some of the company conceived that what you call the sharp tail of the Horsefoot, is rather the fore part and nose of the fish; the same persons having also found that two of the knobbs on the shell, now dried up by the manner of their ductuss, express that they had looked toward the said nose when the animal was alive. The humming bird's nest was also showed to his Majesty, who was as much pleased with it as the Society; and I doubt not that Sir Robert Moray will tell you the same."

"Concerning the overturned Hill, it is wished that a more certain and punctual relation might be procured of all the circumstances of

the accident. It seems strange that no Earthquake was perceived, and that the Hill is said to be carried over the tops of the trees into the river, also that people being near it, should not know the day when this happened."

He hopes also, that Lord Brereton, to whom Winthrop had told the story, will write Winthrop and request further examination.

These letters, and others on the same subject, we suppose, gave rise to much philosophizing in regard to the cause of the phenomenon. It would be interesting, and, we think, amusing to read the speculations which were then published on the subject; but they are not within our reach. Joscelyn in his voyages, says that this strange event took place about four miles from the sea. The miles of the first adventurers to this country were very uncertain. They generally magnified distances. It might have been four miles; or it might have been but two. It has been supposed to have occurred at the Landing, at what is called the Roundabout. It might have been below Durrell's bridge.

It is said that all the whole town of Wells are witnesses of the truth of the relation which these writers make. It does not appear that any one was a witness of this wonderful affair when it transpired. It was probably discovered by some one traveling to the mills, and his account of it drew many to the scene. This was an age of wonders, and every visitor would come prepared to look at it as some strange display of the power of the elements, or as some miraculous manifestation of the Infinite.

No intelligent person of the present day can hesitate a moment as to the explanation of this strange event. The same thing has occurred several times within the last fifty years. Oak trees then stood all along the banks of the rivers, and this wonder was one of those avalanches from the banks which have been of so frequent occurrence. Sometimes the trees have gone down with them. At other times, the earth has slid down into the river, dividing at obstructions by trees or other obstacles, and uniting again after passing them, as it was at the White Mountains, when the Willey family were destroyed. The slide divided when it came near the house, and again united after passing it, leaving the house untouched, so that these astonished men would have said the earth was thrown over it. The little pellets, which were spoken of as seen after the slide, were rolled up by the avalanche as it passed over the solid ground beneath.

From this period until 1675 nothing occurred in the town which we judge to be a material part of its history. The settlement made no important progress. The discontented under Massachusetts government had not ceased their complaints against the groundless claim which that colony was maintaining against the rights of the Gorges proprietor; so that, though some had come into the town with the purpose of abiding, they did not find the location satisfactory, and soon abandoned it for New Hampshire, or some other place west, where political agitations were not so rife, and where titles were more securely fixed. We are led to believe that, though the people of Wells had, for a while, acquiesced in the authority of Massachusetts, there was now again springing up among them some disaffection, which was the cause of disorder and ill feeling among the people. Orders were sent by government of that colony to Lieut. John Littlefield to exercise his authority in putting down any disturbance which might show itself, after consulting with Samuel Wheelright and William Sayer as to the expediency and mode of action. We have no knowledge of the persons concerned in the outbreak, but it was one which required the attention of the civil authorities. It may have grown out of some town action, as the following document seems to be suggestive of some trouble in municipal affairs: "Whereas, Mr. Samuel Wheelright, William Hammons, John Littlefield, Samuel Austin, James Gooch are chosen selectmen for the town of Wells this present year, we, the inhabitants thereof, do hereby give and grant unto them full power and liberty to do and act all manner of prudenshall acts, in and for the inhabitants of the aforesaid town, except the disposing of lands and marsh. Given under our hands this 18th day of June, 1670."

ABRAM TILTON.

NATHANIEL MASTERS.

JOHN BENNET.

THOMAS BOSTON.

JOHN GOOCH.

PETER CLOYES.

WILLIAM ASHLEIGH.

JONATHAN HAMMONS.

THOMAS LITTLEFIELD.

FRANCIS BARKHOUSE.

EZEKIEL KNIGHT.

If the selectmen were legally chosen, there was no necessity of any special authority of this kind to enable them to discharge the duties of the office. A dozen of the inhabitants could neither give power nor take it away.

CHAPTER X.

GRANT TO ISRAEL HARDING—INDICTMENTS AGAINST HARDING AND WIFE—
LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS—MEETING HOUSE AND PARSONAGE BUILT—
FIRST PAUPER—DUCKING STOOL—MORDAN'S CAVE—NATHANIEL BOSTON—
LIQUOR LAWS.

THE inhabitants of the town had been anxious to extend the settlements. Those who had taken up lands, and were in the pursuit of their husbandry or milling, felt the necessity of an increase of population, and more especially of the addition of professional men; but the long contention about the title to the whole province was a constant check to immigration. Some were yearly induced to come in and wait future developments. Mechanics were very much needed, and special encouragement was offered to those who would come and here locate themselves. In 1670, Israel Harding, a blacksmith, applied for a grant of land, and 200 acres were given him, on the condition "that said Israel Harding do come into the town as an inhabitant within three months; do continue five years an inhabitant, and do the smithwork for the inhabitants for such current pay as the town doth produce. If the said Harding do desert, the land to revert to the town."

The principle suggested by the foregoing vote is one which, it seems to us, it would be wise in all our towns to adopt, if the law would permit. If it had continued to be the prerogative of these corporations, down to the present day, to determine who should be inhabitants, as it was at this early period, in most places we might have exhibited a condition of society not paralleled in any part of the world; and if towns had been invested with the more important power of encouraging settlers, such as they should choose, by liberal benefactions, we might have had a people who would have taken pride in building up settlements and villages distinguished for their high civilization. All intemperance, idleness, vices of various kinds, and other oppositions to a sound moral sentiment might have been

warded off, and a spirit of social and material improvement ruled in all municipal councils. Though, owing to the imperfection of even our best humanity, and the variety of sentiment natural to the race, these important objects would sometimes fail to be realized. Israel Harding did not turn out to be the man after the heart of the people, as was expected of him. He became a troublesome element in the population, by the liberty which he took of freely speaking of the current religion, and thereby creating no small excitement. He was boisterous and loud in his denunciations of ministers, and while pounding at the anvil, was more vehemently pounding at Congregationalism. He was probably honest-hearted, but he felt that the Christian religion was entire liberty, and that any restraint of it was a violation of his rights. He did not believe in public worship sustained by burdens imposed on the people, but believed that the Gospel was intended as, and should be, a free offering to all. Though the law required every man to attend the meeting at the sanctuary on the Lord's day, he gave no heed to it. His wife was imbued with the same spirit. The people could not endure his continued slander of religious institutions, and of the worthy men who were laboring to make them efficient for their benevolent purposes. He was presented at court for not attending public worship on Sunday; his wife was afterwards presented for the same cause. But these proceedings only increased his virulent spirit against ministers and people who sustained them. His tongue was set on fire by the opposition which he met. Assuming to preach the Gospel himself, ranting against its forms, ceremonies, and impositions on the people, and the theology so dear to their hearts, he broke in upon the order and peace of the church. He was again complained of in court, and "convicted of very disorderly practices, presumptuously taking upon himself the office of a minister to preach and baptize contrary to his Majesty's laws." The court admonished him for his "disorderly practices," that he had no call from God for his irregularities, and that if he persisted in his unwarrantable course all his lands should be confiscated. But still the unruly member was not checked. The rebel spirit was only quickened and strengthened by these persecutions. As soon as he was discharged he was again at his work, exercising what he deemed his rights, preaching against ministers and churches, and fomenting discord and confusion all around him. He was arrested a third time, and brought to the bar to answer for his misfea-

sances; was convicted "of several presumptuous miscarriages, and his abusive and reproachful language against ministers, ministry, and preaching thereof, to the dishonor of God and the destruction of the way of the Gospel;" and was fined five pounds. Whether his ardor was cooled by this procedure we cannot answer. We have learned nothing further of him.

If the Acts of the Legislature are to be regarded as exponents or developments of Congregationalism, it is not strange that many men and women should have abjured it as a moral pestilence, sweeping away the rights of humanity, and as the sure bane of free thought and personal and social enjoyment. About this time it would seem as if the law-makers were intent on making life a mere abstraction, having in it nothing free, nothing emotional, nothing satisfactory or exciting. Every man's volitions or actions were prescribed by some rule, which would establish a dead uniformity through all the features and activities of human society. They denounced all manifestations of individual taste, all exhibitions of peculiar thought, all attempts to imitate the beautiful in nature, or to break up the monotony which these wiseacres deemed the only acceptable service of the good Providence. A zerophagy, spiritual as well as material, was to be the regular canon of life.

If it were within the reasonable limits of a town history, to justify the position here assumed, we would lay before our readers the law of Massachusetts as enacted, year after year, to the disparagement of the natural liberty, rights, and aspirations of the people. But in this regard we are compelled to feel ourselves under the ban. Still, though much of a similar character will find its way into this history, we cannot forbear the exhibition of some of this unwholesome legislation in this place, which is averred to have been necessary by the divine judgments, and indispensable to the prosperity of the church. It was alleged as the basis of the following enactments that the matters anathematized therein were brought upon the settlements by the wrath of God, manifested in giving to the barbarous heathen commission to rise up against the people, to burn and destroy the plantations, and to murder the settlers. Accordingly, they make the following exhibitions of their legislative wisdom: "Whereas, there is manifest pride openly appearing amongst us, in that, long haire, like women's haire, is worn by some men, either their own or others' haire made into perewigs, and by some women

wearing borders of haire, and their cutting, curling, and immodest laying out their haire, which practice doth prevail and increase, especially among the younger sort;" it was ordered that such offenders should be arraigned, admonished, or fined at the discretion of the court. And again: "Notwithstanding the wholesome laws already made by this court for restraining excess in apparell, yet through corruption in many, and neglect of due execution of those laws, the evil of pride in apparell, both for costliness in the poorer sort, and vaine, new, strainge fashions, both in poor and rich, with naked breasts and arms, or, as it were, pinioned with the addition of superstitious ribbons, both of haire and apparell;" such offenders were also to have meet punishment for their sins.

It was also enacted, about this time, as one of the articles of war, "that no man should presume to blaspheme the Holy and Blessed Trinity; God, the Father, God, the Son, and God, the Holy Ghost, upon pain to have his tongue bored with a hot iron." It was also declared that "men's thresholds are set up by God's thresholds, and man's posts by God's posts, especially in the open meetings of Quakers, whose damnable heresies, abominable idolatries are hereby promoted, embraced, and practised, to the scandal of religion, hazard of souls, and provocation of Divine jealousy against the people;" and therefore the constable was directed to apprehend all persons found at such Quaker meetings, and have them before the court to receive due punishment, after being kept on bread and water for three days, etc.

There were no accommodations for public worship, and the inhabitants would not be induced to interest themselves in providing a suitable place until the town was indicted, in 1661, "for neglect in not appointing a place for a public meeting on the Lord's day, according to their best abilities, till God's providence do better provide for them, whereby many persons take liberty to neglect, if not profane, the Sabbath." An indictment for not building a meeting house, though effectual for its erection, would not go far toward instilling a love of the sanctuary in the hearts of the people.

Legal suasion in matters of religion, we do not think carries with it any good results. The Inquisition, so frequently appearing in history, never did much for the regeneration and moral improvement of men. But the people were obliged to respond to this demand, made upon them by judicial authority, and between this time and 1664

some kind of a house or chapel was built. It was near the site of the meeting house now standing. This erection may have inspired them with some little ambition, for the next year they built on the parsonage lot a house for the Rev. Joseph Emerson, who was then the minister of the town. Still, a very selfish spirit ruled in all classes, and some hard pressure was needed to induce them to open their hearts to any duty beyond mere personal advantage. The first case of local pauperism occurred in 1669, and the town would not come to the aid of the sufferer till compelled to do so by the same judicial authority. One John Reed, an inhabitant of Wells, had taken care of an unfortunate lame man, who had fallen into distress, and the town would do nothing to relieve him of the burden, so that he was obliged to seek his remedy in court, which required the inhabitants to take care of the sufferer, and to pay the bill of expense incurred by Reed. The court also found it necessary that a jail should be built for the use of the county, and submitted the question to the towns whether it should be built; but the town voted nay.

There was very little public spirit among the people. Religion had but little influence upon the lives of the people. There was not enough of it to make it any blessing to their souls. The principle that we are to do to others as we would have them do to us was shoved out of the way, and meaningless speculation substituted in its stead. Those manly sympathies which should bind communities together, we think, had but little place in the teachings of those who were the authorized expounders of Christian truth.

We are aware that the representation which we have made of the character of the early inhabitants of the town may somewhat surprise our readers. Some may think that it is overdrawn, or that it would have been better to let their frailties perish with them. It must be understood that we have been speaking only of the period before the Indian wars.

History is the legacy to subsequent humanity for its instruction. The lesson here taught is of incalculable benefit. Where ignorance is the prevailing feature in society, the stronger will inevitably trample on the rights of the weaker. There were no schools at this period. Few of the people had had any opportunity for intellectual culture. Most of the men and women of Wells could not even write their names. What portion of them could read we are unable

to state. Some of the leaders did not think education of any value. John Wadleigh, when asked to subscribe for the aid of the college, replied, as before stated, "it was no ordinance of God and contrary to his judgment." Even those who could write, did not attempt to instruct their families in the art. Joseph Bolles, the town clerk, had enjoyed the benefit of some education, yet he did not think it worth while to teach his children to write. Judge Wheelright married a girl who could not write her name, and he never taught her to do it. Great ignorance prevailed through all classes of society, and thence of necessity, vice, immorality and unyielding selfishness were prominent elements in the character of the people. The blessings of an enlightened civilization can never be too highly appreciated; and the women of this age may learn a valuable lesson from the brief account here given of the relative position of the sex in those days of intellectual darkness.

We all look with horror on the terrible delusion which fastened itself on the public mind some years after, when many of the most worthy men and women were executed for witchcraft. This memorable delusion was the offspring of ignorance. So also it may be said of the superstitions which had so much power over the human mind in the days of which we have been speaking. They checked the activities of the people, filled their hearts with groundless fears, and led them to commit those follies which we can now, with difficulty, be made to believe could ever have emanated even from the lowest civilization. It is to us incredible that any body of legislators in New England could have ever been made to believe that "the women wearing borders of haire," or "their cutting, curling, or immodest laying out of their haire," or "that pride in apparell, vain and new fashions in poor or rich," or "their naked breasts and arms," "pinioned with the addition of superstitious ribbons on haire and apparell," were the cause of those terrible Indian wars which devastated the province of Maine. Neither can we believe that the periwig or the queue of the man so offended the Almighty that he doomed this people, male and female, adults and children, to the awful cruelties which marked the Indian track during thirty or forty years afterwards. We know that selfishness may make a fearful havoc even of the intellect, and that men, by its power, may be wrought up to such a height of folly as to feel that the simple and modest decorations of the sex are an offense in the sight of God,

Avarice is a terrible enemy to every noble and generous thought; but that the vagaries which we have mentioned should have crept into the legislation of our predecessors seems almost incredible.

Some other matters of interest may be considered in this connection. The men who first gathered on the seashore in Wells were without property. It will be safe to say that none of them were worth a thousand dollars. The business of all was to get a livelihood from day to day. As we have just stated, they were not men of education, fitted to think deeply, or to understand how to make everything subservient to pecuniary advancement. In consequence of ignorance, they did not cherish any exalted notions of the possibilities of life, but were satisfied with taking advantage of the means just about them to make up the enjoyment of the moment, without consideration of the consequences which might ensue. They well fulfilled the scriptural injunction not to be "troubled about many things." Their ideas of religion, morality, and social and civil life were of a low order. Most of them, and perhaps we might safely say nearly all, had made the intoxicating cup their companion from early life. They were thence sometimes excited to energetic action, and, as often, languid and indisposed to exertion, contented with whatever might be the condition of their possessions. They had no ambition to make their lives tell upon the world. Even if educated before they left the old home, they had no books for study or entertainment in hours of relaxation. Edmund Littlefield was the richest man among the first settlers, but he had not a book in his house. All the knowledge which the people had was traditionary or experimental, and when they gathered together as neighbors, all that they had to enliven the hour were the thoughts and remembrances which they brought with them, with such as the day's activities might have suggested. In this situation, there was no chance for those distinctions to grow up which manifest themselves in our modern villages. No attempts seem to have been made to instruct their children. There was thence no educated class, and no emulation for excellence in knowledge. Their ideas of the meaning of life were, therefore, exceedingly contracted. Many of the women were indicted for selling liquors without license, for non-attendance on public worship, and for other indulgences which the civil law and the Gospel forbid. There were some frightfully turbulent women among them, who actually enjoyed contention and strife; whose voices were frequent-

ly heard in the wilderness, not in the tone of angels, but in that of low denunciation and ribaldry; but we presume that these exhibitions of human infirmity were not without some corresponding obliquity on the part of the lord of the manor. The head of the household from which these unharmonious vociferations proceeded was probably not the most mild and gentle of men. The legislation of the time, the orders of courts, the recklessness of the husband and the vexations of their condition were enough to explain these sad departures from the peace and simplicity of rural life. The men, it is very likely, felt that the sin was all their own, and therefore submitted to it quietly. This is only surmise. It is possible that this forbearance was Christian. But however this unbecoming spirit in the woman was generated and sustained, or however submitted to, it was deemed necessary for the public peace that the female tongue should be subjected to a little more restraint. In 1665, when its inhabitants were very few indeed, the town of Wells was indicted "for not making a pair of stocks and a couking stool," or ducking stool. We do not know that this ungracious act had its origin in the complaint of any inhabitant of the town; but still these displays of household eloquence were frequent, and the court adjudged that this was the only remedy. The ducking stool was a very simple machine, easily constructed. It was made upon precisely the same principle as the old-fashioned well-sweep. A long pole was suspended at the middle on the top of a post or fulcrum, to the small end of which was hung a smaller pole, holding at the lower end a basket or chair, which was so located that when the chair descended it fell into the water. Into this basket or chair the terna-gant was fastened, and the master of ceremonies then doused her a sufficient number of times to meet the requirements of the occasion, which were sometimes more and sometimes less. The operation must have been exceedingly refreshing in a cool November morning. We have not found that the machine erected in Wells was ever called into use, neither do we find any judicial decree wherein this punishment was awarded for these unedifying female eruptions; but as the town was called to account for not having one, it must have been under some sense of its necessity. We can only infer that it was erected either *in terrorem*, or for the administration of the husband at his will and pleasure.

We have stated that the courts frequently exercised legislative as

well as judicial power, instituting punishments not prescribed by law. At this period there was no statute authorizing the infliction of the ducking penalty, and this order to erect a ducking stool must have been an expedient adopted by the court from some knowledge of its use in places beyond the waters. But after this, in 1672, when licentiousness had taken such great strides as to threaten the social and moral ruin of the people, and thus the tongues of many, whose physical aberrations had wholly corrupted the soul, were set loose to disturb the peace and good order of the neighborhood, the general court found it necessary to sanction this mode of punishment by making it general throughout its jurisdiction, and accordingly adopted the following statute: "Whereas, there is no express punishment (by any law hitherto established) affixed to the evil practice of sundry persons by exorbitancy of the tongue in rayling and scolding, it is therefore ordered that all such persons, convicted before any court or magistrate that hath proper cognizance of the case for rayling or scolding, shall be gagged or sett in a ducking stool and dipt over head and eares three times, in some convenient place of fresh or salt water, as the court or magistrate shall judge meet." There may have been cases, since that time, of the conviction of women as scolds in this county, but we have discovered none in our examination of the records. We are not aware that it was ever used for the correction of similar infirmities on the part of the other sex. Where this interesting structure was located in Wells, or how long it was maintained, we have labored in vain to ascertain. As the village was near the falls of the Webhannet river, we think it probable that it was not far from the bridge over that stream.

Perhaps it is proper to make a single exception to the statement that this instrument was never used to modify the temperament or correct the errors of men, by the mention of an instance of its use in the latter part of the last century. On the west side of the Tattnick Hills, not far from the road, near the house of Elisha Allen, deceased, many years since there was a den in the ground, known as Mordan's cave. Mordan was an Englishman, and came over to this country in the first part of the last century with his children. The family was further increased by children born in this cave. He bought the land, and here excavated a place of abode, dwelling in it many years. What became of him we know not, neither have we any knowledge of the motives which induced him to seek such a

humble dwelling place. It might have been with him a matter of choice. The notion may have come to him from some scripture history, that to dwell in the dens and caves of the earth would be an acceptable sacrifice to the Infinite. The world is peopled with men of all proclivities. The dwellers round about differed from him as much as he did from them, and perhaps he thought it strange that rational beings should spend so much time and labor on an earthly tenement, which they were to occupy but a little while, and be continually striving for things which brought with them as much care as joy. When he saw so many whose souls were bound up in the acquisition of wealth, never losing their grasp upon it to impart comfort to the needy and distressed, he might very well satisfy himself with his own position.

After Mordan's life in the cave was ended, it was inhabited many years by one Nathaniel Boston. This man had been, and continued to be, a vagabond, having no settled business and making other men's property subsidiary to his support. Pilfering as opportunity presented, afforded his principal means of support; and this he carried on, pretending to be *non compos*, till the people could endure it no longer. They complained of him for his larcenies, and he was brought into court on charges of that character. But he so successfully carried out his feint of imbecility or insanity, that he succeeded in obtaining his discharge. This process was repeated several times, till the people were wearied with the fruitless proceedings. They had no belief of his incompetency. He boasted of his power to hoodwink the court. This led some of the neighborhood to take the law into their own hands. They prepared a ducking stool and determined to make him confess his thefts. They placed him in the tub secured for the proposed operation; but he was unmoved by their threats. They plunged him into the water, not drawing him out at once, as the custom was when this summary process was used, but holding him under water as long as they could safely do so, and then raising him up for a moment's recuperation. The process was repeated; time after time he was plunged, until the operators came to the conclusion that there was not sufficient virtue in the procedure. Yet no confession could be drawn out of him. The martyr spirit baffled all their exertions for that object, and they were obliged to abandon the attempt. But his boasting of his ability to deceive and manage the court at the next trial, which he soon had, settled

his case with the jury, and he became an inmate of the State's prison, from which he never came again to Wells to trouble the inhabitants.

Much of this turbulent spirit, which it was necessary to resort to the court to quiet, had its origin in the common use of intoxicating stimulants. The puritans and pilgrims of Massachusetts, as well as the pioneers of Maine, did not abandon their cups when they left the land of their fathers. They brought with them the strong waters, and were not slack in the use of them. They were, in fact, regarded as a material element of social life.

We were a nation of drunkards till the reformers of the present century took hold of the great work of rescuing the race from the domination of alcohol. Probably nearly all the male inhabitants of Wells, in its early days, were rum-drinkers. The propensity for the intoxicating draught was so strong among them, and led to such indifference to the consequences of its use, that the welfare and peace of the people were constantly jeopardized by it. Though they dwelt among savages, and knew how readily the savage heart was fired by it to deeds of cruelty and death, many of them, notwithstanding all the admonitions of law, did not hesitate to supply them with it for the small profit which might be derived from the sale.

The authorities realized the danger to which the people were thus exposed, and endeavored to obviate it by every possible means. The terrible power which the traffic in ardent spirits had acquired over those engaged in it, the courts were satisfied could only be subdued by the most severe penalties. Alcoholic law was as unchangeable then as now. While every glass drunk increased the impetus of the drinker toward destruction, every sale gave to the seller an increased attachment to his unholy business. Appreciating the frightful influences of this baneful traffic with the ignorant natives, the council and general assembly of the province, holden at Wells on the 19th day of August, 1681, issued the following stringent order: "Whereas, the sin of drunkenness does much increase by reason that several persons do let the Indians have liquors and other strong drinks, which is greatly to the dishonor of God, and hazarding of the lives and estates of his Majesty's subjects, notwithstanding any laws formerly made for the prevention thereof, it is ordered by this Court and the authority of the same, if any person or persons shall presume to sell or give, or let any Indian have any rum, brandy, spirits, or any strong liquors, cider, perry, metheglin, or any kind of strong

drinks, directly or indirectly, they shall forfeit their whole estate, the one half to the informer and the other half to the Treasurer of the Province, and the person or persons to be kept in close prison, without bail or mainprize, for one whole year, any law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding." The next year, 1682, to effect the object of this decree, a further declaration was made by the Assembly, that if any liquors were brought into port, and the owner, master or mariner, should give or sell to an Indian, the vessel should be forfeited.

A state of affairs which rendered necessary such rigorous enactments as these, must have been repulsive to every considerate man who might be seeking a place of habitancy. But no motives which could be addressed to the souls of those who sold or those who drank, no fears of the jeopardy to which they exposed themselves or their families, no care for men, women and children all around, who might become the prey of the tomahawk or be carried into hopeless captivity, no fear of poverty or personal ruin, and no dread of the developments of eternity, were suffered by these men to intervene between them and the desperate end and consequences which awaited their fatal doings. They had become the unresisting slaves of the destroyer, and come weal or come woe, all was the same to them; the sale went on. The white and the red man alike obtained the intoxicating cup. But then, as since, the agents in this work of desolation eluded even the utmost vigilance. Their work was all under cover of darkness, whereby the court in 1685 was compelled to issue the following extraordinary order:

"Whereas, there are reports that many have traded with the Indians, whereby they have been found drunk at every door, and no sufficient evidence found who did it; hereafter at whose door a drunken Indian is found, it shall be taken for granted that those houses nearest adjacent to any Indian lying in such drunken capacity, shall be accounted the very places where the Indians have received their liquors, unless by sufficient evidence they shall be able to clear themselves."

This decree seems very unreasonable and arbitrary. The simple fact that a drunkard fell down near one's house, does not authorize the inference that he there obtained his liquor; but some decisive and summary measure was necessary for the security of the inhabitants. The liabilities of these householders were made such by this order, that they would not only be ready to disclose who the trans-

gressor was, but, if unknown, to use every means to ferret him out. The tomahawk and scalping knife were too terrible to suffer the temperate part of the community to be indifferent to the danger of Indian intoxication; and the people and the courts were justified in adopting measures which, under different circumstances, would not have been allowable. Life here, one would think, was fraught with hardships and exposure enough without the addition of outrages and cruelties created by the settlers themselves. To know what that life was we must have been dwellers with them, and been subjected to all the deprivations, trials, necessities and modes of life to which they were exposed.

CHAPTER XI.

KING PHILLIP'S WAR—WANTON UPSETTING OF A CANOE—INDIAN BARBARITIES—ORDER OF THE COUNCIL TO LIEUT. WHEELRIGHT—MASSACRE AT PORTSMOUTH AND BERWICK—FAST APPOINTED—INDIAN ATTACK ON WELLS—FOUR HUNDRED INDIANS CAPTURED—DEATH OF JAMES GOOCH AND WIFE—DESTRUCTION OF CAPE NEDDOCK—ATTACK OF MUGG ON GARRISON AT THE "TOWN'S END"—TREATY WITH MUGG—DEATH OF MUGG—TREATY AT CANSO.

PROBABLY the larger portion of the inhabitants of Wells came here solely with the view of seeking material comforts. They located themselves in this wilderness under the conviction that, in this position, they would sooner provide for their family wants than in any other within their reach. They were willing to submit to the hard and exhausting labors of subduing the forest, when they could indulge the hope that a few years of unwearied exertion would bring to them an abundance of the ordinary blessings of life, and that a few additional years would place them beyond any fear of want. Many looked still further, from the facilities incident to their situation, and anticipated the day when their labors would be crowned with a satisfactory independence. This hope had stimulated and sustained them amidst all the privations and discomforts of pioneer life. In the expectation of this speedy deliverance from their burdens, by this promised success, the mothers of Wells went cheerfully about their daily routine of labor, in doors and out, singing now a stanza of Sternhold and Hopkins, and now, or more commonly, some one of the household songs or ditties, learned perhaps in the mother country, being all the literature which they had brought into this life in the wilderness. They were, undoubtedly, as happy as most of those who dwell in palaces and are surrounded with everything which can respond to their physical wants. They dwelt in log-houses, or in some rude structures of boards, with which their mills were beginning to supply them. They could look out and see

with joy the daily openings of the forest, which new comers were making, as harbingers of new associations, cheery sympathies and friendships, while the happy children within gladdened their hearts by the simple, rustic amusements which had been taught them by a mother's love. There was but little that was artificial in daily life; little occasion to sin. Natural depravity was not a necessary element in such a seclusion. They needed no knowledge of civil law. They were a law unto themselves. Each one might cheerfully, contentedly, and earnestly pursue his own business, so that there might be little contention and strife. All might be happy within their own precincts, and rejoice in the brightening prospects before them.

But their numbers increased, and liberty soon ran to excess. When thirty or forty families had gathered here, away from any ruling authority, many began to think they could do as they pleased. Ignorance and licentiousness, when there is no controlling element of a higher civilization, will soon be in close fellowship, and from thence will speedily issue almost every evil work. For many years previously to 1675, there had been among them political, theological, civil, and social dissensions, which could only be healed by some affliction which should absorb the attention of all, and thence bring them to united effort to withstand it. The terrible avalanche of wretchedness which was now to come down upon them was, perhaps, just what was needed to bring them to a proper sense of the relations of life and their obligations to each other. In this year, 1675, the clouds began to gather, and the bright sky was shut out from the vision of those who had here looked forward to a prosperous and happy future. The pall of sorrow was settling down on all their cheering hopes. The wickedness of man was about to bring its deadly influences to the ruin of the peace and progress of the settlement. King Phillip, believing himself wronged in his intercourse with the white man, and ruminating on the cruel kidnappings of his brothers and the English usurpation of his domains, determined to destroy the cruel intruders. Among the tribes, no one could be selected whose exasperation was so much to be feared as his. His intellectual power was far in advance of the generality of the Sachems. He understood the Indian heart, and how to make it responsive to his wishes. He claimed to have free communication with the Great Spirit, and to derive from this intercourse instructions as to his manner of life, and he told the tribe that these white

men were bent on driving them from their possessions, and called upon them, as with the voice of the Great Father, to destroy them from off the land. Nothing more was needed to kindle the flame of revenge in all their hearts, and the awful realities of a savage war began to be experienced in various parts of New England.

The flame was kindled in the colony of Plymouth, and in a very short time extended into Maine. The tribes here had long before experienced some of the barbarities of civilization, and remembering the perfidy and kidnapping of former years, and witnessing the encroachments on their domain, the long enjoyed hunting grounds allotted to them by the Great Spirit, and foreseeing the rapidly hastening hour when they must abandon their fathers' graves to the tread of the invader, they readily united in the resolution that these aggressions should be carried no farther; that the infidels should be driven into the sea. French jesuitry was always at hand to feed the flame of vengeance. A wanton and barbarous act of some sailors on Saco river afforded a pretext for immediate hostilities. It might well be supposed that revenge would follow such iniquity. An Indian woman, the wife of Squando, Sachem of the Sahohis, was paddling along with her infant. These thoughtless men, having heard the absurd story that the infant children of the natives would swim, upset the canoe and the child sank; but the mother, diving down, succeeded in rescuing it, though soon after recovery it died. Nothing more brutal mars the history of any nation or tribe. What else could be expected of these wild children of the wilderness than that they should be excited to retaliate such an unfeeling and cruel barbarism? What wrong can man inflict on his species more savage than this trifling with the dearest relationships of earth? Whether these men received the just reward of their iniquity, no record furnishes an answer. Squando claimed to have communion with the Indian's God, and his inspirations would be to requite such an insult in any possible way; to kill, burn, and destroy the white man and his property, till not a vestige of such civilization should remain.

Arms, ammunition, and all needed instrumentalities were furnished by the French, in Canada, to war on the English, and their souls being inspired by the base and false teachings of their priests, with a phrenzy of resentment for their real and fancied wrongs, not to be appeased except by the most terrible cruelties, the Indians began

their frightful work. As soon as information of the commencement of the war in Massachusetts was received at York, Henry Sayer was despatched from that place to Sagadahock to endeavor to divest the Indians of their arms. This mission was in some measure successful; but it does not appear that any good came from the operation. They began their ravages by murdering men and women at Presumpscot, Saco, and Scarboro. Twenty-seven houses were burnt at the latter place. At Saco, where Squando was familiar with the inhabitants, they burnt all the houses and mills, and killed thirteen of the inhabitants. After this they proceeded to Winter Harbor, where they had a skirmish. Thence they started for Piscataqua, which embraced the settlements on both sides of the river, now Portsmouth and Kittery.

On the 18th of July, Brian Pendleton wrote to Major Waldron at Piscataqua, giving an account of the burning of these houses and mills at Saco, and expressing his apprehension that all would be destroyed. This letter was opened on its passage by Lieut. John Littlefield, and he immediately wrote to Waldron as follows: "Wells y^e 19th Sept 75 at 9 of the clocke at night. Major Waldron, Sir. You will se by ye above what a great strait y^a are in at Sacoe, and we look hourerly for an assault here. Soe that you can't expect any assistance from us, we being too weak to defend our selves, y^rfore y^e earnest request to you is that you will rase ann army from Pascataqua with all possible speed for the pr^eservation of our lives and estats; otherwise we cannot expect in an ordinary way long to hold out. The Lord direct you and us all. We convaid Mr. George Broughton and company safe to the Cape. With out speedy supply you must expect no more posts from us. The enemy snapt twice or thrice at this post coming from Saco, but mist fire as God would have it. Yours to command, John Littlefield."

Histories speak of the garrison houses in various places at this period. The attack had just been made by these Indians, 150 in number, on Major Phillip's garrison in Saco, but no occasion seems to have existed previously to this rupture for their erection. The English and the Indians had dwelt together in the province without any such collisions as to lead to the fear of war between the races.

Probably at this time these garrisons were few. A strong one may have been built in each town by the government. But in the progress of the war some of the ordinary dwelling-houses may have

been protected by palisades. That of Phillips' seems to have been impregnable to the large force brought against it. What garrisons there were in Wells, history does not state. Storer's, we believe, is sometimes spoken of in the relation of the incidents of this war, but we think it was not yet built. Storer was a minor, as we have been led to suppose. His father, William Storer, an inhabitant of Dover, died in 1660. Joseph afterwards came to Wells under the guardianship of Samuel Austin, who had married the widow, his mother. The garrison spoken of in history was at the "town's end." But garrisons, we suppose, were speedily put up. Harding's house was prepared for that purpose.

The news of the barbarities of these savages at Canso, Scarboro, and Saco produced great excitement in Wells. The terror of the inhabitants may well be imagined. Scattered all along, from York to Kennebunk river, how could they hope to escape the fate which had come upon those at the eastward? Their log-houses surely could not shield them. Harding's garrison and those which we have mentioned, may have been sufficient to receive them. Harding's was at the mouth of Kennebunk river, and the people of Arundel may have rushed to that. But life during the continuance of this war must have been grievous indeed and hard to be borne; an existence of constant and withering anxiety. Truly, many escaped to the garrison; and in a multitude there are always some of such a hopeful, cheery temperament as to be able, for a while, to turn off their thoughts from any outward terrors which may hang over them. Blessed be God that there are men of a joyous spirit, not to be subdued by any adversities of life, who, in the midst of darkness the most intense, can always discover beams of light. There were probably some overflowing with wit who, excited by their condition in the general huddle, would occasionally convert the general sadness into momentary merriment, and perhaps, by their fanciful inventions kindle a hope of speedy relief. But at best, the condition of the multitude, men, women and children in such a close fellowship as here was necessary, with the thoughts of the loss of their labor for years, and of the destruction of the long indulged hopes of ease and comfort, and the fears of the terrible issue of the strife weighing upon their souls, must have been wretched in the extreme. Some probably were so overcome by their fears that they were unwilling to assume the burden of protection by taking their arms and going

out to expose themselves to the perils of the hour. Some had fled, and others were preparing to flee to the west. The patriotism of a few and the fears and cowardice of others produced strife and contention, so that the interference of the government became necessary, and the following order was issued :

“ At a Council held at Boston the 9th of December, 1675.

“ The Court taking into consideration the present state of the town of Wells in respect to the unsettled frame of the inhabitants there in this time of danger; that there might be some remedy for the future and a better management of affairs there, in order to the safety of the place. Ordered that Lieut. John Littlefield do effectually apply himself, that all who are capable of bearing arms in the town, and put them in their best manner for their mutual safety, and must consult with Samuel Wheelright and William Symonds. Said committee is empowered to impress all persons, ammunition, provisions —no one should desert the place on pain of forfeiting his estate.”

The trail or march of the enemy was along by the sea. So also were the settlements. In a few days the savages began their ravages in Wells. But neither history nor tradition has been very faithful in the preservation of the names of the sufferers. In every age there have been women and men who without hesitation would commit to the flames the most valuable materials for history; diaries, letters, and every vestige of the generations which have preceded them. We can only avail ourselves of the few relics upon which the unholy hands of these vandals have not fallen, and hence, our information as to the extent of the devastation which followed is very meagre. We know that several persons were killed and much property destroyed, though it does not seem that so much damage was done at at this time as might reasonably have been expected. The Indians were intent on expending their fury on Portsmouth, Berwick, and other towns, where they massacred a great many of the settlers. Wells and Cape Porpoise, or Arundel, having eighty soldiers, were perhaps in a little better condition to receive the assailants, and the Indians never liked very well to face muskets.

In this terrible posture of affairs the governor appointed a general fast. An appeal to the Ruler of the Universe seemed to be their last resort. If it had been the first, and the people had carried out their prayers in their intercourse with the natives, they would have

exhibited much more wisdom. Had the English invariably acted upon the christian principle of doing to all as they would have all do unto them, this appalling calamity would never have come upon them. It requires a wonderful boldness at the throne of grace, to pray to be saved from the consequences of our own iniquities. What effect this public fasting had on the councils of Infinite Wisdom, has not been clearly unfolded to our vision. The Indians did not at once stay their hands, but as a concluding act of the war of this year, visited Wells soon after and wreaked their vengeance on the inhabitants. Their first attack was made at the house of William Symonds, who lived on the spot where Theodore Clark now lives. Mr. Symonds had taken the proper precaution and moved his family to the garrison. "His servant going early in the morning to look after some business there," says Mather, "tarried longer than was needful to provide something for himself. The Indians invited themselves to breakfast with him, making the poor fellow pay the shot when they had done with the loss of his life." They then reduced the house to ashes. They killed another man about the same time, whose name has not come down to us. The Cross family resided in this neighborhood, and one of them whose mind had lost its balance, and who was wandering from home, was also murdered about a week afterwards. Major Waldron now exerted himself to make peace with them. But though a truce was entered into, before it was accomplished they killed one Isaac Cousins. We suppose that Cousins lived near the saw-mill on Little river. We have no further knowledge of him.

This truce was, of itself, of very little importance to the settlers. The Indians were not in the habit of making sallies on the settlements in the winter season, and this which followed was one of unusual severity. A great quantity of snow was on the ground. This rendered it impossible for them to pursue their ravages. Prisoners were delivered up. The armistice might have resulted in a lasting treaty had it not been for new acts of folly and wickedness on our part. Some had set in motion whispers of new enterprises on the part of the natives, and the fears of the people from the scenes which they had just passed through, prompted them to seize those who had been active in the war. Under authority of precepts for this purpose some were seized near Pemaquid, carried off and sold as slaves in foreign countries; a barbarity on the part of civilized man,

fully a counterpoise for the Indian enormities; and thus the fire was again kindled to sweep over the province. The days of vengeance were renewed, and the poor inhabitants of Wells were driven to the garrisons.

Early in 1676, attacks were made on various places, and the inhabitants killed. Beyond Falmouth for many miles all was laid waste. The government ordered whatever soldiers could be spared into Maine. A portion of these were cowardly men who had fled into Massachusetts the previous year. On their way, at Dover, they were embodied with the troops under Major Waldron. Here, by a successful fraud, Waldron was enabled to seize four hundred Indians. Two hundred of them were sent to Boston. This procedure had the approbation of government. Some of them were condemned and executed; the remainder sent abroad and sold as slaves. This fraud was effected by Waldron, by a proposition to the Indians for a sham fight, in which they were induced to fire "a grand round." Then they were all immediately seized. The retribution for this iniquity was not long delayed. The Indian heart felt deeply any wrong to which they were subjected; and civilized man was thus laying up wrath against the day of wrath. All teachings of that character received by these wild men took deep root in their untutored souls, and, until so reduced in numbers that all resistance to the encroachments of the white man were vain, they continued to bring forth, for nearly a century, their terrible fruits.

Early in August there was a bloody fray at Casco; and attacks were made on other settlements, east; harbingers of the frightful disasters which were to fall on those at the west. Brian Pendleton, of Cape Porpoise, writes to the governor, August 13, after having heard of the tragedy at Casco, "How soon it will be our portion we know not. The Lord in mercy fit us for death, and direct the hearts and hands to act and do what is most needful in such a time of distress as this."

The Indians were now divided into parties, and this made their attacks more effectual. They lurked in the woods in various places, waiting the convenient opportunity for emerging from their coverts, and committing their depredations on life and property, where they were entirely unexpected. A large party had been lurking in the forests, which were then untouched by the axe, between the meeting-house and Little river. The people had not heard of the murder at

Peake's Island the day before; and so imperfect was the communication in any direction, they, perhaps, had no warning of the necessity of special care. They attended public worship on the twenty-fourth of September, though probably carrying their arms with them. The enemy had not the courage to attack them while thus in the house of God. Though the priest had taught them that their enemies were infidels, they still had some reverential sentiment in regard to the house where they assembled to worship the Great Father. They feared to approach it while the priest was ministering at the altar. They had many superstitions which, at times, were highly favorable to the English. But as the people were returning to their homes, Mr. James Gooch and his wife were attacked. He was shot and she was cut to pieces by the hatchet. They were riding in the way of olden time, on horse-back; in that loving fashion, symbolic of the affection and strong union of the age, she on the pillion behind him, with her right arm round his waist. No other persons seem to have been attacked at this time. There were but few of the assailants, and this assault having been successful, they escaped as soon as possible, for there must have been many persons returning home from public worship at the same time. Notwithstanding the prevalence of much iniquity, there were many people in those days who valued their religious privileges.

JAMES GOOCH was the son of John Gooch, who was one of the early settlers in Wells. He came from York, and located himself on a lot of land near Little river, not far above its junction with the Branch river, to which place we suppose James was tending, when murdered. We have before given a sketch of the life and character of the father. James was a man of very respectable standing, and a good citizen. He had been for several years one of the selectmen of the town, and exercised a wholesome influence; and it may have been on this account that the savages selected him as their victim. A ruling principle with the tribes was to kill or carry into captivity men whose loss would be the most deeply felt. The greater the injury they could commit, and the more saddening its effect, the stronger the motive for the crime. Such, we believe, is not very unlike the motive which still rules in christian warfare.

The day after the murder of Gooch, the Indians made a raid on Cape Neddock, and destroyed the whole village. Forty persons

were killed or carried into captivity. A letter from Richard Martin of Sept. 26, 1676, says, "On Sabbath last a man and his wife, namely one Gouge, were shot dead and stripped by the Indians at Wells, at two or three o'clock. Cape Neddock was wholly cut off. Only two men and a woman, with two or three children, escaped." They must have been entirely off their guard. The attack on Gooch could not have reached their ears. This sudden appearance of the enemy at Wells would have rendered it perilous for any one to travel to Cape Neddock to give notice of the danger. The inhabitants at Cape Neddock, it is supposed, were quietly pursuing their business without a thought of peril. In the subsequent wars there were several garrisons there; but probably, at this time, they had none. If they had had even one, the destruction could not have been so universal; though we cannot understand, when they were actually in jeopardy every hour, how rational men could have neglected to provide for themselves some place of refuge, in such terrible exigencies, as they could not but some time expect.

After having finished their work at that place, the Indians returned to Wells, and here killed two persons, George Farrow and another, whose name we have been unable to ascertain. Farrow, we think, has no descendants here. He left a widow and three sisters. But the loss of her husband, and the hard experience following, brought her soon after to the grave. Where, or under what circumstances Farrow was killed, is not known. We only know that he was away from his house, and without company. His murder, and the terrible ravages at Cape Neddock, awakened a sense of danger in the hearts of the people of Wells; and by watchfulness and the necessary precautions, they saved themselves from a similar fate. The enemy returned here soon after; but they killed only one man. Who he was, we are not informed.

The Indians seem to have met with no repulse afterwards in their raids eastward, but were successful in all their movements; entirely destroying Scarborough, and taking captive many in other places. On the eighteenth of October they came again to Wells, with great force, under the command of Mugg. The soldiery was altogether insufficient to meet them in the open field, though it required but a small proportion, as to numbers, to put them to flight. Their only protection now was at the garrison, which was at "the town's end." We are not certain what is meant by this designation, but we have

little doubt that it was near where the house of the late John Rankin stood. The end of the village on the king's road was here. In this place was the garrison of John Wheelright. Where Daniel Eaton lives was another; but whether either of these had then been erected, we are uninformed. From various facts shown by the records, we are satisfied that this locality was called "the town's end." Here Rev. John Wheelright lived in a small one story house, and here also resided his grandson, Col. John Wheelright. But he was yet a minor. (Nicholas Cole was not here at the beginning of the war.) Here Mugg showed himself with his army of savages. They had just taken prisoner at the eastward, one Walter Gendall, whom they sent into the fort to demand a surrender, before they made an onset. But the bold commander was not intimidated, and replied to him, "Never, never shall the gates be opened till every one within is dead." Such a reply was worthy the man and the occasion. He knew what capitulation to them meant. With Indian treachery and barbarity he was not unacquainted. The inmates could not meet with a worse fate by a heroic defence, than by a surrender. The latter would have brought the tomahawk, scalping knife, or captivity upon them; and the former could not, in any event, have done more. Whatever the enemy did in any place must be done quickly. They feared delay, as force could be speedily gathered against them, on information where they had shown themselves. Their threats had no effect. The vigilant commander was awake to his position, and every man felt that his life was involved in the issue of the conflict. Mugg became convinced that there was no hope of success against such determined bravery, and abandoned the attack. They probably did not approach sufficiently near to expose themselves to the fire of the garrison. At some time during the siege they killed Isaac Littlefield, the son of Francis, sen., who was about sixteen years of age. We have no knowledge of the circumstances. They also killed one other man and wounded a third, whose names are unknown, and maimed thirteen cattle, which they left, after taking out their tongues. In regard to Littlefield, they seem to have manifested a different spirit from that which was usual toward those who fell into their hands. They demanded of him to surrender. But he peremptorily declined; and continuing to do so, they shot him. After this they gave liberty to his friends to take his body, offering it no further inhumanity, and attempting no violence to those who

came to take it away. One would suppose that these were of a different tribe from those who had exhibited so much barbarism in former ravages. As a general rule destruction was in all their ways, and any amount of cruelty which they could inflict, seemed never to be spared to their unfortunate victims.

This noble defence of the garrison is worthy of a better record than we now have. It seems strange that such gallantry was not more highly appreciated among our ancestors, so that the names of these brave defenders, and of those who became martyrs for their wives and children, might have been held in remembrance, and handed down to their descendants, to inspire them with reverence for their fearless devotion, and fill their own souls with the same noble patriotism. It may be, indeed, that all nearly endured martyrdom during the war; and hence they could hardly be made to feel that others had a more trying experience, or battled more bravely, than themselves; so that, in their view, there was no pre-eminence of bravery which came with power to their hearts.

In the last of the season of Indian warfare, Nov. 6, 1676, a treaty was entered into with Mugg, at Boston. To assure the commissioners of the honesty of his heart, he offered himself as hostage for the fulfillment of it; but he was not detained. The treaty was disregarded, and the next year the Indians were again at their work of destruction. There was but little left of the settlements eastward. Devastation had there done its work. The destruction of Wells and York were now determined upon. Wells was the special object of vengeance.

In April of the next year they issued from the forests in the neighborhood of York. The village, or the original city of Gorgeana, was situated near the sea on the eastern side of the river. The people had begun to cultivate lands, two or three miles from the settlement. Still there were forests in every direction. The fields were nearly surrounded with a dense growth. From the neighboring woods there was abundant opportunity for reconnoitering; and taking advantage of these hiding-places, when no fear of their presence induced precaution on the part of the planters, the Indians sallied forth, and killed seven men while at work in the fields. Passing by Wells and Berwick, where the people were on their guard, they had thus made sure of their victims. A small number in the hiding-places, which were then so extensive, could do a great deal of

mischief, without much danger to themselves. The inhabitants of York, filled with apprehensions from these murders, felt the necessity of self-protection, and could not come to the aid of neighboring towns; so that by this attack the Indians aided others in their assault on Wells.

Here they commenced operations about the same time. But Wells was now in some measure protected by a regular military force. The fort, which we presume was one of the garrisons, was in charge of Lieut. Swett. For protecting all the inhabitants any force would be insufficient, against their raids made from the woods. Some careless men would expose themselves in their agricultural pursuits, on which they were now just entering for the season. Early in April three persons were killed, and during the month the town and garrison were attacked several times. April 13, Benjamin Storer and John Weld were killed. Benjamin Storer was a neighbor and brother of Lieut. Joseph Storer, and lived on the opposite side of the road. Who Weld was, cannot now be ascertained. We think he was a stranger, as the name was not before or after known in this town.

Though these attacks had been so frequent that no man could reasonably consider himself safe out of the garrison, the people were so accustomed to perils of every description that many of them did not hesitate to go to the marshes, or toward the sea, for gunning or other purposes, as occasion required. The houses being all on the upper side of the road, and the corn-fields on the lower, the whole seaside was open to view, and those on the marshes could extend their vision to a great distance, and feel comfortably sure that no Indians were lurking near them, especially when the river was full. About the same time that Storer and Weld were killed, a man and boy were there in pursuit of game. It was early in the spring, when the birds were returning from the south, and were very abundant. Appetite and pleasure have always exercised a greater influence over the race than fear. Wild geese and ducks, almost within gunshot from their doors, could not be foregone, even though the enemy might be hovering in the neighborhood. The man was making preparations for a shot, and was down on his knees, fixing his flint. The boy, happening to cast his eye around, discovered two or three Indians coming near. The man sprang up in a moment, and aiming his gun directly at them, cried out at the same time, "Ah, you

rogues, I have been looking for you." A word and action so suggestive startled them, and they instantly fled. Wells, even in those days, when they had no schools, had men of quick perceptions and ready wit. The exigencies of the hour rendered it necessary for them to have their eyes open, and their faculties wide awake.

Lieut. Swett at the same time discovered an Indian strolling about, and sent out eleven of his men to search the neighborhood. Venturing a little too far from the garrison, two of them were killed, and one mortally wounded. He immediately sent out a larger force, who killed five or six of the enemy. As soon as they came in sight of the Indians, an Irishman called out, "Here they be—here they are." This frightened them and they all ran. More extensive havoc would have been made among them if the Irishman's tongue had been kept still. The Indians, though childlike as to knowledge, were not destitute of some considerable inventive genius, to carry out their purposes. This sole Indian was led to show himself to lead the men of the garrison into ambush. The ruse was successful. Screened by the woods, they could very easily have made one shot, and escaped from a much larger number. But as it was, though at first favorable, in the end it was an unprofitable enterprise.

Very soon after this, an attack was made on Black Point, where the garrison had been rebuilt, and in this assault, Mugg, the Indian leader, was killed. After this, they took to their canoes, and a part of them came west, again to prey on Wells and York. Here they killed seven persons and carried away two into captivity. After this, it is not known that any more were killed in Wells during the war. They came into the river and cut out some vessels belonging to Salem. No other depredations were committed.

The Indians, having lost their commander, and being tired of the war, assented to terms of peace, which were established by treaty at Canso on the 12th day of April, 1678. All the captives were surrendered, property restored, and the doors of the garrisons opened. But the destruction had been great; houses had been destroyed, farms laid waste, and all around was but a scene of devastation and sorrow. The ravages of war are always terrible to those dwelling in the sphere of its immediate action; but the men of Wells, when the war began, were poor, and nearly all was lost. They had labored hard, partially cleared the forests, reduced some of their lands to cultivation, built temporary houses for shelter, and secured such

an advanced position in their agriculture as to cherish the hope that a life less burdensome than that which they had thus far experienced, was before them. Some had been cut down, leaving their families without homes, destitute and desponding. Nearly all had lost near and dear friends, and the little village must have been gloomy and sad indeed had it not been for the cheering thought that the war was over, and all could now go forth and freely enjoy the smiles of a gracious Providence, which nature everywhere exhibited to their eyes. Restored liberty came to them as an angel of mercy, and by it many souls were awakened to new activities for the regeneration of the town, and soon all came up to the work. The men and the women gave their energies to the restoration of the old waste places, and quiet and industry soon exhibited their benignant effects all along the king's highway, from York to the "town's end."

CHAPTER XII.

JUDICIARY SYSTEM—VARIOUS INDICTMENTS—GRAND JURORS, THEIR COMPENSATION—THE COURT DRUMMER—COURT AT WELLS—NAMES OF MEMBERS—EXPENSES—INDICTMENTS—PUNISHMENTS—JAMES ADAMS—"THE DEVIL'S INVENTION"—STORY OF THE SIMPSON CHILDREN.

THE judiciary system had much to do in the regulation of the affairs of the province, and in moulding the character of the people. Much may be learned of a nation by its laws and their administration. One who is in the habit of attending court has there a favorable opportunity of acquainting himself with the feelings, habits, intellectual culture, and moral condition of the community. The history of the town cannot be well understood without some knowledge of the judiciary, and the law to which the inhabitants were amenable. A great many men and women are what the law makes them. Remove all the influences of judicial tribunals, and let unrestrained license be the right of every individual, and a state of society would soon exist, which we are inclined to believe would not very well compare with that of even the rude savages, who roamed the woods before our forefathers landed on these shores. We propose, therefore, to give a chapter of the lore drawn from the records of our courts. More especially do we feel the importance of this, from the fact, that in the records of the county of York is contained much of the history of the State which might never otherwise be brought to light. Previously to 1700, the town of Wells constituted a material part of the whole province. At times, all the territory east was laid waste.

In the early periods of the settlement, the principal portion of the officers connected with the government must have been taken from those who had gathered here. The wealthy and the learned, established in the home land, and in the possession of every earthly comfort, had no occasion for adventure, and thence no promptings for a location in this western wilderness. The emigrants to Maine were

of a very different stamp, men without property and without education. They came here almost entirely from pecuniary motives. Without land in England, they sought a home where they could find a spot of earth, by whose annual ministries they might be able to support their wives and children. It was from these men that most of the judges and all the juries were to be taken. That a judiciary system, under these circumstances, would be marked by any great wisdom, no one would have reason to expect.

The first court established in Maine, of which any reliable information survives, had perhaps more judicial stamen than any which followed it in the seventeenth century. Willis says it was an able board. It consisted of Thomas Joscelyn, deputy governor, Richard Vines, Francis Champernoon, Henry Joscelyn, Richard Bonithon, William Hooke, and John Godfrey. These men constituted the council, and also assumed judicial authority. They understood the character of the people with whom they had to deal, and, of course, their adjudications, which had much the shape of legislation, were of a nature which they supposed to be best fitted, as a matter of policy, to promote order among them; but as, at this time, we have no sure knowledge that there were any inhabitants in Wells to be affected by their proceedings, we do not think it pertinent to the design of this work, to give any particular account of their judicial action, excepting to say that, having to deal with a people not very rigid in their morality, they awarded punishments for offences which modern civilization would not judge wise for the purposes of reformation. In most cases, the iniquities of men subjected them to a fine; but women were subjected to a different punishment. One was required, as we have before stated, to make a public confession of her error, and to ask her husband's forgiveness on her knees; and another, to stand in a white sheet publicly in the congregation two several Sabbath days, and likewise one day at the general court, with the mark of her offence on her forehead. We do not know of any law then which recognized such a punishment as this, and are inclined to think it was an institution of the court. It was probably somewhat effective in leading these wanderers to repentance for a time; but it is questionable whether the loss of self-respect, which must ensue from it, would minister much to a wholesome integrity in time to come; and it is still more questionable whether the mor-

als of a congregation would be much improved by such an exhibition.

The courts after this were differently constituted, and were principally made up of men whose education would not be denominated liberal. Some of the judges were appointed by Gorges; some by Godfrey, as governor; some by the government of Massachusetts, and the remainder were elected by the people. The courts were holden at various places; York, Kittery, Wells, Saco, and Scarboro. The business of all of them was carried on with the utmost simplicity. It required no great acumen to understand the process of its administration. Every case was adjusted upon the most concise statement of the matter to be inquired into. We believe that in all cases the defendant as well understood the charge against him, and was as fully notified of what he was required to answer, as he is through the prolixity of the allegations which have been required by the courts at a more recent period. Thus, in 1651, the grand jury made the following report:

"We do present Anthony Emery for being outgone with drink so that he could not speak a true word."

"We present Goody Mendum for saying she looked at Mr. Godfrey as a dissembling man."

"We present Goody Mendum for saying Mr. Shapleigh was a base knave, and for looking upon Mrs. Shapleigh to be some peddlar's trull."

"We present John Lane for being a thief and a liar."

"We present Jane Andrews for a makebayte, making contention and abusing Goody Mendum."

"We present Mrs. Bachelor for adultery."

"We present Hugh Gunnison for neglect of enclosing up his Copper or Furnace, after notice given him of the danger, whereby a man fell and was scalded and died the next day ensuing, by means whereof he was buried without a coroner's inquest."

At the court in June, 1653:

"We present Priscilla Johnson, the wife of Mr. Edward Johnson, upon suspection of adultery with the gunner of Mr. Garrott's ship."

"We present William Bulland for living from his wife about six or seven years."

"We present Robert Hethersaw for lying."

Nothing could be more plain and direct than these charges. The defendant could never be at a loss as to what he was called to answer. A similar explicitness, we believe, would much subserve the purposes of justice at the present day.

In ordinary cases the court seem to have proceeded without the intervention of a jury. In those of an aggravated character, a jury was impanelled. How these juries were obtained before the incorporation of the towns, we have not ascertained. In the year 1647, William Wentworth, Edmund Littlefield, John Sanders and Robert Booth, all of the plantation of Wells, were on the panel.

There were then no court houses; but almost everybody, in a limited sense, kept a house of entertainment, although there were along the coast some which were more prominent, and known as licensed places for the accomodation of strangers. At houses of this description the terms were generally holden. We think there was no court house in York County till after 1700. The expenses of the court which were to be borne by the province, were apparently not very onerous, though, in the poverty of the people, a very small sum required some considerable sacrifice for its payment. The expenses of the first court at Saco were £4.10. Wells, not yet incorporated, was not called to contribute any portion of it.

In 1651, it was ordered that each of the grand jury, while in the service, shall have two meals a day at the expense of the county. We are inclined to think that this order was a wise one, and that a similar regulation at this age would be favorable to justice. Jurors should be sustained at the public expense, and kept by themselves as much as is consistent with a reasonable liberty. The iniquities carried out by their separation as now allowed, very few people have any knowledge of. The other jurors were allowed one shilling for each trial, where the amount in controversy exceeded ten pounds and eight pence, where it was less than that sum. One would suppose that they must have submitted to a lean fare upon such pay as this, when it is likely that they did not have the benefit of more than one case a day, and frequently not even that. Ten years after this, their pay was increased to three shillings a day.

We have stated that they had no court houses. Neither had they any bells to their churches. The court and people were called together by the beat of the drum. The drummer stationed himself at the door of the court room, and at the hour appointed, struck up the

reveille in the most lively fashion, which sent its summons far and wide. The people came together under the inspirations of this music, spirited for duty in their various departments of business. To those not civilly or criminally in the meshes of the law, this roll-beat was an interesting and attractive ceremony. The drummer was an important officer of the court, receiving double the pay allowed to the juror. The drummer at Wells was John Smith, of whom the reader has often heard. He was allowed two shillings a day for his services and was continued in office several years. The court when sitting at Wells was holden at the house of Samuel Austin, standing on the site of the house of the late John Storer, which was taken down a few years since. Austin was then licensed to keep an ordinary, and we presume supplied all the inmates of the house during the sessions with the inspiring draught. In those days, the public houses furnished their guests with the true article. Rum, gin, and brandy were what they were alleged to be. The counterfeits of modern times, the only intoxicating currency which the rumseller offers to his customers, had not then been ushered into the world, for the moral and physical ruin of which they are such effectual agents. The public paid all the bills of the court, including, it is believed, the expense of liquors, then considered material to the discharge of almost any duty. Generally the judges did not compromise their dignity by an overdose of the necessary stimulants, though some of them were presented for being drunk. The expense of the term, with this liberty of indulgence at will, was by no means large. The court sat at Austin's in July, 1670, and continued a week. The Worshipful Thomas Danforth was president, Capt. Richard Waldron and Mr. Elias Stillman, commissioners, and Capt. John Wincoll, Edward Rishworth and Francis Neal, assistants. The whole bill of expense was as follows :

Magistrates and jurors charges,	-	-	-	-	£37 .07 .7
John Barrets expense of Jonathan Pottle the murderer,					.16 .0
John Smith the Drummer for 6 days attendance,	-				.12 .0

In 1680, the court sat at the house of Francis Littlefield. The whole expense of board, and the several incidents for court and jury, was but £8. In 1684, at the house of Joseph Storer, and the expense was but £2 .05. At the court holden at the house of Joseph Hammond in 1675, the treasurer charges the province with six shillings and ten pence, as "money given to the children in the house,"

which was allowed by the court. To us who pay two or three thousand dollars, the average expense of a term, this appears exceedingly low.

Although the courts at this time were not distinguished for uncommon ability, they assumed very uncommon jurisdiction. They seldom dismissed a case on the ground that they had no right to take cognizance of it. If any matter was charged as an offense, and was proved, they seem to have had no scruples in giving it that character, and inflicting what they regarded as an appropriate punishment. In fact, they made both the crime and the punishment *ex post facto*. Thus in 1654, Jane, wife of John Andrews, was fined ten shillings "for making asseverations, as namely, to wish that the earth might open and swallow her up if she had those goods, and afterwards confessed that she had." John Thorp was presented for preaching unsound doctrine, and "for scandalizing John Norton, and saying that he held forth false doctrines in a book set forth by Mr. Norton." In 1668, Rowland Hansell "for living in this County six or seven years he having a wife in England." In 1663, Francis Small was presented for saying, "in speaking of the man who came from Cape Porpoise to Saco, should they be ruled by the rogues which came out of the Rocks of Cape Porpoise." In 1661, John Roadman, "for saying he belonged to the Devil, and if the Devil had his due, he had had him seven years ago." In 1669, John Taylor, James Warren and his wife, Peter Grant and his wife, ——— and his wife, for using profane speeches in their common talk, as in making answer to several questions, their answer is, "the Devil a bit." "James Muchmore for frequenting the company of Joan Batten," and "Joan Batten for frequenting the company of James Muchmore." George Garland was ordered to have thirty-nine lashes "for visiting the widow Hitchcock."

But the following order of the court holden at York in 1667, seems to be a little wider stretch of prerogative than any which we have mentioned: "In answer to the petition and declaration of Mr. Francis Morgan, Capt. Richard Lockwood, Ephraim Lynn and their wives, this court orders that from henceforth there shall be a friendly and perfect union between the said persons; but if by any wilful act or acts, by word or deeds, done directly or indirectly, tending to the making any breach or breaches of this union among the said persons, and if it do appear whether in the men or wimin, any party so of-

fending shall forfeit £20 to our Sovereign Lord the King, being legally proved against any party herein expressed." If the court could enforce decrees of this character, such an authority vested in it would be of immense benefit to any community. But the mode of doing it, or the precept issued for the purpose, would, it seems to us, defy human ability.

In other respects, the courts at this time were very peculiar in their action. They seem to have regarded it as a manifestation of judicial wisdom to inaugurate strange, inappropriate, and unequal punishments for offenses. Their administration in this respect had no example in the old country. The penalties of crime in most cases were the invention of the court. They had little regard for the female sex, and awarded a more severe punishment against a woman than against a man for the same offense. Very little of a refined, educated civilization characterized their doings. Some few of the punishments of an extraordinary character we take from the records of the county. In 1671, Sarah Morgan was convicted of striking her husband, and the court rendered judgment: The delinquent "to stand with a gag in her mouth at Kittery at a public town meeting, and the cause of her offense written and put on her forehead, or pay fifty shillings to the treasurer." In 1651, George Rogers and Mrs. Bacheler, the wife of the minister, had been guilty of adultery. It was ordered that Rogers should receive forty stripes, save one, on the bare skin, and that Mrs. Bacheler should receive forty stripes, save one, and also be branded with the letter A. In 1674, one Richard Gibson, of Kittery, was charged with "dangerous and churtonous carriage toward his commander, Capt. Charles Frost," of which fact the court being satisfied, he was ordered to receive twenty-five stripes on the bare skin, which were administered in the presence of the court; and considering the insolency of the said Gibson's behavior in the premises, it was further ordered that Capt. Frost should be empowered by warrant to call before him said Gibson the next training day at Kittery, and whither he was to order him "to be tied neck and heels together at the head of his company for the time of two hours, or to ride the wooden horse at the head of the company," as Frost might determine. He was also fined twenty shillings "for multiplying oaths;" "ten shillings for being drunk," to pay all costs and give bonds for his good behavior. The offense in this case, we suppose, was one of common occurrence;

where an individual, in a moment of excitement, strikes another, no better than himself, but raised a little above him by the adventitious circumstance that he was an officer.

The state of society, the character of the court, and the peculiarity of judicial action, may be better understood from the mention of a few other cases of criminal jurisdiction.

1650, William James and William Wormwood's wife, were presented for "living suspiciously together."

1663, Robert Jordan "for saying that Mr. John Cotton deceased was a liar and died with a lie in his mouth, and that he was gone to hell with a pack of lies."

1655, Robert Hethersaw "for attempting the wife of Samuel Austin to incontinency, both by words and actions."

1668, William Ellingham "for using some uncivil speeches, as wishing the Devil rot them."

1669, Edward Weymouth "for cursing and swearing and wicked wishes to his wife."

1670, Thomas Nubery "for his light and uncivil carriages about the wimmin."

1670, Thomas Taylor "for abusing Capt. Francis Raynes in authority, by theeing and thouing him, and many other abusive speeches."

1672, Thomas Withers "for an irregular way of contribution, by putting in money to lead others to do the like, and taking his own money, if not more, out again, whereby there lyes some suspicion of fraud."

1682, William Furbish "for abuse of his Majestie's authority, by his opprobrious language, in calling his officers Devils and Hell-hounds."

It will be seen from these few cases which we have selected from the multitude of a similar nature, with which the records are filled, that every man had to be exceedingly cautious in his speech. Such was the state of society produced by these absurd judicial proceedings, that some were always ready to seize upon every injudicious and hasty word which might be uttered, to bring the author before the court for his misdemeanor, so that scarcely a single individual in the town or province escaped prosecution of some kind. Fifteen persons were indicted at one term for not attending public worship, and

twelve for being drunk. Drunkenness was a matter of criminal action at every term. Offenses unknown at this day were constant matters of adjudication; so that the community was kept in a state of bitter excitement, very prejudicial to the peace, prosperity and growth of the town.

In this early period of the settlement of Maine, a case scarcely paralleled in the history of crime, occurred just within the borders of York. Although it is not an incident in the history of Wells, yet as the scene of the transaction was so near, and the inhabitants of these towns were so intimately associated in their labors and trials at this period, that events occurring in either were alike interesting to both; and as it shows to what a depth of depravity humanity may be reduced, we shall conclude this chapter with such an account of it as we have been able to obtain.

At the court holden at York in 1679, James Adams was found guilty of the offense of which the following, we believe, is a true history in the main. If any crime which one can commit should bring him to the scaffold, it was that of which this man was found guilty. He was a man of bad temper and of a malicious and revengeful spirit, and was regarded as a great liar. We know not what trouble existed between him and his neighbor, Henry Simpson; but we may well suppose that the latter had no respect for him. He had been convicted "of forging many lies," and was thence regarded by the people as a worthless man. Simpson may have been the complainant against him for his reckless disregard of the truth. From whatever cause, he now cherished a bitter enmity against him; and harboring this enmity, it awakened within him a spirit of revenge, not to be appeased but by bringing upon him some terrible affliction. Simpson had two small boys whom he tenderly loved, about seven and nine years of age; and this fiend in human shape determined to make these children the medium through which he could gratify his infernal malice. He went into the woods some two or three miles from the village, and selected his site for the sacrifice, as he had determined to cause them to perish by starvation. There are several places in York where there are perpendicular ledges, so smooth that no one could ascend them. Against one of these he built up a pen, into which these children were to be cast. He cut down his logs of suitable lengths and erected his work. It was so constructed, the wooden wall inclining inward, that by no pos-

sibility could the children climb over it. The plan was one of deliberation, and he must have bestowed a good deal of labor upon it, to be sure of the result at which he aimed. It was not a momentary impulse growing out of sudden excitement; but he calmly completed his work, and returned home to await an opportunity of seizing his innocent victims. From that day to the present, this place has been known as the "Devil's Invention."

Soon the fit occasion for accomplishing his malignant purpose presented itself. The children were out of doors, engaged in their childish sports, and by some means he was enabled to draw them from their home. He told them he was going to the woods, where the little birds were flying thickly, and where they should find a great many birds' nests. The children were captivated by the prospect of such an adventure, and went on with him, their whole thoughts absorbed in the various novel sights which were every moment meeting the eye. How long time the journey to their prison-house occupied we have no tradition; but he reached the goal of his hellish designs with the children, and there, far away from human habitation, where the cries of distress could reach no ear, notwithstanding the shrieks of his little companions, he cast them into the den to abide the agonies of starvation. His cruel and savage heart relented not at the terrible wailings of his innocent victims; but he hastened home, wearing the countenance of innocence, as though he had been merely about the ordinary employments of life.

The household of Simpson were alarmed. The two little boys had disappeared. No one had seen them. The Indian war had closed, and thence there was no thought of their capture by the savages. Diligent search was made by the parents, but no trace of them was discoverable. Soon the whole town was aroused to the search, and for three days the people, with intense interest, were searching for the missing ones. All their earnestness and untiring labor were fruitless, and this servant of the evil one began to indulge in the malignant and infernal hope that his work had been successful; but Providence did not permit his machinations to succeed. The oldest boy was inspired as to the means of escape. With nothing but their hands they went to the work of digging under the logs which enclosed them, and with a perseverance equal to that of the brave men who dug out from the Libby prison, they succeeded in so removing the earth as to open a passage way out, and

thus escaped from their terrible imprisonment. In the dense woods, yet untracked, with no path to guide their footsteps, they knew not which way to turn to reach their father's home; but the voice of the great waters, the roar of the ocean, came to their little hearts with cheering tones, telling them the way to the village. Guided by the sound, wearied and almost famished, they finally reached the habitation of man, and were restored to their parents. If history affords evidence of a crime of deeper dye than this, we have not yet met with it, and yet this wicked and infamous man received only the punishment thus pronounced by the court.

"James Adams: the court have considered your inhuman and barbarous offense against the life of the children before the court, and great disturbance to the country, and do sentence you to have thirty stripes, well laid on; to pay to the father of the children, Henry Simpson, five pounds in money; to the treasurer of the county ten pounds, and to remain close prisoner during the court's pleasure." The thirty stripes were given by John Smith, the executioner.

Any punishment which human ingenuity could have devised would not have exceeded the merits of this barbarity. Thirty stripes, a fine of fifteen pounds, and imprisonment during the pleasure of the court, from which he might at any moment escape, or from which the court might at any moment release him, was no punishment for his iniquity. For very small offenses, in that age, men were brought to the gallows, and this man should have been ordered to his home in the earth, on which he was unworthy to walk. The minister's wife, for an offense dictated by no malice, but growing out of a frailty of the race, was to receive forty stripes and to be branded on the forehead with the mark of the crime, from which the court could not relieve her, and with this stigma upon her go down to the grave, while this fiend was to receive thirty stripes only, and possibly very soon be allowed to enjoy his former liberty, again, perhaps, to prey on the peace of this or of some other family.

This brief account of the administration of justice in this county, we think, will satisfy our readers that it was to the judiciary system, adopted for the government of the province, that the low state of morals during the seventeenth century was to be ascribed. The influence of the laws on a people and of the people on the laws, is reciprocal. When law and its administration have no basis in a sound

philosophy, the effect on social order and progress is pernicious; and where the people are ignorant and vicious, the legislation and judicial action under it will partake of the character of its authors or the people. During the period of which we have been speaking, legislation was intensified. We know no better term than this to express the character of the prevailing jurisprudence. Laws were passed to meet every particular case, and where legislation failed to do this, the court made the law for the occasion. What a man should wear, eat or drink, buy or sell, believe or think, say or not say, do or not do, were questions to be answered by legal enactment. As we have said, these early settlers were generally men of no education. The character of the judiciary, in this respect, was not much above that of the commonalty, and thus all the proceedings in court were characterized by a puerility incompatible with the cultivation or growth of any vigorous manhood among the people.

CHAPTER XIII.

REV. ROBERT PAINE—JOHN BUSS—REV. PERCIVAL GREEN—REV. RICHARD MARTIN—REV. GEORGE BARROWS—HIS TRIAL FOR WITCHCRAFT—WILLIAM SEVERN.

IMMEDIATELY after Mr. Hubbard left, Robert Paine was engaged as the minister. There does not appear to have been any formal proceedings in dismissing the former or settling the latter. We presume there had been no re-organization of the church. Towns were, by law, required to maintain the preaching of the gospel; but no law could require the maintenance of a church. The power of legislation was inadequate for that, and no evidence survives showing the existence of any such institution until the commencement of the next century. The congregation was the town. No sectarianism was allowed. We mean such as produced schism, and division into societies of discordant doctrines. The employment of a minister was one of the mere ordinary matters of town action.

Paine was an educated man, graduating at Cambridge in 1656, and was settled for five years from Sept. 2, 1667. He was a very different man from Hubbard. In his ministerial contract he made no reservation of rights or privileges. He claimed only such material compensation as was essential to the support of himself and family. The town agreed to pay him £45 a year, to finish the house and outhouses on the ministerial land, and put the fences in order. All repairs afterward were to be made by himself, and at the close of his connection he was to leave the whole in as good order as when he took possession. Eleven years had expired since he left college, and having had opportunity to acquire some knowledge of the world, he had come to the conclusion that it was best not to be exacting; but he must have been an unpretending disciple to have accepted terms of this character. He certainly could not have magnified himself, neither could worldly riches have been his ruling impulse. We judge him to have been a man of a meek and quiet

spirit, and that none of his hearers would be likely to be disturbed by his official ministrations. As have all other ministers at Wells, he probably labored in the field with his own hands, to supply the wants of his household. In 1670, "Goodman Hammons was chosen for the ordering and causing of an oughthouse to be built on the the town lot for the use of Mr. Paine and them that shall succeed him, and how much every man of the town shall do for his appor-tion and part." This seems to have been all that was done for him during his pastorate, and perhaps this was in part fulfillment of the contract with him, as before stated. For aught that appears, his ministry was a peaceful one; but a peaceful ministry is not always the most profitable. It does not indicate a living, active piety. Iniquity needs heavy blows for its correction. The blood of both Christian and sinner must be excited to work out a substantial, firm religion.

Mr. Paine continued here until his contract expired in 1672. Where he labored afterwards is unknown. Subsequently he was invited to settle at Saco; but for some reason, not stated, he declined the invitation.

JOHN BUSS succeeded him. He came here in 1672, being then about thirty-two years of age. We are not sure that he assumed the title of reverend. He was an educated physician, and continued the practice as such during his life. But he considered the spiritual health of the people as necessary as the physical; and therefore took a deep interest in prescribing for both. There is no doubt, as a general principle, that a healthy soul will do much to promote a sound bodily health; and sometimes the latter will materially aid the former. These two professions were much more frequently united in that age than at the present. Physicians, now, are not often found preaching the gospel, though some of them afford noble examples of Christian fidelity and worthy discipleship. There is no class in community who would do more good, if endued with the spirit of the Master, than those of this profession. Called as they are to the sick chamber, and so frequently when its inmate has but feeble hope of restoration, they would be welcomed as angels of mercy, exciting again, perhaps, the hope of renewed earthly life, and awakening such cheering spiritual emotions as would come to the aid of the debilitated body, and so excite its powers as to enable it

to overcome the strength of the disease which was hastening it to dissolution. There is nothing like a courageous, hopeful spirit, to ward off the assaults of the great destroyer. The soul, determined to dwell still longer in the earthly tabernacle, has not unfrequently performed miracles of this character. Every physician ought to be a Christian. The man who thoroughly understands the wonderful machinery of the human system, and does not lift up his thoughts and heart to the Infinite Architect from whose wisdom it emanated, with reverence, trust, and love, must be dead to all those holy emotions, which can render him worthy to be called a child of God.

Mr. Buss was evidently more acceptable to the people of Wells than any of the previous incumbents of the pulpit. His general acceptance among them may well be presumed to have had its basis, in the double capacity in which he spent his time among them. By that instrumentality he became familiar with all, and learned their various temperaments, and the appropriate ministries for their improvement. We have seen none of his sermons, and cannot judge of his power as a preacher.

As there was no other physician in Wells, he must, in his medical profession, have reaped a reasonable pecuniary income. He received a much larger salary than was allowed Mr. Paine for his ministerial services. He was to have £60 annually,—and there was added to this a contribution of thirty-one of the people, promising him forty-two days' work of men, and as many more with oxen. The owners of the saw-mill at Kennebunk, living six miles from the meeting-house, gave him three hundred feet of boards. Another agreed to shoe his horse for two years, and others promised to give extra aid in various ways. These facts, when it is considered how hard it was then to make provision for one's own family, show that Mr. Buss had strongly attached himself to the people. How successful he was in building up the christian character among them cannot now be ascertained. The people had improved in some measure since the days of Mr. Fletcher. Nearly all the inhabitants came forward and offered additional aid to that which they would be required to give in the way of taxation. Enjoying thus their hearty support, he had continued with them five or six years, when the peace and harmony of the congregation began to be ruffled by the breath of slander.

Notwithstanding the happy relations of most of the people with

Mr. Buss, there were some among the inhabitants over whom the evil one had unshaken dominion. Men and women, blessed with the power of speech for the most noble of all purposes, yielded its control to the enemy of all righteousness. Buss was not only highly valued in Wells, but also in the neighboring towns. But the state of society was such, though improved by his intercourse and public ministry, that the best of men could not escape the malicious and reproachful reports of the ignorant and unprincipled. This good man was not permitted to escape the foulest slander. He was severely tried by the circulation of reports which came to his ears, and feeling that he could no longer abide with the people, he determined to abandon his post. But the public around had an interest in his continued ministry; and at the court holden at York, July 3, 1677, Major "Richard Waldron, and the Rev. Mr. Joshua Moody, and Mr. Shubuel Dummer, were entreated and empowered, as a committee, to repair to Wells, and enquire the reasons of Mr. Buss' intended departure, and to use their best endeavors to take away such obstacles as do discourage his abiding among them; whereof they were desired to make their return to next court." This return is not found on the files. But they so far succeeded in quelling the commotion in the town, and encouraging Mr. Buss, that he concluded not to dissolve his connection immediately. In a few years, however, the excitement was revived by new scandal, to which even some men of influence had given currency. Mrs. Abigail Eldridge, wife of John, and a daughter of Francis Littlefield, had originated certain stories involving his character, and tending very much to bring him into disrepute. There was no foundation whatever for the defamation. Eldridge, the husband, was very indifferent to public worship; his wife was probably of similar inclinations; and like some of the present day, who have no reverence for the sanctuary, and no interest in the ministrations of the gospel, they were reckless in their insinuations against the virtue and integrity of those whose lives and examples did not accord with their own. For this groundless slander she was presented by the grand jury, and found guilty of defaming Mr. Buss; and as a punishment for her offense, was required to make a public acknowledgment of the falsity of the charge at three public meetings on the Lord's day, at Wells, York, and Berwick, at such times as the authority in those places should designate, or otherwise to receive ten stripes on the

bare skin, and her husband to pay all costs. Either of these punishments, for a woman of any delicacy, must have been crushing to the soul.

Defamatory reports coming from such sources as this would probably have been unnoticed by Mr. Buss, had not others of a higher standing given currency to them. Francis Littlefield and wife, from some unexplained reason, had aided in fanning the flame, and by such "presumptions" had involved the parish in discord and confusion. Littlefield was undoubtedly deceived by Mrs. Eldridge. He was brought to the bar, adjudged guilty, and fined for the agency which he had had in this unfortunate excitement. Mr. Buss ought not to have permitted such unfounded reproaches to weigh heavily upon his mind. The Christian should stand up like a man and not be driven from his post by the breath of slander, or by any of the machinations of the powers of darkness. But the sensitive mind of Mr. Buss could not endure even the suspicion of infidelity to his moral obligations, and he came to the conclusion not to continue any longer the minister of the town.

In 1682, he left Wells and went to Durham, N. H., where he preached for the space of thirty-three years, making a long pastorate, when ministers were not settled for life as they were in an after age. He also continued the practice of medicine. He had accumulated a valuable library. His house was burned by the Indians in 1694, and his library consumed. He died in 1736 at the age of ninety-five, and not one hundred and eight, as stated by Belknap and others.

The next minister was PERCIVAL GREEN, who was engaged in 1683. He was an educated man, graduating at Harvard University in 1680. His character as a preacher is unknown. As this was his introduction to ministerial life, and his value as an apostle of Christ had not been tested, the town was not very liberal in the arrangement as to his compensation. They agreed to pay him annually £50 in lumber and provisions, and allow him the use of the parsonage. It is said, upon what authority we do not know, that he kept school. As subsequent ministers were engaged in that work, he may have been thus employed, and it was thence concluded that it was not necessary that his salary should be equal to that of preceding ministers. Besides, since the ravages of the Indian war the town was very poor. He continued here until 1689, when the second war had commenced. He

may not have had the courage to abide the trials and issue of that terrible conflict. If he had had the true faith of the Christian, its anticipated terrors would not have driven him from the field of his labors. The soldier of the cross should have the martyr spirit, ready for any duty demanded by the relations of life. The sustaining power of the gospel was never more needed by the people than during the sufferings and afflictions of this long war. His physical services were also needed for the defense of the town against the incursions and ravages of the savage enemy. His fears may not have induced his removal, but his departure at this time it must be admitted, is very suggestive.

After Mr. Green relinquished the pastorate, Rev. RICHARD MARTIN was engaged for the service. The terms of his agreement were substantially the same as those with Mr. Green. He was to be paid £50 in the produce of the town, according to the following prices: Pork at two and a half cents a pound, wheat at four shillings a bushel, rye at two shillings and sixpence, peas at four shillings, boards at nineteen dollars, and staves at seventeen dollars a thousand. He was also to have the use of the parsonage. Money was not easily acquired at that time, and in all the new towns away from the commercial emporium, it would have been through great difficulty that a contract could have been fulfilled, whose provisions required cash payments. This state of the currency, or deficiency in currency, was not unfavorable to the permanent interests of the people. It kept the inhabitants from extravagance. The propensity for showy and costly dresses was checked. Young ladies were obliged to adorn themselves with their own handiwork, thereby acquiring habits of industry and economy. The minister's family could dress as well as any of the people, and no better. There was necessarily much uniformity in the apparel of all the households, there being no chance for the gratification of that pride which now so often exhibits itself in the display of extravagant finery. Men and women were decorated according to their personal skill and taste. Domestic manufactures supplied all their clothing. The means of education were very limited, and those even the most anxious for knowledge were obliged to graduate from the spelling-book. There was, from this fact, no reason why the people should not be united in their religious views; neither was there any occasion for uncommon ability in the pulpit.

The wide distinctions now having their root in intellectual culture and pecuniary possessions have grown out of the advances of a later age.

It would be exceedingly interesting to have the opportunity now of entering a house of worship filled with the men and women of the seventeenth century, the sanctuary being then the resort of all on the Lord's day. The law was rigidly enforced on such as neglected the assembling of themselves together. What more interesting spectacle than this whole body of men and women, with a Quaker uniformity, dressed in the plain homespun broadcloth, gingham, and other domestic manufactures of that period. The true philanthropist might almost wish the world brought back to such primitive simplicity.

It is said by some writers that Mr. Martin continued here during the whole war, but this is plainly an error. A considerable portion of the time the people were without a minister; at other times they had the services of Mr. Burroughs. But the terrors of Indian ferocity began to be felt at its commencement. To the great sorrow of the christian heart, the sanctuary where the people had been accustomed to gather together, was committed to the flames. These savages were inspired by the French Jesuits with the deepest hatred of the English religion, and with the belief that the white men had come here to drive them from their lands; and, as a consequence, their houses of worship were now a very acceptable sacrifice to their revenge. The meeting-house was burnt in 1692. From this period the people had no fixed place for public meetings on the Sabbath. The hazards of traveling also would have precluded any attendance, excepting within the garrisons. We do not see how the people could have fulfilled their engagements with the minister. The labors in the field and at the mills must have been so much restricted by the continual apprehension of Indian raids, and their fields so often laid waste that their products could scarcely have furnished adequate supplies for their families. Still, we know that they lived through their deprivations. No instance is on record of starvation from a want of the necessities of life. Young and old were inured to extremities. The appetite of the race had not been pampered, and the excitements of their condition would effectually quell any troublesome cravings from that quarter.

At what time Mr. Martin relinquished the ministry does not ap-

pear. Twenty years after this he was engaged in keeping the town school. Notwithstanding the manuscript declarations of intelligent men deceased, I may also add that it is uncertain when he began his ministry. The records would indicate that he commenced several years before the time stated. If so, Mr. Green's pastorate was of very short continuance.

After Mr. Martin closed his labors, we think there could have been, for some years, no regularly established public worship; certainly there could have been no opportunity of assembling together. Universal distress prevailed. At no period in the history of the town were the inhabitants driven to such straits for the preservation of life. The enemy had destroyed every village east of Wells; many of the people had fled from the Province. The corn was exhausted, and cattle and horses were killed or driven off by the Indians. The garrisons were crowded with refugees; not from the town only, but from the ruined villages. From the time of the commencement of this war—1688—the thoughts of all were so directed to the preservation of their families, that but little attention could have been given to the general moral improvement. There was no minister for the altar; but the people being established in the garrisons, and encouraged in some degree by military aid from Massachusetts, began to feel the need of the Sabbath ministrations.

Among those who had been driven from their homes in the eastern part of the province was Rev. GEORGE BURROUGHS, who came to Wells early in the war. Martin was here when the contest began; but what became of him during the struggle is not known. Burroughs was probably more fearless. Being a strong man and accustomed to victory in any attempts made upon things animate or inanimate, he had acquired a self-confidence and courage which fitted him for any emergency. He was the man needed for the hour. He was in Wells as early as 1688. Martin may have thus regarded the ministerial office as provided for, and surrendered its duties to him; and perhaps the people may have suggested a preference for Burroughs.

It has been very difficult to follow this man so as to determine with any certainty the times and places of his residence. He seems to have preached the gospel several years in Falmouth, now Portland; also in Salem; perhaps in Scarborough. Hutchinson, in his history of Massachusetts, says, "He had been a preacher several

years before his trial at Salem ; afterwards he became a preacher at Wells, in the province of Maine." He makes no allusion to Falmouth, although he is called of that place in the indictment against him for witchcraft ; and we know that that town had been the principal field of his ministry ; but we know also that he was here in 1688, and from that time took much interest in the preservation of the town, having written and subscribed petitions to be forwarded to the governor and council for aid.

We have no account of his ministerial faculties, or of the effect of his preaching on the people. His qualifications for the fight of faith, we have no doubt, waked up and nerved his energies to fight the savages ; but the muscular power for which he was distinguished, was seized upon by the deluded people of the age to bring his usefulness to a speedy end. He was a man of small physical stature ; and his sad fate in some degree had its origin in that fact. He was living in Wells when that terrible delusion, which had seized on the public mind, brought to the scaffold for witchcraft many of the most worthy and valuable inhabitants of New England. Although Burroughs was not minister of the town many years, yet he had so identified himself with its welfare, in the day of its peril, it cannot but be interesting, and not out of place, to present a concise account of the proceedings which terminated his life. Our knowledge of them is, in part, from the record, and in part traditionary. How far the latter is based on fact we have not the means of determining. Some of it we believe to be reliable.

He was in Wells at the time of his arrest. If so, and any of the offenses charged were committed here, it would seem that he should have been tried in York County. But the law, and I may safely say the facts, were manufactured for the occasion. As we understand the doctrine of the court, the offense might be regarded as committed in Salem, because the spectre of the witch was there, and also the person injured, or in other words the witchcraft was carried out in Salem, though the witch might have been far from that place. We are not informed who made the complaint against Burroughs. While he preached in Salem some considerable feeling existed against him on the part of his congregation, arising from differences of religious opinion, and perhaps from his alleged unchristian deportment toward his wives, he having been twice married. As he had now been absent two or three years in Wells, it is probable that the

prosecution was instigated by some angry feelings growing out of those circumstances. He had some strong friends. One of them said, "I believe he is a choice child of God." When Burroughs was arrested, we have not learned. But he was at the house of one Beadle, in Salem, Aug. 5, 1692. We suppose that he was taken on the warrant previously to this.

The tradition is, that the officer came to Wells with his aids, and arrested him, to be carried to Salem. He readily yielded himself into their hands, feeling assured of his innocence, and that no such thing as witchcraft cleaved to him. A savage war was then prevailing, and the most frightful cruelties were visited upon the people. The fears of these men were excited to a high degree by the appalling dangers which beset their journey; and instead of taking the road which led through York, and over the ferry at the mouth of the Piscataqua, they concluded to take a more retired path through the woods, and across the river at Quampegan. Other thoughts, which added to these fears, came over them. They were believers in witchcraft, and were now the close companions of one who was in league with the devil, who might, at any moment, exercise his power upon them. They had listened with wonder to the evidence which had been eliminated in other trials, of the irresistible power which had been exercised over others, by some magic agency or spell of these dangerous spirits. They had probably heard of the story of Mary Osgood, as afterwards related in court, who stated that in 1690 she was carried through the air with deacon Frye's wife, Ebenezer Baker's wife, and Goody Tyler, to a pond, where she was baptized by the devil, who dipped her face in the water and made her renounce her former baptism, and told her she must be his, soul and body forever; and after renouncing her former baptism, that she was transported back again through the air, and she believed, on a pole. These strange events and wonderful disclosures which were being made every day in court, so crowded in upon their minds that they shuddered at every moment. Finally, when entering the woods, they became so wrought up that nothing was beyond the reach of their imaginations. It was now growing dark, and very soon a black cloud shut out the sky, so that almost total darkness prevailed. A frightful storm began to rage. But still the horses and their riders must wend their way through the forests. The thunders of heaven came down with stunning peals, "and a crash more terrible than any

they had heard seemed now to rend earth and sky. A lofty pine was shivered above their heads, and its fragments thrown over them. For some minutes they were utterly blinded. And now they felt their horses borne along with the rapidity of the wind. The spell of the wizard had indeed called the fiends to his aid, who were now bearing them onward in their arms. Yet, strange as it may seem, their horses never broke into a gallop, and the motion beneath them was that of the same uniform trot in which they had been before moving. Yet on, on they went. They seemed coursing with the lightning." They felt that horse and rider were lifted from the ground and were trotting through the air. Their affrighted spirits shrank at the awful scene. But their horses carried them through, and they reached the Piscataqua river in safety. Their prisoner was calm through all this commotion of the elements, having the assurance that he had been guilty of no wrong, while the trembling officer and his comrades who had him in charge were wilted down by the terrible experience of that dismal night. They felt that they had been under the power of the spirit of evil. This place has been made memorable by this adventure, and from that day has been called Witchtrott.

The officer with his prisoner reached Salem in safety, and Burroughs was soon after brought before the court for trial, under the following indictment:

"Anno Regis et Reginae, &c., quarto.

Essex, ss. The Jurors of our Sovreign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, present, that George Burroughs, late of Falmouth, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, Clerk, the ninth day of May in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovreign Lord and Lady, William and Mary, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King and Queen, defenders of the faith, &c., and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain detestable acts, called witchcraft and sorceries, wickedly and feloniously hath used, practised, and exercised at and within the town of Salem in the County of Essex aforesaid, in, upon, and against Mary Walcott, of Salem village, in the County of Essex, singlewoman; by which said wicked acts, the said Mary Walcott, the ninth day of May in the fourth year aforesaid, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is tortured, afflicted, pined, consumed, wasted, and

tormented, against the peace of our Sovreign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, and against the force of the statute in that case made and provided." There were also three other indictments against him of similar character.

To all the charges he pleaded not guilty. A part of the evidence adduced against him was, that he held out a gun of seven feet barrel with one hand, and that he carried a barrel of cider from a canoe to the shore. To this, Burroughs replied that there was an Indian present at the time, who held out the gun in the same manner. The witnesses not remembering that there was an Indian present, it was said the Indian must have been the blackman, or the devil, who, the witnesses swore, looked like an Indian.

It was upon testimony of this character and the evidence of the girl, Margaret Jacobs, and others (which she shortly after, by her written confession, acknowledged to be false), that this minister was found guilty, and with four other persons, was executed on the 19th of August, 1692. It is said that just before his execution he offered a most remarkable prayer, and that Cotton Mather, one of the most learned men in Massachusetts, and sympathizing with these judicial murders, being present, cried out, or said to the bystanders, that no man could have made such a prayer as that unless the devil helped him. One can hardly persuade himself that such a scene as this ever occurred in New England. Burroughs was a valuable, patriotic man, laboring hard at this time in the town of Wells to save the lives of the people from the power of the savages. All the aid which, by any possibility, could be had, was necessary to check their frightful ravages. All the towns east had been destroyed, and the people had fled to some place of refuge at the west. Wells was now the frontier, exposed to all the force which the Indians and French could muster against it, and yet at this very period, when the sufferings of the people were almost beyond endurance, the court must step in, carry away this worthy man; and, at the same time, the ministers of the gospel in Massachusetts recommend to the government "speedy and vigorous prosecutions of this character," though they had already seen specimens of the evidence by which these judicial murders were being effected. If it was the ignorance of the day which led to this wicked delusion, if delusion it can be called, that thus ruthlessly sacrificed the lives of so many at its unholy shrine, then it was an ignorance carrying with it most awful

guilt; but we are unable to bring to our aid charity enough to look upon these transactions as emanations of ignorance. We feel ourselves under no obligation to search out any apology for them. If Burroughs preached doctrines not acceptable to the prevailing ministry, and this non-acceptance kindled in the souls of these persecutors a spirit of opposition, indulged until it generated a reckless revenge, then all subsequent generations should learn from this fact the perilous nature of bigotry and intolerance; and if ignorance was the mother of this awful delusion, then every one should feel, and feel deeply, the infinite need of intellectual culture. But whatever may have been the cause or basis of this disgraceful spectacle, the cause of righteousness and true religion can never derive strength from a reference to these men as examples to guide the lives of the generations which may succeed them. We might as well refer to the rumseller's character and life, who regards his business as lawful and just, for our instruction, because in other respects he is beyond reproach, as to place the agents of these iniquities before our communities as examples of a true christian manhood.

After the abduction of Burroughs from the garrison, there were not, we suppose, any public religious services until the close of the war then raging. No preaching of the gospel was allowed except by a Congregational minister. The rule of the hierarchy was still more severe than this. All persons were prohibited from building, or even using, any meeting house except by consent of the town or license from the general court. It was said as an apology for this enactment that the building of such houses had a tendency to perpetuate divisions, "and weaken such places in the comfortable support of the ministry orderly settled among them." Every house thus erected without consent was forfeited to the county, and the treasurer might sell or demolish it, according to the judgment of the court. This law was well devised to guard against any effectual departure from the established faith. No new-fangled doctrine could thus gain a foothold in town.

Order was considered indispensable to the stability of the government and the prosperity of the people. Congregationalism was the established religion, and its integrity must be preserved. No interference with its free action could be allowed. A new religion was now started—we mean new only in this province. In 1681, William Screven, an intellectual and eloquent man, began to preach in Kit-

tery the doctrines of the Baptist denomination. His ministrations were very effectual, and brought many to imbibe his sentiments; but he was at once summoned into court, found guilty of disturbing the peace, fined ten pounds, and admonished not again to repeat the offense. His hearers, also, were required to refrain from again attending any such disorderly meeting. Yet the people were exceedingly anxious for the stated ministry of the Word. Among christian men the feeling was strong that public religious worship was indispensable on the Sabbath. They could hope for no prosperity without it. They had been taught, and the position had fast hold of their hearts, as recommended by the Legislature in 1670, that the best means of increasing freemen in Maine was, "that each destitute parish obtain an able, pious, and orthodox minister;" and these friends of religion were never easy when their Zion was without a shepherd.

We have been unable to fix the precise date of the following letter, but we suppose it to have been written soon after the close of the labors of Mr. Burroughs:

"To his Excellency the Governor and Council sitting in Boston.

We, the subscribers, humbly pray that your Honors would be pleased to consider the distressed condition of the inhabitants of Wells, who are not only objects of pity with reference to the enemy and the length of the war, but also with reference to their spiritual concerns, there not being one minister of the gospel in these parts; and in this town of Wells there are about forty soldiers and no chaplain, which doth much dissatisfy them, especially some of them. If your Excellency with the Honored Council will please to send us a minister to be chaplain to the soldiers and also minister of the town, we will allow him what we can for encouragement, with what the country may allow him upon account of the soldiers, we hope will be sufficient satisfaction and encouragement to us to stand our ground, as also to the soldiers to continue here, and so shall your servants remain to pray, etc.

SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT.

JOHN LITTLEFIELD.

SAMUEL STORER.

JAMES GOOCH.

These few persons subscribing are personally known here in Boston.

If it were at Wells we have grounds to believe there would be the general voice of the town for the same."

But we have no knowledge that any chaplain was provided for the town. The years of the war remaining were passed without any regular religious worship on the Sabbath. The people could not pay the salary of the minister, and even if one had been stationed with them, by the government, but few could have had the benefit of his religious services. The savages had no respect for the Lord's day, and the people required the same vigilance on Sunday as at other times. Few of us would have been willing to expose ourselves to the dangers of a Sabbath day's journey at that period. But the war closed at the beginning of the year 1698, and among the first thoughts of the people, on the return of peace, was that of providing for the worship of God on his holy day.

CHAPTER XIV.

ACTION OF THE TOWN IN RELATION TO JURISDICTION OF MASSACHUSETTS, &c.
—GORGES' TITLE PURCHASED BY MASSACHUSETTS—FIRST COLONY TAX
—GRANTS TO VARIOUS PERSONS—ORDER OF TOWN TO PROPRIETORS TO
LAY OUT GRANTS—INDICTMENTS AGAINST THE TOWN—MANUFACTURE OF
ROSIN AND TAR—DISHONEST TAX PAYERS—DISAFFECTION TOWARD MAS-
SACHUSETTS—TAX ON MILLS—VARIOUS GRANTS—LIST OF RESIDENTS IN
WELLS FROM 1641 TO 1687.

ALL the proceedings of Massachusetts hitherto had been ineffectual in establishing its jurisdiction over the territory of Maine. A majority of the people, wearied by the constant collision of authority and the uncertainty of land titles, had acquiesced in yielding submission to that colony. Still there were some in all the towns who could not be brought to any such acquiescence. They would not acknowledge any justice in its claims. But Massachusetts persisted in its determination to maintain the position which had been assumed, and adopted every means available to that end. We are not aware of the exact state of feeling in Wells at this time. The Littlefields had gone over to the interests of that colony, and probably some other men of influence; so that in regular town meeting in 1676, the friends of Massachusetts obtained a triumph. The town did not acknowledge the claim which had been set up, but as matter of expediency yielded to it; expressing its wishes in this manner: "Upon information of a complaint made by Mr. Mason and Mr. Gorges against the Massachusetts government, together with the extended claims to the propriety of our lands, and the right of jurisdiction over us, exhibited to his majesty, we the inhabitants of the town of Wells, being legally convened to consider the premises; after serious debate of matters, have generally acted, and do hereby conclude, that there be a humble petition drawn up to his majesty in his name, earnestly supplicating his majesty's favor, petition, and confirmation, of the Propriety's lands which we honestly purchased of the natives

and have so long enjoyed, as also for our future settlement under the Bay as Government, with whose jurisdiction over us, under his majesty, we are freely contented and satisfied; and do further order by virtue of the same vote, and by an unanimous consent, that Samuel Wheelright, Mr. Symonds, and Left. John Littlefield be desired, who are hereby empowered, to draw up a petition of the abovesaid town, to be presented to his Majesty."

It may be well concluded that the unanimity here spoken of was the result of the exigencies of the hour. The Indian war was upon the settlers; and of themselves they were entirely inadequate to protect their families and possessions from impending devastations. They were glad to come under the sheltering wing of a power from which they might receive the necessary succor. But that all the conflicting interests were to be reconciled by this juncture of the affairs of the town and of the province probably was not contemplated by the people. The claims and rights of Gorges could not be obviated, or sloughed off, by any acts of the town, or any measures adopted by Massachusetts.

This was, however, the favorable opportunity for that colony to carry out its purpose of securing Maine as part of its territory. The people of the province were rendered powerless by the state of their relations with the enemy. This declaration of a willingness on the part of Wells to submit to her jurisdiction inspired that government with a new resolution to perfect the union which it had heretofore failed to establish. The government on the other side of the water was evidently adverse to the construction which was now attempted to be put on the charter of Massachusetts, so that but little hope could be cherished of any aid in that direction to accomplish the desired end. To defeat any opposition or interposition from that quarter, and to balk any efforts which might be put forth to prevent the execution of a work of so much interest, Massachusetts resolved to purchase the title of Gorges, so that, at once, all the arguments used against the alleged right would be completely neutralized. Arrangements were accordingly made for that purpose; and in 1678, for the sum of £1,250, the title of Gorges became vested in that colony. The wonderful ingenuoussness of that government in its apology to the king in 1677, while this arrangement was in process of perfection, will appear to all who have studied the history of this claim, from the following portion of it: "Sure we are that

no intention of wrong to the claimers; no unlawful design of the enlargement of our borders; no profit or advantage thereby accruing; but a grounded apprehension of our interest; real compassion to the inhabitants of an unsettled and ungoverned condition, together with a sense of duty to be faithful to our Patent trust, did cause us to receive them under the wing of your majesty's government in this colony." From whatever motive Massachusetts was led to assert this claim, it was supposed that now both the right of territory and jurisdiction had become vested by this secret purchase. But this sudden ruse created a very unpropitious excitement. The king was much enraged. Still, Massachusetts felt secure in the success of its diplomacy; and the people of the province, in the posture of their affairs, jaded by the anxieties and trials of the war, were content for the present to have this matter at rest.

From 1675, for a period of forty years, we scarcely have any other history than that of the operations, influences, and effects of the most terrible wars with which humanity has been afflicted. Attempts were indeed made in the interims of these desolating scourges to maintain a foothold in various places, though with but a very limited success. Providence did not seem to second the exertions put forth for this purpose. In the year 1675 there was a great scarcity of the necessities of life. People began to entertain apprehensions of famine. The earth had withheld her increase, and the means of supply were beyond their reach, there being seldom any available communication for the purpose. Nothing was allowed to be sent away but fish, which were to be had in abundance. A colony tax rendered necessary for public objects, was required to be paid into the treasury for the first time. Yet all these adverse pressures did not entirely subdue the enterprising spirit of the people. In 1675 grants were made to John Wells, James Bates, Samuel Storer, Jeremiah Storer, Thomas Boston, and John Bugg. Even in 1676, when the war with the tribes was sending a thrill of horror to every heart, and when, as we should suppose, no one could think of securing to himself lands, or troubling himself about anything else than self-protection, the town, looking to the increase and establishment of settlers, ordered every one, on pain of a fine of twenty shillings, to lay out any grant which had been made to him, within three months. In 1677 grants were made to several persons: to John Drisco, fifty acres, "upon condition that he builds a house upon the lot in one year, and does not desert

the place except he leaves an inhabitant upon it." Similar copditioned grants were made to John Harmon, Gilbert Endicott, and Peter Bass. The confidence in a speedy restoration of peaceful relations with the Indians must have been exceedingly strong, or the courage or recklessness of men very different from what we see at the present day, to have led the posséssors of these land grants to enter upon them, with any expectation of fulfilling their conditions. But men inured to exposure and trial will venture almost any hazard to carry out designs on which their hearts are fixed. The people already settled in Wells were anxious for help, and ready to make grants to any who would settle among them. Their own titles had been made secure by a provision in the contract with Gorges, that all who were then holding lands should be undisturbed in their possessions. It was for the interests of the townsmen to strengthen themselves by drawing in as many settlers as possible; yet it is probable that there were fewer inhabitants at the end than at the beginning of the war.

Peace having returned, various questions presented themselves for the action of the town. The old waste places were to be repaired; but such, especially, as the public were interested in. Travel was resumed, and many came back to the province to view the havoc which had been made, and to visit their desolated homes, or the spots on which their rude dwellings had stood. The inhabitants had confined themselves to the neighborhood of the garrisons, while the war lasted. Of course the fences were neglected, and bridges, such as they were, had become dilapidated. The Ogunquit bridge, which, we believe, was the first in town, had become impassible, and the town was indicted for its insufficiency—so also for not taking care of the ferry over Kennebunk river. There was no parleying, at this period, with corporations or individuals, as to their neglects or offenses. The judicial remedy was resorted to without delay.

Previously to the war, all had, to some extent, been employed in agriculture for the support of themselves and families, and some in milling, as the best means at hand to increase their estates. Some few had given a portion of their time to fishing. As fish were abundant, this business was not so profitable as it has been in later periods. The prevailing custom for the use of boats was, that the fisherman should have only one-half of the catch. Boats were then obtained with more difficulty than in later years. The present custom of allowing one-fifth for boat share grew up in the last century.

The milling business was probably the most profitable of any which had been started; but there were not privileges enough for all who might, on that account, be desirous of entering into it, and therefore some other sphere of activity was sought for. The enterprising spirit of some of the people impelled them to a new branch of work. The forests afforded material for the manufacture of rosin and tar. The pine was growing all over the town. The stumps and roots of the trees, cut down for the milling operations, might be put to use for the extraction of these articles so much needed for the purposes of commerce, and some of the enterprising settlers resorted to the experiment of trying their success in this direction. How much was manufactured, or how long the business was continued, we cannot state. We should judge that it might have been profitable, and we can see no reason why it should not be so now, when such havoc is made of the forests, while the material needed for it is left to perish. The value of the article of tar at that time may be tested, the amount of material required for a given quantity and some further knowledge of our judiciary acquired from the fact that, in 1686, John Harmon made a complaint before the grand jury that Richard Rogers had entered upon his land in Wells and carried off eighteen loads of candlewood. This term was then applied to the pitch knots, which were made use of to answer the purpose of candles. Rogers was found guilty of the trespass, and was fined "five barrels of Tar at 25 gallons a barrel." We suppose that was about the worth of the wood, over and above the expense of manufacture. But the authority for the imposition of a fine of this character, we can trace nowhere else than to the brain of the magistrates.

Such had been the vacillation of rights, even during the war, Gorges being sometimes in the ascendancy, at other times Massachusetts, that the people could not understand their position or their obligations; to whose jurisdiction they were amenable, or who were to pay the expenses incurred for the protection and defence of the settlements. This uncertainty had no small effect in checking the zeal of some of the inhabitants, and in 1677 they directed Samuel Wheelright, who was chosen deputy to the general court, to endeavor to ascertain "in what capacity they stood in reference to carrying on the war," and at the same time to assure the government that they were ready to pay their proportion of what had already accrued, and were prepared to do their part in any other war in which

the colonies might be involved. They were not terrified or disheartened at the ordeal through which they had thus far passed. Such has been human nature in all ages. Even the greatest deprivations of war, and the terrible experiences of the battle field, have been insufficient to prevent many from heartily rushing anew into similar excitements. But while they were thus ready to fight out the war, even to the loss of all things, they felt, also, that remuneration for the expenses thereby incurred should be made by the government, in whose interests they were exposing themselves. Having the assurance that Massachusetts had become the proprietor of the territory and would discharge all claims, they maintained their ground until the savage foe thought it wise to leave the field and stay their desolations.

But the financial question now became one of interest. Their own proportion of the burdens must be provided for. The visible property for taxation, aside from their real estate, was exceedingly small, there being several persons who were ready to shirk their responsibilities, by concealing what they had and rendering false statements in regard to it. Amidst all the patriotism of the hour, some souls were found whose niggardliness would well compete with that of some specimens of modern civilization. Dishonesty and meanness are not the exclusive attributes of the nineteenth century. The honor of this kind of fraud was then sought by some of the race. But such iniquity then, as now, was not always successful. Such men were looked after, and at the court holden in July, 1679, the judges, being "advised that some persons in the late assessment for war rates did not give in a true account of their property, appointed Capt. Charles Frost, Capt. John Davis, and Lieut. John Littlefield, commissioners, to sit at York, and invested them with full authority to summon in these unfaithful men, and make them disclose the truth." How this trust was executed we are unable to say; but we have no doubt it was in a good measure successful. In those days, criminals and evil-doers seldom escaped with impunity. The forms and rules, which now so frequently obstruct the course of justice, had not then been introduced. Some tribunal invested with plenary power to the same end would have been a wise institution for all subsequent years.

Notwithstanding the purchase of Maine by Massachusetts, much discontent still remained. Many felt that it would have been better

to have continued under the government of the king. This feeling was strengthened by the act of Massachusetts in assessing a tax of three thousand pounds on the towns of Wells, York, and Kittery, for the payment of expenses incurred in the Indian war. This, in their poor circumstances, was regarded as exceedingly oppressive. Such burdens are apt to affect the political principles of men, and many in the towns of the province signed a petition, addressed to his Majesty, Charles II., requesting that the province might again be taken under royal authority, and the people be allowed to have a government of their own. This petition purports to be addressed to the king by the inhabitants of Maine; but it is principally, we think, in the interest of some of the western towns. Many of the subscribers were of Kittery and York, but only two or three of Wells. The inhabitants of this town, as they had assented to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, for better or for worse, were disposed to abide quietly the consequences. That colony duly organized a government for Maine in 1681, and the relations of the towns to Massachusetts seemed to be thus settled. A provincial council was established, of which Samuel Wheelright, of Wells, was one of the members. Being an influential citizen of the town, the people quietly submitted their affairs to his wisdom.

One provision of the articles of agreement with Massachusetts was, that a garrison at Fort Loyal, at the east of Falmouth, should be maintained by the province. The other parts of the arrangement, it is believed, were perfectly satisfactory to the people. At a court holden on Smutty Nose Island, in November of this year, it was ordered that Fort Loyal should be sustained by a tax on the mills in the province. The relative value of the mills in Wells will be seen by the tax which was imposed upon them. John Littlefield's, on Ogunquit river, were assessed four pounds. Joseph Littlefield's, where Buffum's now stands, on Webhannet river, two pounds. William Frost's, on Little river, one pound. Sayward's mills, on Mousam river, six pounds. Littlefield's mill, on Kennebunk river, near the present main road, four pounds. In 1684, Jonathan Hammond, Joseph Littlefield, and William Frost had built another mill on Little river, which was assessed four pounds.

After the close of the war in 1678, grants of land were made to Thomas Durrel, Nathaniel Cloyes and Abraham Tilton; in 1679, to Henry Brown and Elizabeth Looke; in 1680, to Edmund Littlefield,

of two hundred acres and water privilege to build a mill on Kennebunk river; to Nathan Littlefield, one hundred, Nicholas Cole, one hundred, and Samuel Littlefield, one hundred. That part of the town, now Kennebunk, had been generally neglected up to this time. There was a great rush for mill privileges. And though the Mousam and Kennebunk rivers presented many sites for the erection of mills, they had not hitherto been sought after. They were too far from the help which the exigencies of their remote state might require, and, therefore, people had been disposed to avail themselves of the small streams and the brooks with which the town abounded. Accordingly, in the more immediate vicinity of the settlers, mills were built on every little fall near the main highway. There had been a saw-mill on the small brook near the house of the late John Wheelright; but as it was not assessed at this time it must have been abandoned. Perhaps it was burned by the Indians during the war. Little river from its mouth to its head, presented many falls furnishing but a small water power, but they were soon taken up and occupied. The territory back of the town was called Eppiford or Epesford, Merryland, and the Great Plains. The original lots beginning on, or a little below the king's highway, extended two and a half miles back into the country. At the head of these lots a highway was reserved, parallel with the king's road, and the Merryland and Plains lots commenced on this. Those who took grants of these lots were thus located between two and three miles from the neighborhood of the townsmen. The territory of Kennebunk was still further off, being four or five miles from them, and about the same distance from the traveled way by the sea, so that immigrants then gave the preference to Merryland. Kennebunk was also an entire wilderness, there being none of those open spaces, ponds or marshes which were found in Maryland, on whose borders people preferred to locate themselves, rather than in the dense forests, where the vision was limited to the very small space which the woodman's axe had opened. Edmund Littlefield, the grandson of the first settler, did not think it expedient to engage in the enterprise of building and operating his saw-mill alone on Kennebunk river, and before commencing sold one-half of his privilege to Nathan and Samuel Littlefield. They built their mill in 1681. This was the last building erected in Kennebunk for many coming years. The remainder was a deep wilderness, and so remained till the close of the two savage

Wars which soon followed. The lot laid out to Henry Brown on the Mousam river may have been occupied, though we think not. Robert Stuart may have built a house on the lot adjoining in 1679 or 1680, but we have no reliable evidence on that point.

In 1681, grants were made to William Frost and Gilbert Endicott on the eastern side of the Branch river; and to John Masters and Abraham Masters at the upper part of Ogunquit river; in 1682, to William Frost and Jonathan Hammond, of 200 acres, on the west side of Little river, with the privilege of building a saw-mill, which was erected the next year. In 1683, grants were made to James Ross of 100 acres on the northeast side of Little river, and to John Littlefield, jr., a hundred acres at the head of his father's, on Ogunquit river, and to Jonathan Littlefield 200 acres at the head of his father's, Francis Littlefield, jr's., original lot; to Joseph Storer fifty acres near Joseph Bolles' land. In 1684, to Henry Brown and James Oare, four and a half acres on the west side of Mousam river, at the head of tide water; 100 to Nicholas Moory on the north side of Little river; to Thomas Cousins 100 on Little river below William Frost; 100 to John Barret, jr., and 100 to Benjamin Curtis on the west side of Mousam river. This last grant was afterwards made to Ralph Andrews.

For a few years the prospects of the settlers had been bright and encouraging, and immigrants had been selecting lots for habitation and improvement; but apprehensions of another Indian war came now like a blight over all the animating hopes of the people. These fears were general, extending through the province and into New Hampshire, various acts of the Indians seemed to justify such apprehensions. But by a timely council these fears were allayed; a new treaty was made with them in 1685. The next year a grant of a hundred acres was made to Francis Littlefield at the head of his lot. But the hopes of the people were again doomed to disappointment. The savages were evidently preparing to kindle anew the fires of vengeance. The obligations of treaties over their untutored minds were of but little weight. The alcohol and artifices of the white man had educated them for their direful work. Hence the aspect of affairs in the province was such as to check any further progress toward the settlement of the town. No one would take a grant on the condition of occupation and improvement within two years, consequently no grants were made after this during that year

or the next. The fears of a rupture were too well founded to admit of any such action ; and in 1688 they were realized by the initiation of a war, memorable for its cruelties and terrible results.

We have been particular in stating these grants, that our readers might learn who the men were who lived, or attempted to live, here during these years of peril, and the time and manner in which different parts of the town began to be settled. All these grantees did not hold the lands assigned to them. The terrors which hung around the settlement appalled many a heart. All could not look forward with composure and fortitude to a new conflict with the red men. Some even, who had entered upon their grants, erected houses and mills, and prepared their lands for cultivation, were terrified at the prospect and fled to places of safety. In 1685, when the apprehensions of a speedy war were general, John Frost who lived near the Eldridge house, sold off his house and lands, embracing 200 acres, which he had occupied some years, to Jonathan Littlefield, and sought a hiding place in Nantucket, where he was beyond the reach of Indian vengeance. The haste with which he abandoned his home is manifested from the fact that he sold his whole homestead and buildings, in the most thickly settled part of the town, for thirty-five dollars. William Frost, also, who lived near Little river, sold his 100 acre lot, his dwelling-house, and one-third of the saw-mill which was built the year before, with all the iron work, to Lewis Allen, and another hundred acre lot on the east side of Little river, for about two hundred dollars. Where he went we are not apprised, probably to Nantucket or the Isle of Shoals, though we are not sure that he deserted the town. George Chambers sold his 100 acre lot near this Little river mill, on the eastern side of the river, which we presume was under cultivation, as no claim of the town existed against it, for ten dollars. John Buckland, who lived somewhere about the village at the Port, on the western side of Kennebunk river, sold his dwelling-house and six hundred acres of land to James Littlefield, and moved to the village in Wells in 1687. His defenseless condition away from all help, afforded abundant reason for his removal. He could not have expected to survive the war. We suppose that this house was afterwards burned by the Indians. We have not been able to learn where it stood.

Beside the apprehension of renewed hostilities on the part of the Indians, there were other causes which hindered the progress of the

settlement. The dissatisfaction and contention of the people with their political status had not yet entirely subsided. Something of the spirit with which this contention was sustained may be learned from the gravamen of the complaint against William Furbish, before stated; that he had abused the authorities by denouncing them as "Devils and Hellhounds." Demagogues were at their work with the ignorant portion of the people, so that the excitement was not suffered to abate. The king was still intent on securing the province to himself. Episcopalians, and the Lygonia claimants also, were heartily opposed to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, so that no one could have entire confidence as to the stability of personal possessions, freedom of opinion, or even to the security of life. War with some power was always imminent.

But there were some circumstances which rendered a location in Wells desirable. It was a shire town. The courts were in part holden here. It was also to some extent the capital of the province. The council under the government instituted by Massachusetts convened here. A little village had also been built up on the sea-board where ready access was to be had to the flats and the sea for a partial supply of the necessities of life, and mills were in operation to furnish needed materials for the erection of buildings. Still, the obstacles which have been named, were more than sufficient to counterbalance the inducements which were thus held out to those seeking a place of residence.

To aid those engaged in genealogical pursuits, we complete this chapter with a brief account of those who had lived in Wells previously to the second Indian war. Widely variant statements of the population of the town are found in standard historical works. Toward the close of King Phillip's war, Palfrey says, "Wells was again depopulated;" while Williamson states before the initiation of the next war that there were one hundred families here. Our own examination of the matter has led us to a very different conclusion from that of the learned and accurate historian of New England. We know that he must have based his statement on the authority of some generally reliable writer. He never records a fact upon doubtful testimony. We have no knowledge of his authority in this case, but we have the utmost confidence that the alleged fact is without support in historical truth. Wells has never been depopulated from

the day when the first pioneer entered upon its soil. Amidst all the hardships and fearful struggles which the inhabitants were called to face, they steadfastly maintained their hold on the territory. Though some few could not withstand the terrors and realities of the savage war, the main body of the settlers were firm in the resolution not to be driven off by the wiles or the more open manifestations of Indian malice and cruelty. While all the rest of the province east had been laid waste, and the inhabitants scattered, some of them finding refuge in Wells, this town presented a bold and determined front to all the force and stratagem directed against it. They even held their town meetings, and occasionally made grants of lands, required the people to attend public worship, and prosecuted those who neglected to do so. The courts were also holden here, and nearly the entire village was preserved from fire and desolation. We claim for the inhabitants all the honor and patriotism which properly belongs to them. Though poor and ignorant, and not abounding in moral strength, the terrors which constantly beset them were insufficient to drive them from their posts. It may be that some of them were impelled by the order of court, that all deserters from the place should forfeit their estates to brave the perils before them. But, from whatever cause, the fact is beyond controversy that the settlement was not broken up. All the records both of the town and the county, and, we think, contemporaneous history sustain this position.

While we thus believe the allegation of a first or second depopulation unsustainable, we think that Williamson overrates the number of families. Much labor is required to ascertain the truth on this subject. Some of our local historians have regarded the settlement as beginning thirty years after this time. But it was begun by the enterprise of Edmund Littlefield in 1641, and civilization has never since lost its foothold. Though the hazards of war were too appalling to permit immigrants to come in only to share in the struggles of the townsmen, the original settlers held fast to their possessions. Instead of one hundred families at this time, we believe the population was embraced in about eighty. Many of the people who came to Wells and took grants of land, did not continue long enough to fulfill the conditions attached to them, but withdrew to other places, and perhaps resorted to other more congenial business. The follow-

ing list we believe embraces the names of all who resided in Wells from 1641 to 1687 :

Luis Allen,	John Eldridge,	John Masters,
Ralph Andrews,	Joseph Emerson,	John Manning,
William Ashley,	Gilbert Endicott,	Thomas Mussell,
Samuel Austin,	George Farrow,	Nicholas Mory,
John Barret,	John Frost,	Thomas Mills,
James Bates,	John Frost, jr.,	James Oare,
John Bates,	William Frost,	Philemon Purmotte,
Stover Batson,	Anthony Feathery,	Robert Paine,
James Barkhouse,	John Gooch,	John Richardson,
Francis Barkhouse,	John Gooch, jr.,	Edward Rishworth,
Peter Bass,	James Gooch,	John Reed,
Henry Boade,	Percival Green,	John Sanders,
Joseph Bolles,	George Habourne,	Henry Sayward,
Robert Booth,	Samuel Hatch,	John Smith,
Thomas Boston,	Phillip Hatch,	William Sayer,
Joseph Bolles, jr.,	Israel Harding,	John Smith, jr.,
William Buckland,	George Hammons,	Joseph Storer,
John Buckland,	William Hamans,	Samuel Storer,
John Buss,	Jonathan Hammond,	Jeremiah Storer,
John Bush,	John Harmon,	Benjamin Storer,
Samuel Bolles,	Robert Hethersey,	William Symonds,
Henry Brown,	Henry Hatherley,	Hartakendon Symonds,
John Bugg,	Robert Hilton,	Robert Stuart,
James Boston,	Ezekiel Knight,	William Taylor,
James Carr,	Ezekiel Knight, jr.,	Jonathan Thing,
George Chambers,	Edmund Littlefield,	Abraham Tilton,
John Cheater,	Francis Littlefield,	John Trott,
John Clayes,	Francis Littlefield, jr.,	Rev. John Wheelright,
Nathaniel Clayes,	Anthony Littlefield,	Samuel Wheelright,
Peter Clayes,	Thomas Littlefield,	Thomas Wheelright,
Nicholas Cole,	John Littlefield,	John Wheelright, jr.,
Nicholas Cole, jr.,	James Littlefield,	John Wadley,
William Cole,	James Littlefield, jr.,	Robert Wadley,
John Cole,	Joseph Littlefield,	John Wakefield,
Thomas Cole,	Jonathan Littlefield,	William Wentworth,
Thomas Cousins,	Isaac Littlefield,	William Wardell,

Isaac Cousins,	Nathaniel Littlefield,	John West,
Joseph Cross,	Samuel Littlefield,	John Wells,
John Cross,	Francis Littlefield, 3d,	Thomas Wells,
John Cross, jr.,	Josiah Littlefield,	John Wooden,
Benjamin Curtis,	Gussian Lagan,	John White,
John Drisco,	Richard Martin,	Samuel Webber.
Thomas Durrell,	Nathaniel Masters,	

CHAPTER XV.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR—LETTERS OF WHEELRIGHT, STORER, AND OTHERS—LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION OF GARRISONS—LETTER OF CAPT. ANDREWS—A TRUCE SIGNED, AND DISREGARDED, BY THE INDIANS—APPEALS TO THE GOVERNMENT FOR AID—CONTRIBUTIONS—ATTACK OF THE INDIANS UNDER MOXUS—MASSACRE AT YORK—DEATH OF REV. SHUBUEL DUMMER AND WIFE—SUCCESSFUL DEFENCE OF TWO SLOOPS AGAINST THE ATTACK OF FIVE HUNDRED OF THE ENEMY—ATTACK UPON LITTLEFIELD'S GARRISON—NARROW ESCAPE OF LITTLEFIELD—TREATY ENTERED INTO WITH THE SAGAMORES—ATTACKS UPON DOVER, KITTERY, AND YORK—DEATH OF MAJOR FROST—RUMSELLERS PROSECUTED—MODES OF PUNISHMENT—THE STOCKS—THE CAGE—GRANT OF GREAT FALLS TO JOHN WHEELRIGHT AND OTHERS—GRANTS TO VARIOUS PERSONS—DEFECTIVE CONDITION OF THE EARLY RECORDS—VOTE OF THE TOWN RELATIVE THERETO—SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT—WILLIAM HAMMOND.

NOTWITHSTANDING the unfavorable representation which we have felt ourselves obliged to give of the characters of a majority of the men who were commorant in Wells before the first Indian war, they were not entirely destitute of the elements of a true humanity. Many of them were brave and fearless. Whether this was a reckless courage, or a fortitude having its root in sound moral principle, we shall not stop to inquire. The interests of civilization demanded it, and it was at hand. There were some whose integrity we have no reason to doubt; men ready at the call of duty to buckle on their armor and fight the battle of life, in whatever direction their services might be required. A few of these remained to infuse a noble spirit into the hearts of those who had now come upon the stage of life. Francis Littlefield, Samuel Wheelright, Jonathan Hammond, William Hammond, John Littlefield, and a few others, solidified by more than sixty years' hard experience, were here, invested with the might of a Christian patriotism, and John Wheelright, afterwards called the "bulwark of Massachusetts for defence against Indian assaults." Joseph Storer, distinguished for his exertions and sacrifices.

for the protection and preservation of the lives of the inhabitants and of those fleeing from the eastern towns, had now arrived at mature life. Other brave men had come into the settlement, so that most of those, in whose trust now remained the care of the town and the interests of the province, were men of whom their successors may well be proud.

The landing of the first colonists on the shores of New England and their struggles to maintain a foothold here, have been, and continue to be, subjects of deep interest to the historical student. No one can acquaint himself with our early history without wondering at the unfaltering energy and perseverance of those true pioneers of civilization; but there were epochs, one of which we are now approaching, in which the descendants of these noble men and their newly immigrant companions were subjected to an experience, if possible, more trying, and suggestive of a more remarkable fidelity to the interests of humanity, and of faith in the controlling wisdom of the Infinite. No intelligent man, whose moral sense has been uncontaminated by his material relations, can read of the fortitude and unfaltering resolution of the brave men and women of the latter part of the seventeenth century, without having awakened within him admiration of a magnanimity almost supernatural, for which they must ever be remembered. The anxieties and deprivations of the early settlers, the fears incident to their location among savages, and the many hardships which must have attended their struggles for an abiding foothold, can only be realized by those whose lot it has been to have had a similar experience. But however uncongenial their condition, however abhorrent it may have been to the sensibilities of civilized humanity, however tedious, wearisome, and soul-subduing this self-banishment from the joy and quiet of home life in the mother country, their sufferings were light when compared with those of the generation succeeding them, in this second Indian war. The Puritans and their comrades in the same noble enterprise were subject to a severe discipline of affliction; but this severity of trial was not of long duration. The horrors of a long Indian war did not come home to them. They occasionally trembled in view of collision with these wild men of the forest; but they knew not what it was for years to be in jeopardy every hour from their ferocity. Death, or a merciless captivity, seldom disturbed their thoughts. They could cultivate the earth and look forward to its ready benefi-

cence in return, with a reasonable assurance that they would have wherewith to sustain and make life comfortable. And more than this, they were in the full enjoyment of that Christian liberty of which they had been denied in the fatherland. They could daily enjoy a close communion with God, and such a use of his ordinances as would minister to their edification without being subjected to such as were unscriptural and emanating from a bigoted hierarchy. Nothing so tranquilizes the spirit as the peaceful, undisturbed worship of the Infinite; and when the mind, long shackled in its aspirations, comes suddenly into the true liberty of the gospel, a peace and calmness come over the soul which outward circumstances cannot materially affect. Religious fervor is an effectual antidote for innumerable outward afflictions.

The men and women of the last decade of the seventeenth century, dwelling in Wells, and the larger part of the people of Maine, found themselves in a condition far less favorable to personal quiet and peace. They had, in the few years of peace intervening since Phillip's war, built themselves houses, reduced their lands to a good degree of cultivation, and after years of severe and unremitted labor had reached that condition in which they might anticipate the ordinary enjoyments of life. Impending war again blighted their hopes. The fires of revenge were re-kindled in the Indian wigwam, and the tribes launched forth, with tomahawk and scalping knife, to kill, burn, and destroy.

The assurances of the new governor, Andros, that there would be no war, tended to allay the apprehensions which had taken hold of the mind of the settlers. He supposed that the Indians could be appeased by mild and gentle measures; but he knew but little of the Indian character, more especially when it was moulded by French jesuitry. His mistaken apprehensions were soon manifest. His hopes of peace and safety were suddenly blasted, and the exigencies of the moment were to be provided for in the best way possible. He ordered the forts throughout the province to be manned, and the necessary supplies furnished. The fort at Kennebunk, under the command of Lieut. Puddington, was to be relieved from Saco, and that at Wells in the same way. Capt. Noah Wiswell, with thirty friendly Indians well armed and equipped, was sent to protect York and Wells. John Wheelright and Joseph Storer, whose influence will be felt through many years following, and of whom we shall

speak specially in a future page, were immediately in council as to the demand of the crisis, and despatched the following letter :

“Jan. 23, 1689. Major Frost. These are to inform you that Lieut. Fletcher came to Wells, and brought two wounded men to Wells, and the Indians has killed yesterday eight or nine men at Saco, who were looking for horses to go along after the Indians, but now are disappointed and cut off, and they judge there was sixty or seventy Indians that fought the English, and they have burnt several houses and destroyed a deal of their corn, and we judge now is the time to send some of the army east to Saco. The people are not able to bury their dead without help ; and this day, just as they came away, they heard several guns go off, and know not what mischief is done. Pray give York notice forthwith.

To Major Charles Frost, or the Chief Commander of the Army.

SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT.

JOSEPH STORER.

JOHN WHEELRIGHT.”

Baron De Castine, dwelling on the Penobscot, had become excited against the English, by the treatment received from them in destroying and carrying away his property ; and having unbounded influence over the Indians, he inspired them with his own resentment, and awakened anew within them a spirit of vengeance, which was soon aroused to action, by ill treatment received at Saco and North Yarmouth.

No other town in the province was so well provided with houses of refuge as Wells. This was due to the prudent foresight of Storer and Wheelright. There were here seven or eight garrisons, some of them built in the best manner for defense against assaults from without, and for the protection and comfort of those within. As these buildings are fast disappearing, it may be well to add here, *in memoriam*, some brief account of their construction. The same general principle prevailed in the erection of all ; they were built for defense against the attacks of the Indians only. They were, we think, universally of two stories, the upper projecting out from eight inches to two feet beyond the lower. This projection was designed to give opportunity for those within to fire down, or turn hot water, upon any one attempting to open the doors or windows, small port-holes

being made in the floor of the projecting part for this purpose. Similar port-holes were also made in different parts of the house, for the purpose of keeping watch of the enemy, and for the use of musketry, and for such defensive operations as occasion might require. Some of these garrison houses had a flanker or watch tower, at two opposite angles or corners, and some at the four corners, projecting out from the upper story, from which a view could be had of every part of the building outside ; and from which the sentinels could direct their guns against any assailant who should attempt an entrance. Some of them were framed and boarded like the houses of the present day, and were protected by palisades. These were constructed by driving posts or stakes into the ground a few inches apart—sometimes as near as the flooring timbers of a ship. They were put up at some distance from the house, so as to afford room for the inmates to move about in the free air as occasion required.

There were other garrisons, constructed of timber hewn six or eight inches square, and built as are many of the log houses of the present day, the timbers being laid horizontally one over the other, and matched together at the corners, the port-holes answering the place of windows. The doors were of thick heavy plank. In some of the towns there was one large garrison house, to accommodate soldiers sent there for the protection of the inhabitants, and of such others as might flee there for refuge. They were divided into suitable rooms for domestic and social use and comfort ; so that families continued to reside in them long after they ceased to be necessary for protection against the Indian enemy. These garrison houses are still to be found in some of the towns. It would be well for the youth of the present generation to make a pilgrimage to them. They are the monuments of the hard life of our forefathers, as well as of the architecture of the olden time. Those who would have the advantage of a personal examination of these relics may find two of them in what is called the Scotland parish, in York. The Junkins house and the McIntire house still survive the ravages of time. The former, windowless, tenantless, dilapidated, and forsaken, yet speaks to the traveler of the fears, anxieties, and struggles for life, through which civilization here maintained its existence.

The principal garrison in Wells was that of Joseph Storer, which stood on the site of the present house of John S. Pope. It was a large establishment, fitted to accommodate a great many persons as

a temporary refuge. It had for its protection a large palisade ; on the outside of this, small tenements were erected by various families, so near that they could in a moment rush to the garrison when warned of danger, or when the enemy was known to be in the vicinity. These garrisons are sometimes called forts, and answered well as a substitute. The Indians seldom succeeded in their assaults upon them. The garrison of John Wheelright was at the eastern end of the town, near where stood the house of the late John Rankins. The houses standing where Wm. G. Cole, Daniel Eaton, and George Hobbs now live, were also garrison houses. Jonathan Littlefield's stood near the site of that now occupied by Samuel B. Littlefield ; Samuel Wheelright's where Noah M. Littlefield, deceased, lived. William Larrabee's was between the house of the late Benjamin Larrabee and the Mousam river ; Thomas Kimball's, where the late Isaac Peabody lived, though the last two were built at a later period.

The people of Wells having but a few years previously gone through the trial of a war with the Indians, knew very well their mode of warfare. Their scouts seldom tarried long in any one place, but did whatever damage was in their power as expeditiously as possible, and then disappeared, to come as suddenly upon some other place. They were great cowards, and were very careful not to tarry where reinforcements might speedily be had. But little was done by them in open day, or after the manner of modern warfare. Except when under the control of French officers, they carried on their evil work by small squads ; and not being subject to the discipline and order of large armies, and having but little to encumber them, they could travel a great distance in a day. They had also great advantage, from the fact that they were acquainted with the people, and the location of their houses ; and could well calculate the force which they might be obliged to meet, and where they might safely make their assaults.

The communication between the different parts of the province was very slow and unreliable ; travelers were in imminent danger at every step ; the savages might carry on their works of darkness at any spot, and then push on to some distant place, for new havoc and devastation on the inhabitants, before they could have notice of their previous ravages. There were at this time in the province but few towns which were worthy of the name of settlements ; against these their vengeance was to be speedily directed. Wells was one of this

number; it was the important post of the English. The facts, that there were so many garrison houses, that so much care had been taken for the security of the people, and that the government had made it, in some measure, a station for the soldiery, inspired them with increased resolution to wreak their vengeance upon it. If Wells could be conquered, and its people be driven from it, the white men would be obliged not only to stay their aggressions, but to abandon the land which the Indians claimed to be theirs by divine bequest.

In the spring of 1689, the people of Massachusetts, disgusted with the hard and oppressive rule of Andros, had risen and put him and his leading supporters in prison, and committed the direction of public affairs to a large council; and now, regardless of his will, the local authorities set about measures of protection. The eyes of the Wheelrights and Storer were opened to the dangers which were at hand. The combined forces of the French and Indians having commenced operations at Casco, they sent by express the following letter to the commander of the forces in Maine.

“Province of Maine,

1690 May the 18th day.

Major Frost. These are to inform you that the Indians and French hath taken Casco fort and to be feared that all the people are killed and taken. Therefore we desire your company here with us to put us in a posture of defense, for we are in a very shattered condition—some are for removing and some are for staying, so that we stand in great need of your assistance; if we stay we must have more assistance, and if we remove, we must have help and assistance to get away with what we have left—not else.

We remain your servants,

SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT.

JOSEPH STORER.

JONATHAN HAMMOND.”

The darkest day which has ever dawned upon Wells had now come. The terror-stricken inhabitants knew not what to do or where to flee. The cries of women and children, and the certainty that many of them must be the victims of the most terrible cruelty, caused the stoutest heart to quail. But still there were some ever intent on duty, whom no terrors could wholly disarm, and whose on-

ly thought was, what the emergencies of the hour required. Another messenger was dispatched to Boston with this earnest appeal to the new council for help:

“Gent. Our sad condition puts us upon your charity. The enemy is now very near us. Saco is this day on fire; we expect them upon us within a few hours or days at least, and therefore we hereby crave some assistants from you; that we may be in some measure able to stand a few days if it be the will of God, till we heere from the Bay. if we have not immediate help, we are a lost people. So we pray that our good God may move your hearts to pity us, throwing ourselves upon the mercy of God, we subscribe ourselves your most humble and greatly distressed servants.

SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT.

JONATHAN HAMMOND.

Wells, ye 22d May 1690.

JOHN WHEELRIGHT.

JOSEPH STORER.”

The council immediately detached 120 soldiers to Maine, having received from Major Frost and others at Portsmouth, a letter of the same date, stating that all Falmouth “is certainly destroyed, and not one alive but what is in the enemy’s hands;” and that on the return of his vessels which he had sent there to ascertain the condition of the fort and of the town, “they saw Black Point, Spurwink, Richmond’s Island burning, so that nothing now remains eastward of Wells. We hope your Honors will at last see the necessity of giving a check to the progress of the enemy by dispatching away considerable force forthwith. Otherwise their success will make them pursue their conquests till we are all over. The Lord help you to pity the distresses and send speedy help, which we heartily beg who are,

Hon^d S^s, y^r humble servants.

There are 3 or 400 most women and children come in from the Eastward this week who will perish unless assisted by the charity of others. Wells will desert if not forthwith reinforced.”

In another letter, without date, some of the inhabitants of Wells say, speaking of the destruction of Saco, “we got there Friday morning, found the inhabitants in a miserable shattered condition; some of the principal men of that place destroyed by the heathen the day before we got there. Several fishermen and others had buried seven bodies—found and buried two others. Could not stop

because we expected every moment they would fall on us at Wells. We cannot withstand them without help from the soldiers. As for Saco, they are brought so exceeding low that they are just ready to desert without speedy relief. If they go away, Cape Porpoise being gone already, Wells will soon be destroyed. So in a very short time, without speedy relief, the whole province will be wholly lost and left to the pleasure of the heathen. Had not those great Rabellers made such great disturbance amongst us, we should have been in much better capacity than we are (so it is). If speedy help be not afforded us we expect nothing but ruin. We therefore humbly request your speedy assistance, or else farewell this poor province."

Such was the position of affairs for which the men of Wells were now to make provision. Though many hearts were crushed by the magnitude of the terrors which had come upon them, Wheelright, Storer and some others were unappalled by the prospect, and never relaxed their exertions for defense. The dreadful fate of Falmouth inspired them with new resolution to hold the town. All who had escaped from the destruction of the towns east, were fleeing to the west. Wells must be a refuge for them. They soon crowded their houses. All east was desolation. Many, even of Wells, living in the eastern part of the town, passed by the garrisons there to find safety in Storer's.

Although it would be interesting to the people of Wells to be acquainted with the details of the eight years of cruel warfare which followed this period, our work would be too much extended by a complete account of them, even if we had sufficient record evidence on which we could rely for that purpose. But time has swept away the larger portion of the material facts.

Soon after the devastation of all the province east of Wells, it is said there was a severe skirmish here. But as neither history nor tradition has supplied us with the particulars, we are unable to give any account of it except that which is furnished by the following letter. Roger Hill was at this time in the garrison at Wells, while his wife, to whom it was addressed, was in Saco :

"May 6, 1690. The Indians have killed Goodman Frost and James Littlefield, and carried away Nathaniel Frost and burnt several houses here in Wells. I would have our son John hire a boat and bring you from Saco and some of our things, if he possibly can.

I fear it is not safe to come by land. John, be as careful as you can of your mother, for it is very dangerous times. The Lord only knows whether we shall ever see one another any more.

Your loving husband till death.

ROGER HILL."

Soldiers were stationed here under the command of Capt. Wyly. Berwick had been destroyed. This town then was the frontier, and the government directed their attention to its preservation. But now, the fears which had done something to allay the local differences which had previously existed, having in a measure subsided, disunion and disaffection again began to show themselves. Capt. Wyly's place had been supplied by Capt. Elisha Andrews, and our readers will, perhaps, be better satisfied with his statement of the condition of affairs, than by any which we give. He addressed the following letter to the authorities at Boston:

"Ever Hon^d., WELLS, Oct. 31, 1690.

These are to inform your honors that I received a copy of the order of the General Court respecting Wells of Major Pike, which order I have obeyed. The 28th inst. Samuel Storer arrived here with a hundred bushels of Indian corn and rye, thirty waistcoats, thirty pair of drawers, and a hogshead of salt, which is but a small supply considering the poverty of the inhabitants, and the necessity the soldiers are in in respect to clothing, shirts, shoes, and stockings, that I have a great deal of trouble to keep them here, the inhabitants not caring for our company, they not desiring above twenty, if any. Therefore, I crave of your honors, that if soldiers must be kept here that we might be relieved and others sent in our room, for there is such animosity between the soldiers and the inhabitants that there is little hopes of us doing anything that tends to God, honor, or the good of the country.

The inhabitants were in but five garrisons when Capt. Wyly's went away, as Major Pike had ordered, and these are removed into seven, and several are desirous of going home to their own houses, and the most part of them is for keeping little or no watch, for there is no command amongst them, which makes them incapable of defense, that if the enemy comes upon us I am afraid their carelessness will be both their destruction and ours also; I entreat your honors to

take it into consideration. Nothing more material at present. I remain, your honors humble servant at command.

ELISHA ANDREWS."

If your Honors please to discourse
Capt. Wyly, he can inform you of all particulars."

We presume that the greater part of the refugees from the eastern settlements which had been destroyed had already left the garrisons at Wells, and sought shelter and protection in Massachusetts, and the persons here spoken of were the actual residents of Wells—the same who had before been the disturbers of the peace and indifferent to any question of public safety or interest—ignorant men, fearing nothing, and reckless of the consequences of any action, right or wrong. Had it not been for the righteous men among them, both they and all the town would have had part in the general devastation.

Major Church, so well known for his exertions in the previous Indian war, had been on an expedition to the eastward and had been somewhat successful in his military operations, though they were marked with a degree of cruelty unbecoming a Christian commander. He brought away with him the wives of two of the Sagamores and their children, telling some of the old women whom he had spared in the capture of the fort at Pejepscot that the Sagamores would find their wives at Wells. They were taken and carried there as hostages for the fulfillment of the promise that the English captives in the possession of the enemy should be restored. Church had now returned home to Massachusetts, having left here Capt. Convers and a hundred men.

The Sagamores soon came in and found, to their great rejoicing, their wives and children. They said "the French had made fools of them," and declared repeatedly, "we will go to war against you no more. We are ready to meet your head men at any time and place you may appoint and enter into a treaty." Toward the last of November a truce was signed to continue until May, and within that time they agreed to deliver up all the English captives at Storer's garrison, and to do no more injury to the settlements, and then to make a lasting treaty.

President Danforth with a large company protected by a troop of horse, was present at Wells at the time agreed upon. The Sagamores

did not appear. Convers, knowing that some of the natives were in the vicinity, sent out and had them brought into the fort, and then inquired why the Sagamores were not there according to their agreement. They answered, "we no remember the time. But still we now give up two captives, and we promise certain to bring the rest in ten days." Danforth was satisfied that they did not intend to make a treaty, and departed, promising to send immediate aid.

It seems to us strange that discerning men could have been so duped by the deceitful promises of these savages. They had just had illustrations of the entire worthlessness of their promises, even those the most solemn. The total disregard of the stipulations made at the surrender of Fort Loyal in Falmouth and other places, ought, one would think, to have fixed in their minds the conviction that no credit whatever was to be given to their engagements.

But President Danforth was anxious for the safety of the province and the people, and probably believed that the mildest treatment would be most effectual for his purposes. Such undoubtedly would have been the true principle of action before any war had intervened. If the natives in their intercourse with the white men had always been dealt with in kindness, there would probably never have been any interruption of their peaceful relations. But the iniquities of the stranger had kindled in the Indian heart the fire of vengeance, and mild, gentle measures could not extinguish the flame. If these hostages had been kept, probably there would have been no return of hostilities.

Though, as before stated, a large part of the refugees from the east had probably obtained an asylum at the west, the soldiers stationed at Wells, and the inhabitants of the town with those who remained here from the eastern settlements, we suppose filled all the garrisons. Unable to purchase provisions for the multitude, and under no obligations to do so, the leading men earnestly urged Major Church to use his exertions to have furnished a further supply of provisions by the government, or by the people at the west. John Wheelright animated with a true patriotism, entreated him to spare no pains for this object, feeling that the town must inevitably be destroyed unless succor was sent. Major Church with all speed reached Boston, and did what he could to awaken the government and the people to the immediate necessities of their condition. But the government were slow to respond to the demands of the occasion.

Church's operations east were not entirely satisfactory, and his influence was in some degree lessened with the officials. But a public thanksgiving was soon afterwards appointed, and the churches were requested then to take a contribution. Subscriptions also were had for the purpose. The ministers exhorted the people to contribute liberally. Many in the State of Connecticut assisted in this charity. The collections were forwarded to John Wheelright, John Littlefield, and Joseph Storer, to be appropriated as they judged necessary to the several garrisons.

About the same time an order was passed that "the committees of the militia of York and Wells are empowered to impress and take any fat cattle for the supply of country soldiers, from any person whatsoever, especially from such persons as desert the Province, they giving a true account of the cattle they shall so take." This order at first sight seems somewhat arbitrary and stringent. But in times of public peril, martial law or any law which will meet the exigencies of the moment, must override all private interests. The soldiery must be sustained. The defenders of the town must be provided for. Without effectual defense the cattle would all have been driven off or destroyed.

But money or provisions alone were not sufficient for the crisis. The Indians not having come in on the first of May agreeably to their promise, the people of Wells were satisfied that hostilities would soon follow. John Wheelright and his friends understood the character of the Indians better than Gov. Danforth. "Their promises," say they, "are as doubtful as themselves." Placing but little confidence in the agreement to enter into a treaty on the first of May, or in their fidelity to the truce as soon as the spring opened, on the 5th day of March they being chosen by the militia a committee for the purpose, ordered that a scout should be maintained "all along the frontier. That Lieutenant Joseph Storer's garrison and the mill garrison should join together with the persons that belong thereto, and maintain a watch of three sufficient persons in a night to walk between the said garrisons, and to take their charge of said Lieut. Storer, or some other person deputed by him every night, and Mr. Samuel Wheelright's garrison, Mr. Francis Littlefield, Mr. John Wheelright, and Jonathan Littlefield's garrison should join together in one watch and take their charge of Samuel Wheelright; and Capt. Littlefield's garrison and all the families about Negunquit

should join in one watch, two in a night, and take their charge of Capt. Littlefield." By a decree of the committee, every man who neglected to comply with this order and perform the duty assigned, rendered himself liable to a penalty.

These noble men were awake to the perilous condition of the town. There were alarming deficiencies of supplies in case of a siege by the enemy. Government did not seem to realize the urgency of the hour, and the inhabitants directed all their energies to make provision for the crisis which, they were assured, was at hand. But what could they do now, when the whole force of the enemy, flushed with their previous successes, should come upon them with that savage ferocity which had marked the terrible conflicts of the last year? How entirely inadequate must have been any means of which they could avail themselves to protect a frontier ten miles in extent! It will be remembered that the settlement at that time was along the seacoast, the houses were few and distant, and the forests above the road had scarcely begun to be subdued. Three or four men, in the darkness of night, could do but little in the way of protection against an enemy who might issue from the woods at any point, unseen by the scout. And what must have been the position of a watchman in going his beat, every moment at the mercy of the savage foe? Of what avail would a company of soldiers be for these men, or for the protection of the town, when these soldiers were shut up in the garrison? All out of the garrison might be murdered, and the assailants be at their doors, before any notice could be had of an attack. It is wonderful that man or woman should have remained here to brave the impending storm. Having done all within their power, the people appealed again to those who were bound to watch over them and provide for their safety. In a letter to the governor and council, dated the 25th of May, 1691, after speaking of the failure of the Indians to come in and complete the treaty, agreeably to their engagement, they say: "It gives us great reason to fear that all our labor and cost in this treaty is lost; our condition needs not much opening to your Honors, some of yourselves being sensible how unable we are of ourselves to withstand such an enemy as we daily expect to come upon us, if God in mercy to us prevent them not. Our humble request to your Honors is, that you would pity our distressed condition, and relieve us with some men, as in your wisdom you shall judge to be servicable for

our defence, without which we cannot expect to continue long in these parts. We desire, if it be your pleasure to grant us assistance, that Capt. James Convers may be empowered as Commander of the soldiers, and also to be added to our comity here,—as to our town garrisons so to dispose of them for our best defence.

Thus leaving ourselves to your Honors care, and the Providence of Almighty God, and rest your Honors, in all Humbleness.

SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT.

JOSEPH STORER.

JONATHAN HAMMOND.

JOHN WHEELRIGHT."

Thirty-five men were sent from the county of Essex. They reached Wells on the ninth day of June. These were stationed at Storer's garrison, and were under the command of Capt. Convers. They were just in season to aid in the defense. In half an hour afterwards the enemy appeared on the open ground, with about two hundred soldiers, under the command of Moxus. They attacked the garrison with great fury; but the inmates, aware of the fate awaiting them if they were overcome, with great bravery defended the fort and compelled the assailants to withdraw. The details of this battle have not come down to us, and we are unable to state any of its results, excepting such as are stated in the letter which follows, and in a letter of Governor Stoughton, of New York, dated June 24, 1691, wherein it is said: "We have intelligence that the eastward Indians and some French have made an assault upon y^e garrisons in and neere the towne of Wells and have killed about six persons thereabout. They drove their cattell together, and killed them before their faces." They then departed, leaving word that the assault would soon be repeated. Madockauando also said: "Moxus miss it this time; next year I'll have the dog, Convers, out of his den."

The government do not yet seem to have comprehended the necessities of the place. We cannot, for a moment, think that they were indifferent to the fate of the great number of people pent up in the garrison houses. Yet the supplies did not come, and the people came together once more to urge upon the governor the pressing needs of their condition, and despatched still another letter, setting forth their recent losses, and appealing to him for further aid in this

trying hour. They felt the need of some more rigorous measures, that the cowardly and indifferent among them might be compelled to assist in the great struggle. The following despatch was hastened off:

“Wells, July 21, 1691.

We being the front of all the eastern part of the country, remotely situated, for strength weak, and the enemy beating upon us, we can think of no other, but we are fair for ruin, and humbly conceive your honors are sensible of it, without seasonable help; our stocks are wasted the thirteenth of June last. The enemy killed and drove away upwards of one hundred head of cattle, besides sheep and horses; some of our corn is already lost, and more in great hazard; we therefore, distressed, make our humble address to your honors for men, with provision and ammunition for the strengthening of our town, with what force your honors shall see fit to keep out; also that there may be a magazine in the province that supplies may be near, whereby time will be redeemed, soldiers encouraged, and opportunity improved against the enemy; also that there be an effectual care taken, that the inhabitants of this province may not quit their places without liberty first obtained from legal authority; thus encouraging ourselves with the hopes that your honors will timely answer us herein, that so we and the rest of this poor province in great hazard, may yet stand, which may be to the honor of God, the interest of his majesty, and of the country, we rest, your honored humble servants,

The town of Wells have made choice of the worshipful Samuel Wheelright and Jonathan Hammond in this concern.

FRANCIS LITTLEFIELD.

GEORGE BURROUGHS.

JOHN LITTLEFIELD.

JOSEPH STORER.

JOHN WHEELRIGHT.

JOHN HILL.

PENDLETON FLETCHER.

JOHN CLOYES.

NATHANIEL CLOYES.”

From the foregoing representation, we infer that the skirmish before spoken of, as so severe, must have been a protracted siege of four days; having begun on the ninth and continued till the thir-

teenth, when the cattle were driven off or killed ; and as no allusion is made to any loss of men, we presume that none of the inhabitants were killed ; but the settlers were so few, the probability is that they were deprived of the larger part of the stock, and thus were forced by their necessities to appeal again to the government for help. The careless and indifferent officers of the province, whose business it was to watch over this distressed people, seem to have acted only when entreated to do so. Nearly all the inhabitants remaining in the province were in these garrisons. They were not allowed to leave, and consequently unable to do anything toward providing for their wants, and yet the government were waiting always for repeated entreaties, before taking any steps to provide the proper subsistence for them.

Letters written at the time afford a better picture of the situation of these poor prisoners than any that we can give ; and therefore we think it desirable to place them before our readers entire, knowing, as we do, how much more interesting to the descendants are the words of their fathers, than any that we could use expressive of the same facts. It may be well also to remind the reader that the first subscriber to the next petition, who also subscribed the last, and probably wrote both, was that unhappy man, whose sad fate during the ensuing year, will forever remain a stigma upon the fair fame of New England. He labored to save the town from ruin, and was giving to it all his moral and physical energies, when the delusion of 1692 which overshadowed the people of Massachusetts, brought him to the scaffold.

“WELLS, Sept. 28, 1691. To the Honored Governor and Council.

Whereas it hath pleased God (both formerly and now) to let loose the heathen upon us by holden us off from our improvements, keeping us in close garrison, and daily lying in wait to take any that go forth, whereby we are brought very low, not all the corn raised in the town is judged enough to keep the inhabitants themselves one half year, and our stocks both of cattle and swine are very much diminished.

We therefore humbly request your honors to continue soldiers among us and appoint a commander over them, and what number shall be judged meet to remain with us for winter that provisions,

corn, and clothing suitable for them may be seasonably sent, also one hogshead of salt, all ours being spent; also a present supply in that what was sent before is almost gone. We had a youth seventeen years of age last Saturday carried away, who went (not above gunshot) from Lieut. Storer's garrison to fetch a little wood in his arms. We have desired our loving friends, Capt. John Littlefield and Ensign John Hill, to present this to your honors, who can give a further account of our condition. We subscribe,

GEORGE BURROUGHS.

JOHN WHEELRIGHT.

SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT.

JOHN CLOYES,

JOSEPH STORER.

NATHANIEL CLOYES."

JONATHAN HAMMOND.

On the same day the soldiers of the garrisons entered a complaint, in which they say that they were "naked and destitute of clothing, and wish to be discharged, unless supplied; and that Capt. C. Creek is not capable of any command—they are not able to bear his cursing and swearing. A kingdom divided against itself cannot stand;" and praying that he might be removed.

We do not often meet a soldiery so sensitive to the sacredness of christian morals, and so thoroughly imbued with a sense of the vulgarity and baseness of profanity, as to consider the companionship of those with whom it constitutes a large part of their language, as unendurable. If there is any iniquity which is more revolting than an other, and utterly without excuse, it is that of the reckless and constant use of language which sets at defiance every sentiment of reverence for the Almighty, and all the sacredness of christian civilization. It was a noble spirit in these heroic soldiers, which emboldened them to brave the vengeance of such a commander, by asking for his removal.

Capt. John Hill had with him at the same time, a company of thirty-eight men, but they were, we suppose, at some other garrison. He urged the recruiting of more soldiers, and that Capt. Convers might be sent to Wells speedily. The enemy were daily expected; but some time elapsed before the Indians again showed themselves in this neighborhood. The promise of the tribes that they would come in and deliver up all English captives in May, and enter into a treaty, had had the effect of quelling the anxiety of some of the

people, and they began to be careless of their condition. Though they failed to fulfill their promises, the inhabitants of York, and others in the vicinity, do not seem to have heeded the admonition which such a breach of faith ought to have brought home to their hearts. It seems to us that the experience of former years ought to have impressed all with a sense of the worthlessness of their promises. Whether treachery was an element of the Indian character before the advent of civilization, cannot now be determined. But whether it was or not, the natives might well plead in extenuation the conduct of many of the early visitors to the shores of New England, and the wicked murder of so many of their own number in a former year at Dover. The civilization of the world has been, in some instances, very far from christian.

While all uneasiness had been thus quieted in some parts, the Indians were preparing for a more effectual campaign. They were bent on a general destruction of all the remaining settlements; and having now mustered a force of 250 of their own number, and some Frenchmen, they, on the fifth day of February, 1692, attacked the village of York. On the morning of that memorable day the enemy suddenly rushed upon the inhabitants, who were at rest in their beds, and a scene of horror ensued, unparalleled in the history of the State. The agonies of that hour no pen can describe. The merciless barbarism of the Indians was well understood by all, and the large number of the assailants precluded all hope of escape. A horrible death, or a more cruel captivity, awaited each one. The savage yell sent a thrill of terror to every heart; unprepared for defense, the people could do nothing to save themselves, and the enemy drenched the town with the blood of their victims; neither age nor sex escaped; all were subject to the common doom.

Rev. Shubael Dummer, who married a daughter of Edward Rishworth, previously of Wells, eminent for his social virtues and his moral and mental culture, was shot down while mounting his horse. His wife was seized and carried into captivity, where, heart-broken, in view of the awful massacre, the murder of her husband, and the frightful prospect before her, she soon yielded to the king of terrors. Those who had reached the garrisons were saved. But seventy-five of the inhabitants were murdered, and eighty-five taken captive. With the exception of the garrison houses, the whole village was destroyed. Many of those who were carried away died in captivity.

Under the new charter of William and Mary, which took effect May 4, 1692, Phipps had been appointed Governor. He felt more deeply the necessity of adopting thorough measures of defence. But so far as Wells was concerned, we have been unable to discover any such attention to the pressing wants of the people as we should expect. This awful carnage at York, and the destruction of that village, was fresh in the minds of the people. The Indians had disappeared from that town as suddenly as they had come upon it. No one knew where they had gone. At any hour the awful scene might be reenacted at Wells. They remembered the word of Moxus when he retired from the contest the previous year. They knew the resolution of the tribes, instigated by the French, to drive all the English into the sea. No delay in the execution of their threats, lessened the assurance that the evil day must come. Government had furnished them with but a small military force, though they had now a heroic commander. As to those in the garrison, the question was narrowed down to one of life or death; and they were nerved up to whatever work the occasion might require. Terror did not disarm them, or lead them to seek personal safety in flight. They buckled on their armor and resolved to stand fast at their posts.

Capt. Convers had been assigned to Stover's garrison agreeably to the request of the people. But the whole soldiery under him consisted of only fifteen men. This was all the reliable force to which those shut up here could look. There were, indeed, many magnanimous and noble men and women among them. Some had fled there from scenes of carnage in the East, and were wrought up to a frenzy against the relentless fiends who were to come down upon them. Though not drilled for military service, when life depended on the issue, they were ready for any post.

Two sloops, under the command of Capt. Samuel Storer and James Gooch, had arrived on the ninth of June, laden with provisions and ammunition. They had also fourteen additional men for the garrison. On the same day, the cattle came running from the pasturage from fright. Madockawando, very indiscreetly, had fired upon them. Thus notice was given of the approach of the enemy. Capt. Convers gave orders to all in the garrison and in the sloops to be on their guard, and made every preparation for defense. Spies had been sent forward by the Indians, to make reconnoissance; and one John Dia-

mond, a passenger in the vessel, attempting to escape to the fort, was seized by them and dragged away by the hair.

Soon the enemy, in force, numbering five hundred, made their appearance. Whether they emerged from the forests, or came up from the East in the highway, history gives us no account. They were under the command of Portneuf and Labocree, French Generals, aided by other French officers and several Indian chiefs. This mode of presenting themselves in face of an enemy, we think was not well suited to Indian habits of war. We have abundant evidence that they were of a very cowardly temperament. They chose to carry on their work by wile and stratagem, in small scouts, and not liking to expose themselves to musket balls, they would have fought better after their own fashion. With such a force as they had, the enemy were sure of success. It is said, they had examined Diamond, and obtained from him all his knowledge of the condition of the garrison and of the vessels; and to encourage the Indians, the officers had promised them all the pillage. Mather says, "they fell to dividing persons and plunder. Such an English Captain should be a slave to such an one; and such a gentleman should serve such an one; and his wife be a maid of honor to such or such a squaw; and Mr. Wheelright, instead of being a worthy councilor as he now is, was to be the servant of such a Netop." "Gooch's vessel was two miles up the river," says the same author, "and he wisely brought her down, undiscerned, to Storer's, by the advantage of a west wind then prevailing. A careful night they had on it." One of the enemy's officers stepped out in front and addressed the soldiers, calling upon them fearlessly to enter upon their work, assuring them that victory would surely crown their efforts, and that all should be theirs. It would have been a great prize to any of them to secure John Wheelright. He was the life and strength of the town. These promises inspired them with a courage which they had probably never manifested before.

Then, with the Indian yell, they assailed the garrison. But all their attempts to force an entrance were vain. The brave defenders put into their work their utmost energies. Their well-aimed guns made havoc in the ranks of the enemy. Mather says, "they kept calling to surrender, which ours answered with a laughter with a mortiferous bullet at the end of it."

At the same time while a portion engaged the garrison, the rest

attacked the vessels. These lay in a narrow creek where they could not be moved, and were so situated under a high bank that they could not be boarded. Mather says, "our sloops were sorely incommoded by a turn of the creek, where the enemy could be so near as to throw mud aboard with their hands. Other accounts make their distance from them sixty yards. They then built a breastwork of plank, hay and other articles near at hand, over which they fired, and one Indian, with a courage unusual in the natives, took up a plank or slab and carried it before him as a shield, when a shot from one of the sloops, says the author before quoted, "went through the slab and he fell down under it, with the slab for a tombstone." They succeeded two or three times in setting the vessels on fire; but the brave men were on the alert, and with long poles and a mop on the end readily extinguished the flames.

These stratagems being of no avail, the enemy attempted another experiment. They built a breastwork and platform on wheels, on which several of the men were pushed forward toward the sloops; but when they were within fifty feet of the vessels, one of the wheels sunk in the mud and the machine became immovable. One of the Frenchmen jumped off to raise the wheel, "Storer shot him down." Another stepped out, and "Storer shot him down." "The tide rising," says Mather, upset their chariot so that the men were open to the sloops, and they got away as fast as they could." All their contrivances and manoeuvres were unsuccessful. They continued their firing till the close of day. Defeated in all their machinations, they called on the Spartan heroes to surrender. But they only responded to the call by a loud laugh. They had lost none of their courage, though thus assailed by an almost overwhelming force.

The battle of the first day thus closed without any success on the part of the enemy, except the killing of one man on board the sloops. Though the Indians knew that the brave defenders on board the vessels were few, they were probably somewhat embarrassed in their movements by the continual fear that reinforcements might come upon them from the West. Just before they came upon the garrison a scout of only six soldiers had been sent toward Berwick. These returning the next morning suddenly came upon the enemy. The corporal with great presence of mind and quickness of thought, cried out, "Captain Convers, wheel your men round the hill and these few dogs are ours." Supposing Convers was close at hand, and that they

were about to be entrapped, they all fled with the utmost speed, and the scout safely entered the garrison.

The next morning, Sunday, the enemy, having recovered their courage, resumed their operations on the garrison. For a while a dead silence had prevailed all around. But they now approached in the full confidence of success, much to the terror of some within the fort. One of the soldiers whose heart fainted within him at their approach, feeling that it was impossible for the small company within to withstand the assaults of the enemy, and that death must be the sure fate of all if they attempted to resist, called on Captain Convers to surrender. "Utter that word again," replied Convers, "and you are a dead man." "All lay close and do not fire until you are sure of execution." The assailants marched steadily toward the garrison and gave three hideous shouts, while some one called out in English, "Fire and fall on, brave boys," and the whole at once discharged their guns. But the garrison returned their fire with cannon and muskets. The women at this terrible crisis bravely competed with the men in touching off the cannon, handing the ammunition, and doing whatever was required, until by the extraordinary exertions of all, male and female, the enemy was driven from the ground and abandoned the assault upon the garrison. But once more they directed their forces to the destruction of the vessels, trying a new stratagem. They constructed a raft about twenty feet square and loaded it with combustible matter. This they towed down the river as far as they could safely venture, set fire to it, and then left it to float down to the sloops. But a higher than human power interfered; the wind changed and blew the raft on the opposite shore, and thus defeated this well-contrived scheme. Baffled in all their attempts to induce the garrison to surrender, or to capture the vessels, and thinking it hazardous to continue the siege longer, they retreated, doing all the damage in their power. They had lost their commander, Labrocree, and several of their men, while the English lost only the one sailor on board the vessel. Disappointed in their hopes, mortified at their complete discomfiture, and angry at the obstinacy of the unyielding English, they vented their malignity on the unhappy Diamond whom they had captured, maiming and murdering him in a manner too shocking to describe.

The men and women gathered at Wells in 1692 had backbones; with nerves and muscles trained up by attrition with the adversities

of life, to meet any difficulties or dangers that might beset them on their earthly pilgrimage. They had faith in man and faith in God, which made them strong and fearless in an emergency, that would have paralyzed most men and women at the present age. Mather says this was "as worthy an action as is in our story." We feel that this is a very inadequate description of this memorable conflict. History does not record a struggle more worthy of perpetual remembrance. Here were five hundred men pitted against seven or eight sailors, on board two small vessels lying against the shore; and yet these few men, with an unfaltering courage, kept this whole army at bay, defending themselves and their vessels until the enemy, who had come upon them flushed with the certainty of success, were obliged to retire from the contest. There was scarcely a probability that they could withstand the assault for a moment; but calmly and unmoved by the awful portent, they stood by their posts and foiled all the artifices of the enemy. The names of those noble men, Gooch and Storer, should never be forgotten by the townsmen of Wells. We know not who else was on board these vessels, and engaged in this desperate conflict; but known or unknown, the whole crew were more worthy of monumental remembrance than the thousands of more modern times, whose memory is sanctified in the hearts of their countrymen, and by memorials outliving the frail human tabernacle.

We know not whether the little band on board the vessels, or the noble men and women within the garrison, are entitled to the higher meed. History speaks of fifteen soldiers within the latter; but we think there may have been thirty. Whether the latter or the former is the true number, the victory over the assailants was one that entitles not only these soldiers, but all who were within the walls of the fort, to the grateful remembrance of those who "have entered into their labors." The courage of the brave and intrepid Convers kept that of all his comrades from waning. He knew how much depended on his own resolution and firmness; his noble manliness amidst the storm was the inspiration of all about him. They labored unflaggingly, till victory came. After three days' fighting the enemy was beaten back, leaving them unharmed through all the fearful encounter. Brave and patriotic spirits! Though your noble deeds have been almost forgotten by the generations which have succeeded, these pages shall bear grateful testimony to your unsurpassed valor.

We think it will not be amiss to introduce here another instance of the bravery and resolute action of our maternal ancestry. We are uninformed as to the particular time, or in what war with the natives it occurred, but we record it as an instance, illustrative of the noble traits of female heroism, so often exhibited during these harrassing conflicts with the natives. It probably occurred during the year preceding the battle of which we have just given an account. There was another garrison house—Jonathan Littlefield's—a few rods from the present house of Samuel B. Littlefield. Although war with the Indians was now in progress, none of the enemy were supposed to be in the vicinity, and the inhabitants at times ventured some distance from their homes, from the necessities of business. The garrisons were never left without some protection, and provision was always made for the proper signalizing in case of alarm. The firing of three guns in quick succession, was notice to all to haste speedily to the garrison. At this time there was only one soldier stationed at Littlefield's, and he and Mrs. Littlefield were the only persons within the walls. Mr. Littlefield had gone to the marsh to look after his hay. While thus engaged, to his dismay, the report of the signal guns reached him. In an instant his resolution was made. His noble wife, the partner of his joys, his unflinching companion in all the adversities of life, must be saved. Though horror-struck at the thought of her peril, he was not unmanned. His physical energies were up to his resolution; and with the determination of rescuing, or dying with her, he reached the highlands. Casting his eye toward his home he discovered a large number of Indians besetting his house. Wheelright's garrison was close at hand, and dragging himself along under the fence as rapidly as possible, he reached there undiscovered. From the port-holes he could distinctly see the position of the enemy. No person could be induced to attempt with him the awful hazard of succoring the besieged; but his resolution was fixed. He had seventy-five or a hundred rods to go before he could reach his house. His heart was stout, and he would rescue the wife of his bosom or share her fate, whatever it might be.

Dropping flat upon the ground, he dragged himself along, under cover of the fence as far as it extended. From that point, a distance of about five rods, he must cross an open space, in full view of his ever watchful foe. If he would reach his house he must run the gauntlet of a hundred bullets. His faithful wife, who had guarded

their house in his absence, and with anxious fears had watched him as he crept along the fence, was waiting for him at the gate. He was near enough to discern the terrified expression of her face—more fearful for his safety than her own—and he could not hesitate. He could not turn his back upon her, although to go forward seemed to challenge death. Instantly he sprang to his feet and rushed forward through the gate, which, as it swung on its hinges, received the hostile bullets, leaving him unharmed.

The enemy, we presume, was posted at some distance from the garrison. Their cowardice would not allow them to hold a nearer position. They feared the occasional shot with which the brave woman alone had kept them at bay. By raising the crown of a hat now at one point and then at another, she had led them to suppose that the house was well guarded by soldiers. Alone and by her well-devised stratagem she had kept in check more than one hundred Indians, while the cowardly soldier who had been left in charge, at the first appearance of the enemy, had fled to the cellar and there concealed himself.

After Littlefield arrived, this man was brought out from his hiding place and driven to duty, and by the skillful management and energetic action of the three, the enemy was induced to abandon the attempt to capture the garrison, and departed, leaving them in peaceful possession, and rejoicing in that wonderful intervention of a kind Providence, by which their lives had been preserved.

The memory of the brave defender of this garrison is worthy of perpetual remembrance. Wells might well place her by the side of any heroine of ancient or modern times.

Capt. Convers, for the defense of the Storer garrison, received the highest plaudits of the people and of the government. Having but a few fighting men to sustain him against all the force of a large army, he was regarded as having acquitted himself with great skill, and was soon afterwards commissioned as major, and invested with the authority of Commander-in-chief of all the forces in Maine. But this devoted, energetic wife, Abigail Littlefield, and her magnanimous husband, who to save her in her terrible extremity, dared almost certain death, were not less worthy the high commendation awarded to him; and any of their descendants now living may well be proud of such a noble ancestry.

Disappointed in their assurances of success in overcoming the

Storer garrison, the enemy vented their malice in the destruction of whatever property came in their way. They burnt the house of Mr. Littlefield nearly opposite, and drove off and killed fifteen cattle belonging to John Wheelright.

After this the enemy seem to have despaired of accomplishing the designs in which they before had the fullest confidence. Wells being a frontier town, its destruction was all-important. But failing in their attempt upon the Storer garrison, their courage seems to have abated, and the town was not much molested by them during the remainder of the war.

In the spring of 1693, Convers came into Maine with three hundred and fifty soldiers. They rebuilt the fort at Saco, and traversed the province even to the eastern part, but could find none of the enemy. The Indians entertained such a wholesome fear of this new commander that they everywhere fled at his approach; and in August the principal Sagamores came in and entered into a treaty of peace. But French jesuitry, opposed to any such peaceful arrangements, set about kindling anew the fires of vengeance which had thus been quietly subdued. They were so far successful, that the treaty was soon broken and the savages again engaged in their direful work, the destruction of life and property. Madockawando with two hundred and fifty Indians attacked and destroyed Dover. Some of them afterwards came into Kittery and York, killing several persons in those places. Among the persons upon whom their vengeance fell in Kittery was a little girl, who was cruelly scalped, but survived this terrible maiming and afterwards recovered. Similar instances of such recuperation are known to have occurred during the wars. But the Indians had lost courage, and were soon wearied with these incursions. Their physical wants were poorly supplied, and their energies thereby so relaxed that they again became anxious to lay aside the tomahawk.

Williamson speaks of a truce as having been entered into at Ruthersford's Island on the twentieth of May, 1695. We suppose that such a conference took place. But on the first of May several of the Sagamores and eleven Indians came to Lieut. Storer's garrison, in Wells, and here entered into a treaty, in which they agreed to make good their covenant and to return their captives in twenty days. They brought with them at the time two children, saying there were seven more at Kennebec, and that several were at Penobscot, and

some further east. They engaged also to keep the truce till they came with the captives.

The war having continued seven years, the people were wearied with its anxieties and incessant watchings, while the loss of time away from their homesteads, and the daily diminution of the little property that they had acquired, so worried their souls that they were ready to brave any peril for the enjoyment of liberty. Pent up as they had been, cut off almost from God's sunshine, these men and women, whose limbs had been wont, by their daily activities, to give life, tone, and animation to all their physical energies, and thence cheerfulness to their spirits, longed for the freedom of the former days, when industry was bringing to their hearts and to their firesides contentment and the quiet peace of the daily labor done and duties performed. Much of the time, it is true, they could go out the gates, and perhaps many of them could see their homesteads in their abandoned and desolate condition. The reckless might rove from the garrison, saunter to the flats, go out on the sea for fishing, and possibly hunt the forests for game. But to the prudent and cautious, the fearful and anxious, this constant apprehension of Indian raids and ravages, and the consequent restraint of liberty, so necessary to human happiness, brought much faintness of heart and weariness of life.

So long cut off from the labors of the field and the joys of home life, the people did not feel much like laboring to repair or rebuild the prison house, in which they had been excluded from that freedom without which all the joys of life pale and the soul withers. The Storer garrison was much dilapidated, and for security needed extensive repairs. Mr. Storer was not able to do the work himself, and he had no motive which was not common to all for making the attempt. The government saw the necessity of the work, and agreed to remit the province taxes for the year, and to relinquish all claim for the provisions and support which had been furnished for the inhabitants. One would hardly think it possible that any civilized administration would have called on these afflicted people to pay taxes and for necessities for the support of life, while all their energies were taxed to the uttermost in defending themselves and families from the ravages of their relentless foes, and while they were at the same time holding the province for the benefit of the government. But still it was better, far better, when safe, to labor

any way and for any purpose, than to be idle. The garrison, we presume, was put in a safe condition. The people had had some little respite from their cares for self-protection, and for a time more freedom had been enjoyed. The desolations of the savages had been stayed, and men had ventured more freely to their farms, while the Indians had been pretending that they were anxious and ready for peace.

But the same duplicity which characterized their previous intercourse with the English had its part in this conference. They paid little attention to the agreement entered into, but, controlled by the same influences as before, they were soon again roaming abroad in squads, in different parts of the Province, issuing suddenly from the forests, and killing or carrying into captivity all who were not upon their guard. Some persons were killed at Saco, but it is not known that any incursion was made at Wells. All apprehensions of danger had here subsided, and the people began to attend to their work away from the garrisons. Others ventured from their homes to visit friends whom they had not seen during this long war. But during the next year (1696), a small body showed themselves in York woods, and Thomas Cole and his wife, Abigail, and two other men and their wives, who had been on a visit to York, on their return were waylaid by them. Cole and his wife were shot dead. The others escaped and reached their homes in safety. Cole was the son of Nicholas Cole. We presume that he left no descendants. He had twins, but they died in infancy.

Lieut. Larrabee was now sent out with thirty "praying Indians," as they were then termed, to scout about the towns at the eastward as far as Casco. He watched about the Saco river, lying in ambush about a week, and killing some of the Indians as they passed in their canoes. They were then abroad on their errands of slaughter and destruction. Major Charles Frost, a brave man, whose energies at this trying hour were devoted to the public welfare, the preservation of the lives and the possessions of the people, was a leading object of Indian malice and vengeance. His death or capture was material to their success. Their wiles soon effected their purpose. The family had attended public worship on the Lord's day in Kittery, now Eliot, where they resided, on the fourth of July, 1697. On their return home, the Indians having concealed themselves effectually on the way, while they had permitted his two sons to pass un-

harméd, killed Major Frost and a man who had accompanied him, and at the same time John Heard's wife, wounding Heard himself. Williamson errs in the statement that Frost's wife was killed.

The death of one so important to the defense of the Province, was a sad event to the people. Soon after the news reached Wells it was communicated to Capt. John Hill in the following homely, though affecting letter. It cannot fail to be read with interest. "Brother Hill. It hath pleased God to take away Major Frost. The Indians waylaid him last Sabbath day as he was coming home from meeting at night and killed him; and John Heard's wife and Dennis Downing, and John Heard is wounded. The good Lord sanctify it to us all. It is a great loss to the whole province, and especially to his family, and last Monday the post that came to Wells, as they went to go whom the Indians killed them about the marked tree. Namely, Nicholas Smith, Proper, and Henning Simpson. Brother, Mistress Frost is very full of sorry; and all his children, Cousin Charles and John was with their father, and escaped wonderfully and several others with them. Capt. Bracket went with some of his company a Monday by the way of Newichawannock, and I went with them and was there at the Major's funeral; and I see your wife full of grief; and your child is well. Mrs. Frost and sister and all your brothers and sisters remember their love to you; and earnestly desire you to come over if you can possible without danger.

Pray do not venture in the day to com. Remember our love to all our Brothers and sisters and Cousins; and the good Lord keep us in these perilous times, and sanctify all his awful dispensations to us —no more at present, praying for you

Wells the 10th July, 1697. Your very loving Brother,
JOSEPH STORER."

Major March was invested with the command made vacant by the death of Frost. He was furnished with five hundred men to guard and protect the frontier. He came to Wells, and Aug. 1, writes to Hill at Saco, that greater caution must be exercised by the people in going about. It was the time for getting the salt hay, and he admonished them not to attempt the work of haying, without stationing careful watchers to guard against sudden attacks, and that night scouts should be maintained. The Indians were evidently abroad seeking for their prey. They had killed one man standing sentinel

while some of the people were at work on the marsh. They captured another, carried him a mile and a half, and then burnt him to death. One of the captains with a company of soldiers started in pursuit, but they escaped. Who these two men were we have no means of ascertaining. Letter writers, historians and others at this period, were very deficient in giving the names of persons who were thus martyrs in the cause of civilization. It is a great labor to supply this omission. Houses were burnt, but whose or where located, these writers fail to state.

But the bloody conflict was now ended. We have no more fearful tragedies to recount. The people of Wells amidst all the severe trials which they had encountered had maintained their ground, and could rejoice, though with sadness, that peace had returned upon them, and that they could go to their homes and their husbandry, without fear of assassination by the savage foe.

But little appears to have been done toward extending the settlement during the war, although at times when hopes of peace were indulged, many of the people were making preparation for some new enterprise. The new charter under William and Mary was signed in 1691. After this there was no further controversy in regard to title or jurisdiction. Maine had become an appendage of Massachusetts, and so continued till 1820. In 1692, Eliab Hutchinson and John Wheelright were chosen representatives for Wells. We have no evidence that the former was at any time an inhabitant of the town. It was not uncommon that men should be chosen to represent towns to which they did not belong. As a general rule we think the people then consulted the qualifications for the office to be filled rather than the wishes or aspirations of the candidate. Modern degeneracy had not then usurped control of matters of so great importance, however much iniquity ruled in other departments of social and civil life.

There appears to have been at this time some awakening of the people to the public interests. First of all, they laid hold of the rum-sellers as the authors of much of the public suffering. John Littlefield, James Littlefield, Nathaniel Cloyes, and Jane Littlefield had been engaged in this nefarious traffic. John was a man of high standing among the inhabitants, and it is not easy to account for his unfortunate aberration in this particular at this juncture of the public affairs. But a man's position in society or in the public administra-

tion did not at that period shield him from the penalties of violated law, neither did it make his offense any the less detrimental to the public weal. While the people needed every dollar for the protection and support of themselves and families, these men and this woman had been taking money from their pockets, unfitting them for the services demanded, and more than all, sending them back into the garrisons in a state of intoxication. The people felt severely the evils of drunkenness. The garrison was a grand school for instruction upon this subject, and they were ready to prosecute both the rum-seller and the rum-drinker. Drunkenness was punished by fine, and if the offender was not able to pay he was ordered to be set in the stocks, sometimes with the first letter of his offense displayed on his forehead, so that the passer-by might readily learn why he was placed in that interesting position. The wisdom of those days was exhausted in devising modes of humiliation for misdemeanors, imagining that shame was the most effectual agency in deterring from crime. These stocks were of very simple construction. A frame was built up a few feet from the ground, and on this was placed two sticks of timber, between which the legs of the culprit were confined; and he was required to remain thus exposed to the public gaze during the time decreed by the Court. These stocks were generally located in the vicinity of the meeting-house, where the people by the weekly vision of this punitive machine, might be admonished of the danger of departures from good citizenship, and where the minister, when all spiritual anathemas were exhausted, might point with effect to the carnal weapon directly before their eyes.

There was also another instrument of punishment, the cage, which may have been a little more efficacious than the stocks. We have seen no representation of it; but it probably was much like the cages used for the security and exhibition of wild beasts. This would undoubtedly well accomplish the object in view. Nothing would be more likely to humble a man or woman than to be shut up thus as a show. We have been unable to find that one was ever built, or made use of, in Wells. But in the midst of the war the stocks were needed, and the town was indicted for their neglect in not providing them.

While speaking of these punishments, it may be well to add, that in certain cases, where the trespasser or offender had not the means to discharge the fines imposed upon him, he might be taken and sold

at auction, for a sufficient number of years, to respond to the amount. Our fathers were very fruitful in expedients to compel men to honesty and good conduct, though they were not very successful in their projects.

As just stated, there was no respect of persons in prosecutions for violated law. Modern squeamishness in this respect had not yet become an element of social life. An offender, maintaining a high rank in society, could do much more evil by his delinquencies than one who had not made himself influential by his intellectual, moral or adventitious power. John Wheelright and Joseph Storer were the leading and controlling spirits of the town; they were licensed as retailers, and their houses or garrisons were regarded as taverns and places of entertainment. This same year both of these men were indicted for "keeping keeles and bowls at their houses contrary to law." These were implements of some kind of recreation; but of what character we have not learned. Various plays were prohibited at these places, such as dice, cards, tables, quoits, loggets, bowls, shuffle-board, ninepins, and billiards. Several of these have gone out of use; and possibly the materials, arts, and *modus operandi* have been lost to the world. Dancing does not seem to have been subjected to the anathemas of the law. In Massachusetts, in 1631, four persons, specially named, were admonished not to dance together, and in 1651, it was ordered by the court, that, in consequence of some miscarriages at weddings held at houses of public entertainment, where license was had for the sale of liquors, there should be no dancing on such occasions, at these places. There has never been any statute against dancing, and in this State no prosecution that we are aware of, in which it has had any share in the offense described.

As we have remarked, the spirits of the people seem at this time to have somewhat revived, and they began to look forward to future employments. Enterprising men were seeking for locations the most advantageous for their purposes. John Wheelright, Joseph Taylor, and Thomas Cole conceived the project of building one or two saw-mills at Great Falls, on the Mousam river, and obtained a grant for that purpose. This privilege, though one of the best in the Province, hitherto, had been too far in the depths of the wilderness to attract the notice of settlers. No roads had yet been opened to it; the inhabitants or immigrants, generally, contented themselves

with building on the little streams nearer the settlement. It would not seem probable that John Wheelright, when he applied for the grant, could have contemplated the immediate erection of mills. The grantees were to pay eight pounds annually to the town, as a consideration for the privilege, though it is presumed payment was not to be demanded till the mills were in operation. No intelligent man would have attempted such an enterprise, while the public relations with the Indians were in such an uncertain condition. But the hopes of the people were very much raised by the present posture of these relations. The public records of the county had been sent to Boston for safe keeping, and the court (1693) ordered them to be returned to Fernald's Island in Kittery. At this time, also, a demand sprung up for lands, and various allotments were made. Ten acres of the marsh were granted to Nathaniel Clark; ten acres of meadow near the willow brook, to James Guttredge; ten acres of swamp land to Thomas Cole to make meadow of, near the three-mile brook on the road to Newichawannock (Berwick), one hundred acres to Joseph Crediford, on Kennebunk river, fifty acres to Moses Littlefield, in the Gore, on the road going to Maryland; to Left. Jeremiah Storer one hundred acres on the north side of the Branch river below the path going to Mousam, and to David Littlefield, Samuel Hatch, and William Frost the upper falls on Little river, to build a mill.

To induce Wheelright to proceed in the erection of the mills at Great Falls, the general court, in 1695, enlarged or added to his privileges, by giving him liberty to take logs wherever he should find them. But the hopes which had been indulged were not realized; all the attempts to bring the Indians to a lasting peace were unavailing. They entered into a treaty in 1693, but the influence of the French prevented it from having any effect. Though wearied and made wretched by the war, they were excited to new aggressions on the settlers, and were soon again carrying on their work of desolation and death. We presume, therefore, that none of these grants were secured by possession and improvement, agreeably to their terms. Two or three years more passed away; the hopes of the return of peace had not been entirely blighted by the renewal of hostilities. By a merciful ordination of a wise Providence, there are men, who, under the darkest clouds of adversity, can see indications of brighter days. The spirit of improvement and enterprise was not entirely crushed. In 1695 a grant was made to Samuel Wheelright, Jonathan

Hammond, Eliab Littlefield, and John Butland, to build a saw-mill on the falls next below that of Littlefield, Hatch, and Frost, on Little river. The mill of the latter, we have no reason to suppose, had yet been built; but hopes of peace were still deferred, and the aspect of affairs discouraged all further attempts looking to the extension of the settlement. No other grants were made till 1698, when the drooping spirits of the people were once more excited to new activities. The wearied savage was ready to abandon the conflict. Joseph Littlefield now took a grant of ten acres of fresh meadow; and in the next year (1699) peace once more returned to the waiting hearts of the people; and many of them looked to the lands, as the only means of recovery from the losses incurred during the long conflict. A grant of one hundred acres was made to William Vinney on the north-east side of Henry Bates'. Ten acres of meadow were granted Joseph Taylor on the Mousam river; one hundred acres to Thomas Boston, jr.; one hundred acres to James Boston, adjoining; and to Samuel Stewart one hundred acres joining James Boston (these three lots were a mile in length, and were in Maryland, at the head of the original lots below); one hundred acres to Left. Joseph Storer, by the lower salt water falls on the Kennebunk river, with privilege of falls to build a saw-mill, for which he was to pay £4 annually; fifty acres to James Adams, at the head of "the outer lots," on the road leading to Maryland; one hundred acres to James Wakefield on Kennebunk river (at the landing); one hundred acres to William Frost and Samuel Hatch, at the head of the lots first laid out, which extended w. n. w. two and a half miles; one hundred acres to Samuel Hill next above Nicholas Cole, leaving four rods for a highway; one hundred acres to Henry Slates at Maryland, bounding on the road at the head of the first-made grants; to John Cutts the one hundred acres granted to John Rhodes in 1666; one hundred acres to Alexander McMillan, on the west of James Adams' land, on the road going to Maryland; one hundred acres to Nicholas Cole, next above Joseph Storer, on Kennebunk river; this location was above the Edmund Littlefield mill lot; fifty acres to Nathaniel Clark, between the branches of Little river; fifty acres to James Denmark, between Three Mile brook and Four Mile brook, on west side of Samuel Hatch's land; fifty acres to John Harmon, between Webhannet and Ogunquit river, on the king's highway. John Wheelright was also

authorized to cut "30 or 40 pine trees annually" on the common. The town also voted "That the Proprietors have free liberty to cut and haul away any sort of timber upon any land that is now belonging to the town commons, notwithstanding it be given out in lots to particular persons, and it shall forever hereafter be free for the use of said town and proprietors of the common." This vote is not readily understood. If any part of the common had been granted to "particular persons," it would seem to be somewhat of an assumption on the part of the town, to authorize any, or all the inhabitants, to enter upon it and cut the growth at liberty. We are inclined to the opinion, that the exercise of such a liberty might meet with some obstruction on the part of the grantee, and find little favor in the courts. In 1700 a grant of one hundred acres was made to Joseph Taylor, between the Branch and Little rivers, above the path going to Mousam; ten acres were granted to Josiah Winn, at Maryland, and ten acres of meadow to Joseph Hill, which were formerly granted to his uncle, John Cross.

We have been thus particular in the detail of these grants, that our readers might learn the progress of the settlement in the various parts of the town. That portion, which has since borne the name of Alewife, and which, undoubtedly, was the most valuable for agricultural purposes, was entirely neglected. Confidence was not fully established in the minds of the people, that savage warfare was at an end. They looked forward with anxiety and distrust; and therefore attempted to secure themselves in such possessions only, as would answer the immediate purposes of life. The war, for the present, was at an end, and the people took what advantage of the peace they safely could.

It is impossible now to search out the history of the town in all its branches, with the assurance of perfect accuracy in its details, in consequence of the failure of the records to give the light which might reasonably be expected from that source. We have stated before, that a volume was lost by the burning of the house of Joseph Bolles, the town clerk, in 1657. This volume was probably small, as only four years had elapsed since the incorporation. But it probably contained many grants of land, of which no record can now be found. The subsequent records, we suppose, have come down to us in full, as they were made. But all along through this century, they are so

defective as to have but little claim to the name of town records. The first volume contains no record of a meeting for the choice of town officers till 1669, a period of fifteen years. Then follow, though scattered about wherever the clerk happened to open his book, records of the meetings of 1670, 1671, 1674, 1685, and 1694, and the years following to 1700. In 1674, the town perceiving that the insufficiency of the records was producing confusion and trouble, passed the following vote: "Whereas it doeth Appeare y^e y^e are severill defects and our Slightisins y^e entry of many the proprietyes and grants of y^e lands in our town books by Reason whereof, here hereafter If not prevented Severill inconveances may arise to future disturbances Amongst us, upon which Consideration it is hereby ordered that Mr. Bolles, Goodman, Hammonds, Left. Littlefield, Samuel Wheelright, who are hereby Appointed and empowered to take Some Speedy and effectual Corse to agree with sume most essential or behalf to maters Sutch things as they Judge needful into a new book, which they are to proceeed and to rectify such things as they shall find to be amiss according to y^e last Divisions."

This record was made by Judge Wheelright. We have not attempted to translate it. But one would think from the reading of it, that there was not much prospect of an improvement while the office of clerk was in his hands. As long as Bolles was clerk, the townsmen had no right to expect carefulness in their records. Sufficient explanation of his errors is to be found in the proceedings of the court. "Monday, July 1, 1661, Mr. Bolles fined ten shillings for being drunk." Again, "July 7, 1674. We present Mr. Bolles, sen., for being drunk." If such men are invested by the public with responsibilities, the public must reap the fruits of their folly. There is no evidence that any new book was obtained. The records appear to go on as they did previously. No regularity in the order of time is manifest, and the errors and omissions are very much of a character with those under the previous administration. There is no record of the election of any town officers, for ten years after Wheelright was chosen.

It will be perceived from the foregoing that we are obliged to rely very much on extraneous evidence, in gathering up the history of this early period. But we have found various sources to which we resort for the purposes of this work, and we think it will not be

found materially erroneous. In a preceding chapter we have narrated the progress of the town to the year 1688, about the time of the commencement of the second Indian war. In this year, and those following, to the termination of the war, it would seem to be hardly necessary to speak of town affairs, excepting so far as they related to the terrible conflict in which the people were involved. There could be little opportunity for municipal action about anything else. Still, there appears to have been some enterprise in the way of extending the settlement and its business. In 1688, William Sayer presented the following petition to Gov. Andros: "To Sir Edmund Andros, Capt. Gen'l and Governor in and over His Majesties territory and dominion of New England in America. The humble petition of William Sayer, of Wells, in the province of Maine, sheweth,—That there being vacant lands at and near the further branch of a river in said town of Wells called Little river, very convenient to set on and accommodate a fulling mill, which is much wanting by the inhabitants far and near of said place as well as other places thereabouts, and that it will be much for the benefit of said place to have a fulling mill built on said river, is by the selectmen's certificate of said town inserted, as well as other things therein contained." He thence prayed to have a grant of one hundred and fifty acres and the benefit of the stream. This petition we believe was granted, though we do not comprehend the necessity of applying to this authority for the grant. The town had the entire control of all its mill-sites. This mill, if built at all, was built near the house of James Gillpatrick. The war and the revolution, or rebellion against Gov. Andros, may have precluded any attempt to build it at this time. The dam was erected, but the aspect of public affairs may have induced Sayer to abandon his work. At this time there seems to have been a general expectation that Harrisecket was to become a place of considerable business. The people were taking up lands between the two rivers very freely. Every little fall on Little river was asked for. The path going to Mousam was thought likely to continue as the highway to that place. This same hope was cherished by some living on the path more than a hundred years afterward. One owner of a dwelling house and lot, standing at the junction of the branch road and the road leading by Samuel Storer's, advertised his situation as a grand site for a public house.

Died in 1700, SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT, son of Rev. John Wheelright. He was one of the prominent men of the day in which he lived, having very early been called to public life. We must infer from this fact, that he was endowed with an intellect superior to that of the generality of men. He came over to New England when an infant; and to Wells, when but six or seven years of age. Here he had no opportunity of attending school. The family moved to Hampton in 1645; afterwards, to Salisbury. The means for education in either of those places, must have been very limited; so that his intellectual culture, whatever it was, was acquired from the instructions of his father. He probably came to Wells after he arrived at maturity, his father deeding to him one-half of his farm. When only thirty years old, he was clerk of the writs and town clerk. These two offices appear to have been united into one, both in Maine and Massachusetts. He was town clerk twenty-nine years. In 1665, he was appointed lieutenant of the militia. But he does not seem to have been efficient as a military man, being much better fitted for civil life. In 1666, he was appointed Judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas. He was chosen County Treasurer in 1674, but declined taking that office; in 1676 he was again chosen by the people, and accepted the situation. In 1677, he was the representative of York and Wells. In 1681, he was appointed by the king one of the Provincial Council. In 1695, Judge of the Court of Probate, and by William and Mary a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. So that from the time he came to Wells till his death, he was continually in the public service. We judge from this fact, that he was a highly useful and popular man. The era was not remarkable for its refined christian civilization. At the present day he would not be regarded, in New England, as endowed with those tender and delicate sensibilities which should animate every one who is true to the race. Punishments were ordered by him which would be revolting to the judge of the nineteenth century. An unfortunate female had been guilty of a misdemeanor, for which, by others of the Court, she was ordered to have stripes on the naked back, and he was appointed to see the order executed. We could not have a very exalted opinion of one who could with complacency even, witness such a scene as this, and more especially of one who could have any agency in such a desecration of humanity. We should think him a long way from the kingdom of heaven. Neither should we regard a man of common educa-

cation as faithful to his marital obligations, who was so indifferent to his wife's position and standing, as not to teach her to write her own name. But evidently, as will be seen from other parts of this history, females at that time were estimated by a very different standard from that which prevails in social life at the present day; and his character is to be judged in the light which he then enjoyed.

From Samuel Wheelright have descended all of that name who have since dwelt in Wells. He left four children, ²John, Joseph, Mary, and Hannah. The first two head the two branches of the family.

²John married Mary Snell Jan. 28, 1689, and had the following children: ³John, Samuel, Hannah, Esther, Jeremiah, Elizabeth, Mary, Nathaniel, Sarah, Job, and Lydia.

In 1702 died WILLIAM HAMMOND. This name was written in England, Hamans. It has been spelled in various ways since introduced into this country; as Haman, Hamans, *Harmon, Hannor, Hammond. He was born in England in 1597; came over to New England about 1630, and was made a freeman at Boston in 1636. When he first arrived here he made the mistake, which was very common at that period, of imbibing too freely of intoxicating beverages, so that in 1632, at the court in September, he was "ordered to sit in the bilboes for being drunk." But probably this mistake became a useful lesson to him. His wife's name was Benedictus, signifying that she was a blessing to somebody, most likely in this case to her parents or future husband. He came to Wells two or three years before the town was incorporated, and signed the submission to Massachusetts in 1653. His life here indicated that some good influences had had their proper effect on him. He became a useful man, and was regarded as so sound in his moral and religious principles that while the church was without a minister, in 1661, he was ordered, with Ezekiel Knight, as related on another page, to attend the place of public worship on the Lord's day, and improve his best abilities in speaking out of the Word of God, singing psalms, and

*I have recently received a letter from G. M. Bodge, Esq., who is preparing a genealogy of the Harmon family, in which he says, "I have discovered that the Harmon and Hammond families are as utterly distinct as are the Smiths and Joneses. I think that in an interview with Judge Bourne I convinced him of this fact." This portion of the history was probably written some years before the interview referred to, and there may be error in the statement that "the name has been spelled in various ways," etc.—E. E. B., JR.

reading some good orthodox sermons. In 1653, he was appointed a commissioner for Wells, for "trying small causes," and again was elected by the people in 1658, '62, '63, '64, and '70. In 1660, he was appointed one of the commissioners to settle the boundary between Wells and Cape Porpoise, in which work he had new evidence of the danger of being too free in the use of intoxicating liquors. In 1661, he was chosen constable, then regarded as a very important office. For the accommodation of travelers, many in that day were licensed to sell spirit, wine, beer, etc., and none were entrusted with that authority but temperate, substantial men. His life was protracted beyond the years of any one that has lived in Wells. He dropped dead in the road in 1702, being then 105 years of age, and having lived in three centuries.

He left two sons, Jonathan and Joseph. The latter died in 1709, aged 62, leaving a son, Joseph, born in 1676, and two daughters. This Joseph moved to Kittery, and had Joseph, George, John, and Jonathan, and three daughters. This Joseph^s had Joseph, John, and Elisha, and perhaps other children. Joseph the first was one of the councilors for the province of Maine, and was appointed judge of probate after the death of Judge Wheelright in 1700, and held that office till 1710. He was also register from 1695 to 1700, and clerk of the courts and register of deeds from 1699 to 1721. His wife was Hannah Storer, whom he married in 1709.

Jonathan, the first son of William, was appointed sergeant in 1694, and lieutenant in 1703 and 1709. He was killed by the Indians and scalped in Queen Ann's war, near Jonathan Littlefield's garrison. This family were so indifferent to their genealogical record that we have no means of tracing it.

NOTE.—James Littlefield, referred to in Roger Hill's letter, page 201, was the son of Francis Littlefield, sen., and William Frost was a shoemaker, though also engaged in milling; but before the commencement of the war had sold out his land and mills for a very low sum, and, we suppose, left the town, from the apprehensions of a new Indian war. The town, however, two or three years afterwards, made him a new grant of fifty acres, on the east of Little river. He and Nathaniel might have been here at the time, away from the garrisons, and the enemy came suddenly upon them before they were aware of the murders which had been committed in the neighboring towns.

CHAPTER XVI.

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE EARLY INHABITANTS—THEIR HOUSES AND FURNITURE.

OUR knowledge of early colonial life in Maine has been exceedingly limited; not because of the insufficiency of record evidence, but from the neglect of careful examination and inquiry into its import. When we speak of records or record testimony in this work, we do not use those terms in their strictly legitimate sense, but as comprehending letters, deeds, contracts and contemporary writings of every kind, together with books, newspapers and other publications, claiming to give account of facts which had been of recent occurrence.

We have been accustomed to hear much of the Puritans, and our impressions have been that they were a generation of men of high moral impulses, of true nobility of soul; and those who have held them in reverence, have been so much in the habit of contrasting them with the race at the present period, in many of their most important relations, and awarding to them a marked superiority, that we have been imbued with the conception that their example was worthy of all imitation; and that the prominent attributes of their social life were such as ought to commend them to the age in which we live. But while puritanism, where existing, presented many worthy elements of character, we are to remember there was very little of it in Maine. Those who first located themselves here, were not refugees from any religious intolerance. They left England not for the enjoyment of religious liberty, but rather from those motives which impel men to any undertaking which may lead to pecuniary acquisition. Few of us had Puritan fathers. The first settlers of Maine, so far as religion was with them a matter of any consideration, felt themselves at home in the bosom of the English Church. John Wheelright had his peculiarities; but we are not aware that there is any evidence that he had renounced his loyalty to that in-

stitution. The main body of the planters in Wells, were men to whom religious speculations were matters of little moment. Many of us are descendants of adventurers, all whose thoughts were absorbed in the acquisition of the necessities of life, and who were subject to a large share of the same infirmities which now show themselves in every social community.

It does not become the honest historian to attempt to smooth over, or keep out of sight the frailties of those of whose lives he claims to give an authentic account, and having this view, we shall endeavor to relate things truly; to record the defects as well as virtues of those who had the principal agency in making the history, which, at best, we can only very imperfectly record. We cannot hold up our ancestors as models in all things for the present generation. There were among them men of irreproachable morals and sound piety; men who kept alive and inviolate within them that firm moral sense, which always suggested their high responsibilities, and led them to a faithful discharge of their obligations. But there was also a class, we think, equally large, whose ambition extended no further than to minister to personal gratification, using the world as they went along merely as an agency to that end; and in that subserviency hesitating not to disregard law, both moral and civil. The material life only presented any attractions to them. From this commingling of good and bad men, a society was made up, which as a whole, had not much to recommend it to their successors of the present age. Still, while we cannot thus commend it to our readers for imitation, there existed in it many elements worthy the sympathy and admiration of those of the present age. The first century of the town's history presents much that must awaken the reverence of every true citizen. The settlers, and their descendants of the generation following, were subjected to numberless ills which would be unendurable to us were we now, by a sudden decree of the overruling Providence, subjected to them. They came here, most of them moneyless, and sat themselves down in the wilderness with only their physical powers to provide for their support. Early and late frosts, droughts and unpropitious seasons, in all ages of the world, have frequently defeated the hopes of the industrious and hard-laboring husbandman; and other agencies and influences have occasionally cut short his crops. So it was with the first inhabitants of Wells. Heaven did not always smile on their exertions. But here as elsewhere, some

prospered in their agricultural pursuits, while the expectations of others were frequently disappointed, and as a natural consequence, the distinctions of social life soon began to be manifested. The rich and the poor were to be seen on the plantations. This diversity was followed by its usual results. The ill success of the poor and the deprivations to which they were subjected, soon engendered disquiet, envy and ill nature, and led to those indulgencies to which human nature has too frequent recourse, when discouragements and trouble come over the soul. The intoxicating cup sent its poison over all the sensibilities of men. There were many drunkards, and, thence many of those sorrowful abodes, where poverty and iniquity held undisturbed sway.

In thus connecting poverty and sin together, we would not have it understood that the two are necessarily companions, or that crime is an emanation of poverty more than of riches. We mean to say that poverty which comes from intemperance, is almost always attended with other moral evils. But, we think it may be truly said, in extenuation of the guilt of intemperance, that the offenses of which it is the principal cause, are not generally those which are such *per se*, or in themselves criminal, but such as are made so by civil enactment. Thus, in the days of which we are speaking there were seldom any larcenies, robberies, burglaries, assaults and batteries or murders. The prevalent violations of law were not such as to manifest intended injury to others, but only such as were the product of unrestrained passion; profanity, slander, incontinency, conjugal infidelity. In many cases the inebriate is endowed with a gentle, kindly temperament, and although the tongue may be set on fire by the maddening drink, he has no impulse to inflict personal violence upon those by whom he is surrounded. But there are also men of bad temper who, when sober, can keep it in reasonable subjection, but when instigated by intoxicating liquor, are ready for any crime against society.

The sins which destroyed the harmony and peace of the ancient towns in this neighborhood, were those which we should class as misdemeanors, or offenses against good order and social life. In this view, the state of society in Wells was not such as would now captivate those who are ordinarily punctilious in their associations. Slander, tale-bearing, crimination, neglect of the Sabbath, unchastity, infidelity to the marriage vows, prevailed to a very great degree.

There were twenty-five families in Wells at the time of its incorporation in 1653, and more than half of that number of the men were presented or indicted by the grand jury for various offenses. All seemed inclined to take advantage of the failings of their neighbors, and subject them to prosecution for their offenses. What we in this age would pass by as matters of trivial import, or as slight departures from the proprieties of life, were magnified into offenses against law and worthy of judicial cognizance. The courts also fell in with this prevalent propensity of the people. They made matters criminal without the aid of statute or common law. That charity which is kind and thinketh no evil, seems to have found no place in the mind of high or low, rich or poor. But very few failed to come in for a share of the evils growing out of this debased state of public sentiment. The rich were frequently the complainants for offenses against the poor, and, of course, they frequently met with some return from those who felt themselves injured by the procedure. Even the best of the families became involved in the continual jars. The social atmosphere was corrupted, and all were obliged to suffer from it. Members of the court were not unfrequently subjected to the indignity of criminal process for their frailties and indiscretions.

This state of society was in a great measure the creation of ignorance, naturally growing out of the deficiencies of education of the majority of the people. But a great proportion of it had its origin in the ignorance of the courts. Most of these officials, as we have before stated, were uneducated men, endowed with barely a modicum of common sense, and still less of the wise comprehension of a wise civil policy. They did not philosophise or look at results. Their attention was confined to the subject of immediate action, and they did not extend their views to the effects which might follow their doings. They had the criminal or his offense alone in view, and perhaps thought little of the effect of the punishment. Their powers, whether vested in them by law or assumed, were almost unlimited, as far as respected crimes and their punishment. For offenses of the most trivial character, they oftentimes prescribed the most odious punishments which at the moment presented themselves to their minds. What more degrading to a female than to be required "to stand in a white sheet publicly in the congregation at Agamenticus two several Sabbath days, and one day at the general court?" or "to have forty stripes, save one, on her naked skin, in-

flicted by the jailor in presence of the court and of the public?" or to stand at a town meeting in York, or a town meeting in Kittery, with her offense written in capital letters on her forehead?" or "to stand with a gag in her mouth half an hour at a public town meeting?" What greater outrage on humanity and more destructive of that self-respect which God has planted in the soul of man to preserve him from moral ruin, than to order him "at the head of a military company, to have twenty-five stripes on his naked back, and have his neck and heels tied together for a full hour?" or what more corrupting to the people, than that one in a public meeting for religious worship on the Lord's day, should rise in the midst of the assembly, repeat the words of the vulgar and obscene slander which he had uttered, followed with the confession that it was false?

There is no quality of the spirit more indispensable to a high tone of morals, and more necessary for the well-being and salutary progress of society, than that of shame. It is one of the grand defenses with which God has furnished man to protect him from the temptations which beset the path of life. This consciousness of the degradation which unchastity or iniquity of any kind brings to one's character, cannot be too highly prized by those who would be conservators of the peace and good order in social and civil life. And yet the punishment in a great many of the cases submitted to the action of the court, were of a character fitted completely to subdue this most needed attribute of the soul. When this conservative element of human nature is thus extinguished, selfishness and passion usurp the entire control of life. A man or woman without shame will be the pest of any community.

Such proceedings as we have referred to have the sure tendency of driving all modesty from the intercourse of life, and reducing civilization almost to a level with barbarism. These unfortunates had their friends; and in the view of such exhibitions as have been stated, how could any community be expected to dwell together in harmony and mutual good will? Strife, back-biting, hatred, and every evil work would inevitably ensue. Profanity, drunkenness, and other immoralities would abound.

This state of social life, we have said, had its origin, in a great degree, in the judicial administration of the day. But there was one other cause from which it derived no small portion of its strength. The scantiness and entire insufficiency of household accommoda-

tions could not fail to bring very efficient aid to the work of demoralization. The settlers came over the water expecting to fix their abode in the wilderness, and to shelter themselves and families in such tenements as could be erected the most speedily, and consequently brought with them little or no furniture. Those who came to Wells found themselves far from any mart where it could be obtained. The communication with Boston and Salem was so imperfect as to afford no facilities for transportation. Beside, feeling themselves to be mere pioneers, with no assurance of a permanent home here, they went on from year to year with as little as possible to encumber them, in case of their removal. They were away from the busy haunts of life, and therefore thought but little of the proprieties of society. Their houses had but one or two rooms. Many of their families were large. They were necessarily so commingled that the privacies of life must be disregarded. For many years, and perhaps till the close of the seventeenth century, they had, as a general rule, but one bed, and even those of the largest means but two. Under these circumstances, how could it be expected that a sound morality could have been maintained? What chance was there for advancing and sustaining a refined culture? Children must surely have grown up with very little respect for that decorum which we are accustomed to regard as essential to all good society. The delicacies which now have such a beneficent influence in the intercourse of even domestic life could not be nurtured in such an uncongenial condition. Purity of heart and conversation we could not expect to find among a people thus cramped in their action.

Let us look into one of these houses. We enter the kitchen, which is also the sitting room and parlor. In looking around, we discover a table, a pewter pot, a hanger, a little mortar, a dripping pan, and a skillet; no crockery, tin, or glass ware; no knives, forks, or spoons; not a chair to sit in. The house contains but two other rooms, in each of which we find but one bed, a blanket and a chest. We have been through the house. They have nothing further to show us here. And this is the house of Edmund Littlefield, the richest man in the town. When he first came to Wells he had a family of six children still to be educated under his roof. Francis had cut himself off from his father's care and protection; one or two others had arrived at maturity, but were yet in the family. Elizabeth, John, Thomas, Mary, Hannah, and Francis, junior, between the ages of six and

twenty, were abiding with the father; as we do not know precisely what furniture they had in the first years of their settlement here, we adopt that of a later period, confident that the former must have been less than the latter.

Let us now visit the house of Ensign John Barret, an officer of no small note in those days. Here we find more of the luxuries incident to official station. We find *two* beds and bedding, *two* chests and a box, four pewter dishes, four earthen pots, two iron pots, seven trays, two pails, some wooden ware, a skillet, and a frying pan. We have taken his inventory of household furniture. We will pass on to the home of another of the elite of society.

Casting our eyes round the house, we see a kettle, a pot and pot hooks, a pair of tongs, a pail, and a pitcher; and in the chamber, a bed and bedding, and some trifling articles, worth about fifty cents. And this is the house of Nicholas Cole, one of the selectmen—for many years the surveyor of town lands, constable, and acting in various public offices.

Now, the first enquiry suggested by this visit to the habitations of these men, would be, how could the families live so? How could they eat? how could they sleep? how could they keep themselves in a condition fit to be seen? The Indian in his wigwam, had about as many appliances for cooking, eating, and sleeping, as had these representatives of civilized society. They had their skins or furs to sleep on, their birchen or stone dishes, and other utensils to hold their food; wooden forks, or their fingers, to eat with; and the ground for their table. Surely the civilization of the settlement must have been of a low order; presenting little to boast of in its outward aspect. How could the virtues and graces of christianity grow under such disadvantages? There was no emulation for excellence, for all were alike in their domestic possessions. How could personal neatness be maintained? Probably most of the children never saw a looking-glass; they never had a vision of their own faces, except in pails of water, darkly. They might, as we suppose they did, wash comfortably in the sea, in the milder season; but in cold weather they do not seem to have had any conveniences for that purpose. Their morning ablutions were probably few and far between; so that, we must infer, that the earthly tenement was but little cared for.

But how about the hours of night? We have not much to say

of these families after the pitch-knot had ceased to send out its cheering rays. There is no way in which we could obtain a vision of parents and children after the night-watches commenced. We may well suppose that the heads of the household occupied the one bed; how the boys and girls were disposed of, we must leave to the imagination of the reader; we feel, however, safe in the conclusion, that their accommodations were not such as to consist with the growth of a sound morality.

As to their utensils for eating we are also without any satisfactory knowledge. The clam-shell held in a split stick probably made a convenient spoon; the fingers may have done the work of the fork; but how was their meat to be cut? No wooden instrument would answer that purpose. They consumed an immense amount of pork, which required the use of the carving knife. But no knives were found in any house.

As to the *modus operandi* in taking their food, after it was on the table, we have no knowledge; we have been unable to find any instruments for the purpose. They may have adopted the habits and customs of the Indians. A great many in those days, and in years subsequent, became strongly attached to, and adopted the Indian mode of life; and were unwilling to renounce it for the habitude and customs of civilization. Under the influence of its charms, several of those who were taken captives from Wells in the terrible wars which brought desolation to so many families, forgot their relations, and continued their habitation with their savage captors through life. The houses of the settlers did not afford much better shelter than the wigwams of the Indians. They were merely log huts; and were sold for very small sums. Perhaps some of them were constructed in the style of the Indian tenement. Cups and saucers were not then required; coffee and tea had not come into use; they were unknown in Wells. The natural spring afforded the only beverage used at their meals, excepting spruce beer, which we suppose was generally taken at dinner. Their cookery must have been of the plainest character; they had no materials for condiments, and no vessels for variety in the preparation of edibles for the table. An iron pot was the one grand article for household equipment. We cannot but be amused, as well as surprised, at the high estimate set upon this article. Such a legacy in a will was regarded as a great benefaction. It was indispensable to the housewife's operations. Beside their maize,

the annual product of every family, and their meats, and fish, which were very abundant, and easily attainable, they had but little for food. Among the settlers we have been able to discover but a single churn. Cows were very soon introduced, and were, before the century closed, owned in large numbers. We think they made no butter; if they did, the fact would appear among some of the relics of this period. The milk was converted into cheese, or consumed in its natural state.

Though our predecessors were poor, they do not seem to have made so much of life as they ought. They submitted to deprivations and inconveniences not demanded by their condition. One would suppose, when the wild fowl were so abundant that they might almost be taken without leaving their doors, that they would have provided themselves with beds enough, and of the best quality. But they do not appear to have taken advantage of their opportunities. A very common bed was made of cat-tails, or cat-o'-nine tails, as they have been termed in later years. Straw or hay even, would have better subserved the purpose of rest. The sweet restorer would more readily have come to the latter than to the former. We do not know that either of these was ever enclosed in a tick. The children and those of a larger growth, may have thrown themselves down upon one of them for the night. Laboring as the pioneers did from early morn to late at night, any place of rest would have been acceptable to their wearied limbs.

Our observations are not confined to the first decade, from the commencement of the settlement only, but to nearly the whole period previous to 1700. Scarcely anything of the nature of betterments was added to the household furniture till after the close of the third Indian war. The same indifference to personal comforts and conveniences prevailed in nearly all their houses. One would suppose that some of them would have had the ambition to provide for themselves chairs, looking-glasses or carpets. But none of these articles were found in their dwellings, excepting in that of Joseph Cross, who lived on the east side of Ogunquit river, and died in 1684. He being in very comfortable pecuniary circumstances, had a looking-glass and a carpet, but no chairs.

CHAPTER XVII.

QUEEN ANN'S WAR—LETTER OF JOHN WHEELRIGHT TO THE GOVERNOR—ATTACK UPON WELLS—ESCAPE OF HARDING AND WIFE—BRIEF ACCOUNTS OF THE VICTIMS OF THE ASSAULT—PETITION OF THE INHABITANTS TO THE GENERAL COURT FOR ABATEMENT OF TAX—INDIANS SEEN ON DRAKE'S ISLAND—THEIR INGENIOUS DEVICE FOR ESCAPE—DEATH OF NICHOLAS COLE AND OTHERS—LEWIS ALLEN, THE SPY—TIDINGS FROM THE CAPTIVES IN CANADA—EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS—ATTACK UPON KITERY, YORK, AND WELLS.

THE blessings of peace, for which the people had so long yearned in the midst of their distresses, were of but short continuance. They had returned to their farms, rebuilt the waste places, and were beginning to enjoy the genial influences of rural freedom. Confined, as they had been, for ten anxious years to a very limited domain, seldom assured of safety when away from the curtilage, they were now entering with renewed zeal upon their agricultural labors. It seemed as it were a new birth into the world. They had, in this restraint, accustomed themselves to very scanty supplies for their bodily wants, and therefore were little troubled on account of deprivations, which would be almost unendurable in the present age. They went to work with a will, with the assurance that in a few years the earth would abundantly bless them with its fruits. But France and England were again involved in war, and the Catholic priests availed themselves of another opportunity for inspiring the savage heart with the bitterest enmity against the settlers, and urging them on to those deeds of cruelty and desolation which had marked their path during the former wars.

Governor Dudley in 1702 had been at the eastward, and by the artful professions of the Sagamores, had his fears in some degree allayed. But the duplicity and deceitfulness of the savage heart were not so well understood by him as by some of the townsmen of Wells, who had long been conversant with the Indian character.

John Wheelright, whose well-grounded suspicions could never be allayed by any protestations of friendship on the part of the wily foe, addressed to the governor the following letter:

WELLS, Aug. 4, 1702.

May it Please your Excellency.

At my hearing of your Excellencys Returne from Eastward to Piscataqua the Last Week, I immediately went thither, to waite on youre self theire, but your quiet despatche from thence Prevented me of that oportunity, which mackes me bould to give your Excellency the trouble of these lines. Sr: I understand that the Indians at the Eastward Vearey Redily Professed Great fidelity to yourself and the English nation, with Great Promis of Peace and friendship, which Promises So Long as it may stand with their own interest, I believe they may keep and no Longer, their teachers Instructing them that there is no faith to be kept with Hereticks sutch as they account us to be, themselves also being naturialey deseaitful Like their Father hom they serve. Indeed, Sir: I Cannot have Charity for them to believe what they say, I haveing Experienced so mutch of their horable deseaitfullness in the Last war upon many treaties and articles of Peace, so that I cannot but apprehend ourselves that live in these remote Parts of the countrey and being fronteres but to be in Great dainger, and considering that war was Proclaimed with the french, who are not so far from us but that they may without any great difucalty send out an army against us, eaither with or without the assistance of oure pretended frend Indians. This towne being the nearest to the enemy and the farthest from any help or Relief, we cannot but apprehend ourselves to be in Great dainger, and espesially at this season of the yeare, our occasions Calling us genirely from hom to get our hay and Corne Secured, oure inhabitants doth theirfore Pray, that your Excellency would assist us with sum men, twentie or thirtie, or so many as your Excellency in Wisdom may think fit; my humble Request to your Excellency when at Saco was that you would please to Grant me the Liberty of a Garrison where I now live, which then your Excellency did not resolve. I still Pray for the same with submission, and desire youre Excellenes Resolution in that mater, to which I shall Reddily Submit with onely Informing youre Excellency that if I must remove into the middle of the town I must Leave that Little Estate I have to

maintain my family with, and Carey a Large family where I have but little to maintain them withall. Praying your Excellencies Pardon for these rude lines, I remaine ever to be your Excellencies most humble servant at all Comands.

JOHN WHEELRIGHT.

To

His Exelency Joseph Dudley Esq.
 Captain General and Govenour
 in Chief and over the
 Province of the Masethusets
 Bay in New England &c.

He was not mistaken in the view which he took of the aspect of our relations with the tribes. So well satisfied was he with the fact that the people were in imminent danger, that he felt the importance of immediate preparation to meet the exigencies of savage warfare. He asked for liberty to build a garrison house. Why it was necessary to obtain liberty of the government for this purpose, is not readily answered. Every man, surely, must have had the right of self-protection. But so it was. A license must be first obtained. The request does not seem to have been readily complied with. It may be that application was made for a garrison to be erected by the government. As all their fortifications were designed as places of refuge for the people, it is most probable that Wheelright asked for assistance in the work. After some delay permission to build was granted.

The war began on the tenth day of August of the next year, a large force having been gathered under the direction of French officers. These were divided into six or seven parties, with the intention of attacking all the principal settlements at the same time. Upon Wells especially was their fury to be vented. It had successfully baffled all their attacks in the previous wars; but at this time the people were not in position to make any efficient defense, and they felt that their cruel foe would be appeased only by the complete destruction of the town. Fearful indeed was the prospect before the inhabitants, but it was too late to make any efficient defense. The enemy sallied forth from their ambuscades, and killed or carried away thirty-nine of the inhabitants. The horrors of that day cannot be depicted. Families were broken up. Husbands, wives, or children were taken from the home circle. Almost every

one had lost a friend dear to his heart. Many were wounded, barely escaping death or captivity. Valuable citizens, on whom reliance was placed for protection and support in this terrible crisis, were either killed or carried away, exposed to the relentless cruelty of the savage enemy. Much time must elapse, days and nights of anguish pass, before anything could be learned of the fate of the captives.

Histories of the past have merely reiterated the fact that these thirty-nine persons were killed or carried into captivity. No detailed account of the individuals thus falling is anywhere recorded. It is strange that no inhabitant of the town should have made a memorandum of the particulars of this terrible affliction; the names of the persons killed, the wounded, and the captives; the dwelling houses and other buildings burnt, or some general statement of the extent of the devastation. The town records make no allusion to any assault on the tenth of August.

We have devoted a great deal of time among the archives of the county, and availed ourselves of every other means of knowledge in our endeavor to meet this failure. The following is the result of our researches:

The enemy first attacked the house of Thomas Wells, who lived where John L. Wells now lives. His wife had just been confined, and he was gone for a nurse. The Indians entered, killed the mother and infant, and the two other children, Sarah, aged four, and Joshua, aged two years, and then burnt the house. At the same time they murdered Joseph Sayer and all his family, consisting of his wife and two or three children. It is said they first compelled him to assist in grinding the hatchet which they used in their direful work. No enormity on the part of these savages is too great to affect the credibility of the story of their doings. Sayer's house was near that of Wells, and was also burnt.

We have spoken of the house of Stephen Harding, situated near the Kennebunk river, between Gooch's creek and the Pier. There is no spot in Wells, unless we except that of Storer's garrison and its immediate vicinage, which suggests to the antiquarian more interesting memories than this. As it was called "Harding's" so many years, we embrace under that designation previous and subsequent owners or occupants. We are not sure whether this point was previously occupied or not. Harding, or Reynolds, or James Littlefield, may have been established here many years before the war. The

commissioners for determining the boundary of the towns, met at Harding's in 1660. But where Harding's was is immaterial in the present connection. We know that about 1700 he built his house at this place for the accommodation of the public. He was a blacksmith, and we suppose a son of Israel Harding, also a blacksmith, who established himself in Wells in 1670. He was licensed to keep a house of entertainment, and to supply his patrons with those stimulants which were then regarded as material aids to the body in the discharge of its various functions. Life without such ministrations was regarded as feeble and inefficient for any substantial results. Governors, judges, ministers, generals, and lords, all alike indulged in the use of the reviving beverage. Here, all in their travels to and from the province, were accustomed to find accommodations. Harding was well fitted for the position. His kindly nature at once commended him to the stranger. He was ready to meet his wants, and in every way minister to his comfort. To make his place as attractive as possible in the exciting times of the early period of our history, he had garrisoned the house, so that while under his roof his customers might feel fully assured of their safety, and thus enjoy the desired rest. He was also a very strong man, able to resist any aggressions on his household. Near him, just over the creek, was an Indian summer residence, where there were a dozen or more wigwams. The Indians were daily in and around his house, and as familiar with his domestic and out-door arrangements and business as any other neighbors or friends living in his immediate neighborhood. His intercourse with them was always kindly, and he thereby acquired a hold on their sympathies which could with difficulty be made to give way to the entry of that malicious and revengeful spirit which would sometimes so suddenly, and without any apparent cause, take possession of their hearts. With them he loved the chase, and in the pursuit of game traveled far into the interior; sometimes, it is said, almost to the White Hills. But for what object we cannot imagine. If he killed a moose, or a bear, or any smaller animals, he could not bring them home, and we cannot understand the satisfaction of any such profitless gunning as this. But such, it is said, was his habit of wandering through the wilderness, and he thereby acquired a knowledge of all the intervening forests, and the direct routes through them to any specified point. The knowledge acquired by this roving gunning propensity, created demand for his services, and when it

was proposed to send a military force to Pigwaket to attack the Indians in that neighborhood, the Governor directed Capt. Samuel Wheelright first to secure the services of Stephen Harding as a pilot. Harding was for this reason an important man for the provinces, and consequently a valuable prize for the French. This being understood by the Indians, their previous friendly intercourse with him would avail nothing against their treachery. Beside, they were in times of war under the control of the French, and were led to believe that the English were determined to drive them from their lands which had been given to them by their great Father. Thus, Harding could never feel safe in relying upon his own kindness to them or their good will to him, as affording any guaranty for his safety in times of war.

War was declared between France and England in 1702, and the settlers feeling assured that the French would, in its prosecution, incite the Indians to renewed acts of cruelty, regarded these savage neighbors with suspicion. Harding was bold and fearless; but his wife was timorous, and looking for fearful developments of the war spirit. He was one day preparing for a gunning excursion, but she begged him to abandon it. In going toward his shop he discovered a company of men, women, and children on Oaks' Rocks. He had heard guns at the west, but supposed that the soldiers stationed at Wells were merely going through their usual exercises. This discovery, however, awakened some apprehensions that the crisis had arrived. He went back to his house and told his wife to take their infant child, and flee across the creek to an oak tree beyond, and there remain, till he had ascertained the character of these persons who were now coming toward his house. The object of this company probably was to draw the attention of Harding, while other preparations had been made to secure him when in his shop. Having thus provided for the flight of his wife, he returned, and being well acquainted with all the Indian signs, tactics, and arts, he took his axe and knocked on the side of his shop, giving at the same time the Indian war-whoop. Instantly, four Indians sprang from their hiding places and rushed to the door, thinking that they were thus sure of him as a prisoner. But he escaped by a back-way to his field of corn, in which he found his wife, who had gone but a short distance from the house, and there fainted. He seized her under one arm, and the child under the other, and escaped with his burden

across the creek, which he forded with great difficulty, it being then high water. He left them under the tree, and returned toward the house. But he had proceeded only a short distance when he met an enormous bear. It would not do to leave them exposed to this new peril, so he went back and started for Storer's garrison, nine miles distant, being obliged to take the interior route on account of three intervening rivers. At night they reached the hill where the old Jefferds tavern now stands, having traveled through the woods the whole distance, there being no house in Kennebunk but their own, and having subsisted entirely on berries gathered on the route. His dog had started with them, but as his barking would have led to their discovery, he was obliged to kill him. The next day at a late hour they reached the garrison. But all the inmates were asleep. After much difficulty and delay they succeeded in rousing some of them, and he with his wife found rest within its walls.

The Indians killed his hogs and carried off his beds, but did no other special damage; the house being left, as they said after the war was over, as a trap to catch him, when at some time after, he might return to it.

We have taken the leading facts of this tradition from Bradbury, but it must be a very imperfect account of them. Harding must have known that the Indians were away from their wigwams just over the creek. When abroad on their raids they did not have with them their wives and children, as seen on Oaks' rocks. It is hardly probable that Harding could have passed through the cornfield with his wife and child, without so moving the stocks as to make his track plain; and he could not have crossed the brook and ascended the bank on the upper side without exposing himself to their sight, and leaving his foot-prints behind him. Nevertheless, there is no doubt of the accuracy of the leading facts. In passing down through four or five generations, they may have been extended somewhat.

It was in this spot, so limited, that nearly all the business of Kennebunk was at one time done. Coasters were here from the west, taking spars, timber and boards, for several years. Passengers also availed themselves of a passage hither by water, land travel being tedious, and much of the time perilous. Here too were enacted scenes which rent many a heart. Here in 1724, occurred that terrible tragedy, of which an account is given in a subsequent chapter, where the brave Wormwood, through the agonies of death, contin-

ued to fight his merciless enemies. Here, also, history alleges the crew of the Lynn sloop were massacred.

Having failed in their attempt to capture Harding, the Indians went over the river, and killed the wife and three children of William Larrabee, whose house stood near the site of the old rope-walk. Larrabee was away from his house a short distance, having concealed himself in some bushes from the sight of two or three who were searching for him. After they had given up the search, he crept toward his house until he discovered his dead wife and children. Being satisfied of the murder of all his family, he started for the Storer garrison and reached it in safety.

Samuel Hill, wife and children were among the victims of this memorable raid. His house and all his household goods were committed to the flames. He could have been married but four or five years, and it is probable that his family consisted of three or four children only. Some of these, too young to travel, were killed; others, with the father and mother, were carried into captivity. The Indians were then, in fact, fighting for the French, and the prisoners taken by them were delivered into their hands in Canada. They were thence saved from those terrible cruelties which they might have experienced in the hands of their captors. Hill seems to have had some freedom while thus in captivity. It was a singular coincidence, that his brother Ebenezer Hill, and his wife, then living at Saco, were captured at the same time, and that they were imprisoned together. Samuel had been an efficient actor in the preparations for defense, and was captain of a packet, which was employed in bringing provisions to the various ports on the coast. The loss of such a man at this time was a severe one for the people of Wells.

James Adams and all his family were also taken, and his house burned. He lived on the gore, between one and two miles above the main road and on the road to Berwick. He had but two children, so far as we can learn, one three years old and the other one. Both were too young to travel and, as we suppose, were killed.

Thomas Wilson, who lived at Maryland, near William Veney, was murdered. His family escaped.

Mary Storer, daughter of Lieut. Joseph Storer, was captured and carried to Canada. She was a young lady about eighteen years of age. Being the daughter of one of the most energetic defenders of the town, and an officer of the government, she was regarded as a

valuable prize. She became well satisfied with her condition in captivity; and by her refined and attractive deportment and personal qualities, soon ingratiated herself into the kind sympathies and acceptance of French society. In a short time she became the victor over the heart of a Frenchman, Jean St. Germaine, and was united with him in marriage. The father, after the close of the war, was unable to induce her to return. French social life had taken strong hold of her affections, and she could not be induced to abandon it for the rustic life of her early home. Her father, in his will, gave her a legacy of fifty pounds if she returned and dwelt in New England; and ten shillings only if she refused to do so. But the legacy failed to have any effect on her. She died in Montreal, Aug. 25, 1747, aged 62.

Two children of William Parsons, William, aged five years, and Samuel, aged eighteen months, were killed, and a daughter taken captive. Parsons lived between the parsonage and the house of Joseph Hill. His house was burnt. He had two other small children. With these, the father and mother escaped and went to York, where they found a home at the house of Arthur Bragdon. But on the twenty-sixth day of September, less than two months after, an assault was made on that town, and Mr. Parsons and one of the daughters captured.

The savages started with the daughter first taken, on their way to Canada. Their provisions failed, and the monsters determined to supply their needs by roasting the little girl; but while making preparations for their horrible purpose, a party of Mohawk Indians with three dogs met them. The captors proposed to exchange their captive for one of the dogs. But as it was no object to the Mohawks to take the burden of the care of the child and part with their dog, they rejected the proposition. They then offered them one of their guns, which was gladly accepted, and thus the life of the child was saved. We have no evidence as to her future. The captivity of the child was a terrible affliction to the parents. It probably hastened the death of the father, who survived but a few months. History speaks of this daughter as the child of the widow Hannah Parsons. This is attributable to the fact that the account of it was first written after the death of the father.

Mary Sayer, a daughter of Joseph Hill, and Rachel Storer, we suppose a daughter of Jeremiah, were among those carried away.

We have had no light as to their subsequent captivity, excepting that they were kindly treated after being delivered over to the French, and were several years prisoners in Canada.

Aaron Littlefield, son of Moses, was captured. He was but a small boy, seven or eight years old. We are not informed of the circumstances of the capture, excepting that he was compelled to follow the Indians to Canada. There, with the other captives, he was delivered to the French, who gave the tribes an encouraging bounty for all prisoners. One of these was regarded as specially valuable, as they supposed they should receive a large amount for his ransom. A boy was regarded, in many cases, as a more important prize than a soldier, as it was supposed that many parents would give all they had for the restoration of their child. But there was a stronger reason operating on the minds of the French than the anticipated ransom. The Jesuits were then as anxious as at the present day to bring children under the influences of Catholicism, the fascinations of which would be so readily brought to bear on the young mind. They probably made this latter the leading object of their action, rather than a large bounty for the release of the boy. He was delivered to the French at Montreal, and very soon the attractions of papacy had taken strong hold of his affections. He was sent to Quebec. The parents had no knowledge of him after his capture. In many, and perhaps most cases, small children were murdered, they being only an incumbrance on the travel of the savages. After the war was over, it was learned that Aaron was alive and dwelling near Montreal. Every exertion was made by the government to ascertain what English prisoners were living in Canada, and to induce their return home. Captain Christian Baker in 1714, discovered that Littlefield was at Quebec, and on representing the case to the governor, an order was sent for him to come to Montreal, where Baker succeeded in obtaining an agreement that he should return to Wells. The governor gave his assent, and Baker provided for all necessary clothing. Baker now went to Quebec and during his absence there one of the priests having learned the young man's intention, went to him, persuaded him to remain where he was, and took from him the clothes prepared for his journey. Baker, on his return, made known the facts to the governor, who again sent for the boy. But all arguments failed to induce him to come back to his home. The priests had made thorough work with

him, and he became a proselyte of papacy, whether by intimidation or the enchantments of Romanism, is unknown. He was afterwards baptized and changed his name to Peter. He was married and had lived in Canada many years. His father died in 1726. His mother died some years after, and in 1737 he came home to Wells to secure his portion of the estate. The other heirs objected to his claim, and were unwilling that he should have any share in it, on the ground that he had become a Catholic. Puritanism had no sympathy with Romanism. The statute even denied liberty of conscience to Catholics. He then petitioned to the court to have his share in his father's estate set off. But the heirs interposed this objection that he was a papist, and had therefore no rights which the court were bound to respect.

Testimony was introduced to maintain the defense set up, a part of which appears in the following deposition of Christian Baker, in which the reader will be as much interested in the literature of the magistrate as in the facts stated :

“The deposition of Christen Baker. All that I can say concerning Aaron Littlefield Who Whares taken by the Ingons from Kennebunk in ye Province of Massitusetts to the Best of My knowledge is as follows, that I Very Well knew him in Canaday, and that he was baptised Peter and that he was A papist by Profeshon, and his Living and his Marige was in a place called Bashervell in Canaday, Nine Miles from Mount Royal, and that I See his Sister in the Nunnery in Canaday About fifteen or Sixteen years ago. And this is ye Hull truth of What I know, as witness my hand. Sworn to Before Paul Gerrish, J. P., Dover April 1738.”

The jury returned a verdict in his favor, if a Papist could hold real estate ; but if not, for the defendant.

Tabitha Littlefield was one of the captives. She was supposed to have been killed, as she was not heard from until many years after. She was but a small child, and, we think, a sister of Aaron. When it was ascertained that she was living, every exertion was made by her friends to induce her to abandon Indian life. But she would listen to no suggestions to that effect. She had become enamored of the wild and free state of the red men. Once she came to Harding's with a company of Indians ; while they were selling some of their articles, she suddenly enquired of Mrs. Harding, if she did not

remember Tabitha Littlefield, and without waiting for an answer, escaped from the house.

Esther Wheelright, daughter of Col. John, was also a captive. According to the record, she was at this time but seven years of age. There may be error in the statement that she was captured on the tenth of August. But four years later, she is spoken of as but a child; how she could have performed the journey of two hundred miles and more through the wilderness, we cannot conjecture. As she was a valuable prize, we suppose every exertion was made by the Indians to cheer her youthful heart, and aid her onward in her journey.

Strange as it may seem, there are persons at the present age, born under the light of Christian culture, who have been seduced from their allegiance to it, by the fascinations of Indian life, with whom the romance of the forests and the glades is a perpetual charm; over whose freed spirits the attractions of civilization have no power. So it was at the period of which we are speaking. Some who were wrested from all their happy associations here, and with overwhelming anguish of heart carried into captivity by the savages, soon became the subjects of this strange witchery, and were so under its influence, that the inducements of the paternal home and all the appeals of filial affection, found no response in their hearts, and they never could be persuaded to return from their captivity. How many there were from Wells, who thus became enamored of this wild life, we have no means of ascertaining. Esther Wheelright was one of the number; whether she acquired any more intimate than the natural relationships of life, as did the daughter of Storer, does not appear from any tradition, or any written relics of the day. She wrote to her father while in captivity, and perhaps several times; one letter had been preserved more than an hundred years, but has recently shared the fate of many relics of the olden time. The father lived in the hope that she would come back to gladden his fireside, even to his last days; and provided for her in his will, in the event she should return from her wanderings, after his death. He had received no information of her for many years; and the fate of all humanity may have overtaken her before that time.

The foregoing are all whom we have ascertained to have been the victims of the assault of August tenth. Several houses in the immediate neighborhood of those whose occupants were killed, were

burned, and the tenants, we presume, murdered. As before remarked, no minute of this attack has found its way to our time. One would have supposed that Capt. Hill, during his captivity, would have preserved a list of the prisoners at Montreal; but, if any such was ever made by him, we have been unable to find it. In one letter, he says that there were one hundred and seventeen in his company, and seventy with the Indians; but he gives no names.

These losses fell heavily upon the town; breaking many hearts, and leaving others despondent and penniless, while at the same time, adding very materially to their burdens. The people were now very much reduced, and being in the midst of the war, and unable to cultivate their lands, their prospects were exceedingly gloomy. Still there were noble souls among them, who were not to be driven from the ground; and the next year, as a first step toward restoration, they gathered together, and prepared the following representation of their condition:

“Petition of the town of Wells to the General Court.

May it please your Excellencies &c.

It hath seemed good to this Great and General Assembly to lay on us as our part of three several taxes, eighty pounds; thirty whereof was required just upon the bloody desolation which it pleased God in his Sovereignty to make on our town by the Eastern enemies last year; in which many of our inhabitants (and they such as were wont to bear a great part of our public charges) were either murdered or taken captive, their houses burnt and goods spoiled, besides divers others escaping with only their clothes on their backs. So that we who are the Frontier wing of the body of the Frontier towns are most of all impoverished and diminished. More than a third part of our number are, one way or other, gone from us; and a great part of us who are left, being destitute of employment and income, are so exceeding poor, that if the constable, who hath already used all means more gentle, should execute the law in severity he must take their bodies. Our straights are every way enlarged. What we did formerly allow to our minister, which, at best, was but a slender maintenance, we are not able now to make good, and if country rates be exacted, we have reason to fear that, do what we can, our minister will be constrained to leave us, he having already removed his family for want of a convenient dwelling place, his house being

only raised and partly enclosed before the present war. Which to finish will be impossible for us, if that little (which thanks be to God) is left us should be taken from us, while we hold our lives in our hands, and when we should labor in improving our lands; which also excepting what are near adjoining our garrisons, lye waste, inso-much that what we do or can improve, will come far short of finding us bread corn. Moreover, instead of adding to that little which the former war left us, we did, in the short time of peaceable intermission lay out what might be spared from our backs and mouths, in building a Meeting House and rebuilding our old waste places and settling new ones, as also in erecting mills, which are now, before they could in any measure repay our disbursements, useless and unprofitable.

May it therefore please this Hon^{ble} assembly to commiserate the distressed condition of your impoverished and exposed petitioners, groaning under many heavy burdens, enough to sink us if we now fail of relief, or to remit our above mentioned taxes, excepting what is granted out of them to our minister; thus humbly praying that the most favorable construction may be made of our bold importunity, and whatever else may be found amiss herein, we have not exceeded, but come very short in representing the hard circumstances of our present calamity. We must leave our very sad case to the all disposing influences of a gracious God, who knows the depths of our straights and can move your Excellency, and Hon. Courts of compassion toward your dutiful servants, who shall ever pray.

JOHN WHEELRIGHT.

JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD.

JOSEPH STORER.

THOMAS BOSTON.

JOSEPH HILL.

SAMUEL HATCH.

JONATHAN HAMMOND.

In behalf of the town of Wells."

The general court ordered one-half of the tax of the preceding year to be abated, and the next year, one-quarter part. This favorable reception of their petition afforded encouragement to the people, and notwithstanding the continued perils of their position, they did not abandon immediately their necessary employments. But watching carefully all the manœuvres of the enemy, with their guns always at hand, they were ready to meet them; though sometimes, the Indians coming upon them in numbers altogether unexpected, they were shot down or captured. When they went to their marshes

or elsewhere to work, away from their garrisons, they stationed sentinels to give notice of the appearance of the enemy. There was but little fear that any small number would attack a party which was armed. They were very sensitive to the use of bullets by their enemies, and would never show themselves where they had reason to believe there was to be much action of that character. Their rule was to give no opportunity to their enemy to avail himself of fire-arms in an open encounter. The art of war with them was altogether in ambush and deceit.

At the same time when these attacks were made on Wells, a sloop was attacked at Kennebunk and captured. What number of the men, if any, fell into the hands of the enemy is not stated in any history extant. They designed to fall upon all the towns in the province at the same moment. They were but few, being eight in the whole. Berwick, York, Winter Harbor, and Kittery were attacked. At the first-named place, being unable to conquer the garrison, they manifested their malignity and wrath by tying one Joseph Ring to a stake and burning him, all the while shouting at the terrible agonies of the victim.

The news of such atrocities induced the lieutenant governor of New Hampshire to come to the aid of the inhabitants of the province, and he ordered Capt. Packer with forty volunteers on board the sloop *Four Friends*, commanded by Capt. Daniel Ware, to go east and visit Wells and other places, and relieve all who were in distress. But those in Wells who were careful in their movements, did not yet need much assistance from abroad. The garrisons could repel any attacks made on them. The spirit of the inhabitants was equal to any emergency. They had Capt. Wadley's company of cavalry ready to rush to any of the remote parts of the settlement, as the occasion might demand, and John Wheelright, Lieut. Joseph Storer, Lieut. Jonathan Littlefield, Lieut. Jonathan Hammond, Lieut. Josiah Littlefield, and other brave men, who were prepared for the calls of any hour. They were well provided with garrison houses in all parts of the village, which was confined entirely to the king's road, running through the town for the most part where the present highway is traveled. John Wheelright, notwithstanding the peril of any out-door labors, pulled down his old house, built by his grandfather, Rev. John Wheelright, and built a new one, near where stood the house of the late John Rankin, deceased. It was

constructed with garrison defences. There were also garrison houses on the site of the house of the late William Cole, and on that of the house of Daniel Eaton, so that there were places of refuge for all in the eastern end of the town, when driven from their homes.

As we have before stated, the winter season generally brought rest to the inhabitants. Cold weather was not adapted to the Indian mode of warfare. The trail would be discovered in the snow. They could not lie, day after day, in ambush, without being detected. If discovered, their tracks would be a sure guide to their pursuers. The perseverance and patience of these savages in the pursuit of their victims were truly wonderful. Nicholas Cole was an experienced millman, and very useful in that department of labor, as mills were being extensively erected in town before this war began. The enemy were anxious to capture him, or at any rate, to deprive the people of his services. He owned a part of a saw-mill, where the Gowen mill now stands. In those days beaver were very abundant about all our rivers and low grounds, and Cole was in the habit of setting his trap for them a little below the mill. As the Indians were supposed to be lurking in the woods, at one time he did not visit his trap for three weeks, when on going to the place he found that it had been taken. After the close of the war it was ascertained that some of the enemy had concealed themselves in the vicinity nineteen days, waiting the opportunity to catch him; but having come to the conclusion that Cole suspected their designs, and their patience being exhausted, they left, taking the trap with them. Cole would have been a great prize for them in Canada. The French had much need of skillful artificers.

In the spring of 1704, the enemy were again lurking in the woods. On the twenty-fifth of April, two men were killed and one taken captive while traveling in the highway. Their names are unknown. This was the first manifestation of their presence at this time. The people again fled to the garrisons. The cavalry could do nothing in the dense wilderness, which was still almost unbroken above the main road. The Indians were not wanting in artifice and skill in screening themselves from capture. Their education had been in the continual practice of deceit and ambush. They were adepts in these matters. It was seldom that they were found, by the most diligent search after them in the forests. At one time, during one of

the wars, seven Indians were discovered on Drake's Island. They were distinctly seen from the highway, and notice of the fact was immediately given to the authorities. A company was mustered and hastened to the island. A diligent search was made of every part of it, and the woods thoroughly examined, but no traces of them could be found. It was concluded that they escaped before the arrival of the company. But where they had gone, or by what means they had effected their escape, was a mystery. No explanation was satisfactory. After the war was over, it was ascertained that they discovered the force coming against them, and seeing no chance of escape from the island, fled to a flag pond, which the inhabitants very well knew had no spot of ground in it on which they could stand. Here, in the midst of the water, they laid themselves down on their backs, with their mouths just out of the water, drawing the few flag stocks over them. In this position they continued motionless during the whole search, a feat which they probably learned from some species of ducks, which, on being wounded, and perhaps at other times, will swim along undiscovered, with their bills just protruding out of the water.

On the eleventh of May, Nicholas Cole, together with three soldiers, Nicholas Hodsdon, Thomas Dane, and Benjamin Gooch, went about a mile from Wheelright's garrison at the eastern end of the town for the purpose of getting his cattle. This was a long distance to venture above the road; but they were armed with their muskets, and believed themselves sufficient for any force which they would be likely to encounter. Having found their cattle, and being on their return home, they discovered twelve Indians, who had probably been watching there, in the expectation that some one, perhaps Wheelright himself, whom they were anxious to secure, would come to drive the cattle home. The Indians were in such a position that they could not run for the garrison. Cole was a brave and decided man, and was for giving them battle; but the soldiers were of a different spirit, and he could not bring them up to the resolution to face the enemy in deadly fight. Cole was undoubtedly right, and in the open ground the savages, even though exceeding his party three times in number, would not have hazarded a battle. His companions ran, and thus compelled him to do the same. He ran down the hill toward the river, and was killed about forty rods below the mill. Hodsdon also was killed, and Dane was taken cap-

tive. Gooch, running immediately on discovering them, was kept from view by the intervening woods and reached the river, where he ran up under the banks and concealed himself under a bush, from which place he witnessed the fall of Cole, and saw them take his scalp and throw his gun into the river. Ninety-six years afterwards this gun was found. Gooch escaped and reached home as soon as opportunity offered, and Capt. Haile's company was sent in pursuit, but the enemy had fled beyond their reach.

The incursions on the various settlements of the province, as well as in various parts of Massachusetts, and the constant apprehensions which were wearing upon the strength and energies of the people, induced the government to adopt measures on a much larger scale, and in this year Col. Church, with 550 men and a small fleet, was sent to the eastward, to break up and destroy any rendezvous which the enemy might have on the coast, and to capture all, whether French or Indians, which might fall in his way. Church carried out the purposes of the expedition to the extent of his power, visiting Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, and the Bay of Fundy, and destroying whatever he found of the works of the enemy at Port Royal, and bringing back with him a hundred prisoners.

At this time a man of the name of Lewis Allen was living here, who had previously been an inhabitant of Wells, dwelling near the saw-mill on Little river. In 1685, he bought the dwelling house, land, and one-third of the saw-mill, of William Frost. He was a blacksmith. We do not know how long he continued in Wells, but probably until the close of the ten years' war, during which he must have had a full experience of the horrors of a conflict with the savages. And yet, indifferent to all the revolting cruelties which he knew must ensue the revival of hostilities, he enlisted in the service of the French, to aid in the work of desolation and death. He agreed with the governor of Nova Scotia to come here as a spy. The enemy at Port Royal were anxious to learn what preparations were making to subdue the Indians. To avoid all suspicion of his character, he was invested with the authority of an agent for the exchange of prisoners, and came here under the color of a flag of truce for that purpose. But as it frequently happens, the false character of his mission was suspected. The indications of his treacherous intent are not known; but they were sufficiently strong to justify his arrest. He had not taken the precaution to conceal his instruc-

tions. On searching his person, in his pocket book, the order was found, directing him, "If any enterprise was on foot, that he should join L. A., the two first letters of his name, close together. If it was only in agitation, place them at some distance; but if nothing was in motion, then to sign a cross." Such a traitor well merited the scaffold; but that was not his doom. How he got back to Port Royal we cannot tell; but he was there in 1720, and conveyed all his estate in Wells to Lewis Bane, of York. We can see no reason why it should not have been confiscated.

In consequence of this efficient co-operation of the government, the people of Wells, during the remainder of this year, and the next, enjoyed a respite from the sufferings and perplexities of the war. During this interval came a day of rejoicing to many weary, long-waiting hearts. No description can portray the gladness which brightened their sad faces, when the news spread from house to house, that a letter had been received from Capt. Samuel Hill, announcing the good tidings that the long-lost friends, taken in the assault of August 10, 1703, had been carried captives to Canada, and were still living. Their supposed cruel fate had almost broken many a heart. But the soul-stirring news awakened them to new life and joys, which none can tell to whom has not come a similar experience. In this letter, dated "Canada Oct. 7 1704," Capt. Hill says, "My family are all in health; if our government had sent prisoners home for some which Canada sent, I should have been sent home with my family, and a great many others. If the governor of Massachusetts had only sent one man for me, I and all my family would have been restored. Ebenezer and wife desire to be remembered to you." We suppose that other letters to his friends were received at the same time. Nothing was heard from them during the winter; but in the spring the following letter was received:

"Quebec March 1705.

Cousin Pendleton Fletcher of Saco, Mary Sayer, brother Joseph's daughter, and Mary Storer of Wells, with our other friends and neighbors here, are all well. Myself, wife, and child are well. Pray that God may keep, and in due time deliver us.

Your loving brother and sister,

Ebenezer and Abiah Hill."

Ebenezer had no child when he was taken prisoner; the child referred to was born in Canada, and was ever after called the Frenchman.

The French seem to have treated those in their care very kindly, but the expense of their maintainance bearing heavily upon them, they were anxious to get rid of their captives as quickly as possible. Soon after this, the governor of Canada determined to adopt measures to bring about an exchange. Samuel Hill was selected as agent for this purpose, and sent to Boston to arrange for that object. Hill's family being in the hands of the French, abundant security was thereby afforded for his fidelity to the trust committed to him; and their anxiety for release from captivity would induce him to do all in his power to effect the purpose for which he was sent. The glad tidings of his arrival soon came in the following letter to Capt. John Hill:

“KITTEERY, May 10, 1705.

LOVING BROTHER:—These are to acquaint you of my health, and to let you know I have got leave of his Excellency at Boston to go to Wells and visit my friends there. Here are brother and sister Storer, and brother Hill (Joseph) come from Wells yesterday, with whom I intend to go thither in their boat, and I hope to return next week. The Governor has promised that I shall continue here, till the messenger returns from Canada.

Your loving Brother,

SAMUEL HILL.”

The government, on Hill's arrival, immediately sent commissioners to Canada, who carried with them seventy of the French and Indian captives, and delivered them to the Canadian authorities; but they only received sixty in return. Of this breach of good faith on the part of the French, our government felt that they had much reason to complain. But Hill's letters seem to indicate that the fault was with Massachusetts, that we had not before acted rightly in this matter; that if the governor here had fulfilled his obligations, he and his family would have been restored some time before. It is possible that this charge was without foundation. Hill may have been deceived by the jesuitry of the Frenchmen.

In the year 1705, attacks were made on the towns of Kittery, York and Wells. A company of the enemy issued from the woods at Cape Neddock and captured four children of Mr. Storer, which were out of the garrison. One of the Indians was killed, and in revenge for this, one of the children who was too young to travel, was knocked on the head and killed, and another was supposed to have been murdered by cruel torture.

The successful defense of the Storer garrison in the former war, nerved the hearts of the people for any conflicts. They knew that so large a force could not be again mustered to overcome them, and they waited patiently for future developments. As they had been free from the enemy's incursions during so many months, they had grown in some measure careless; and Hill writes his brother on the 13th of January to enforce upon him the necessity of caution: "Loving Brother. After my kind love to you and your wife, praying that you would be very careful of yourself in going into the woods, for the enemy will assuredly be skulking about to take all advantage; and I am afraid they are near at hand, for they did design mischief this winter before I came out of Canada, and people's boldness and security denote sudden destruction. Therefore, I pray, let not people's carelessness be your danger."

We have before stated that the winter was not the season of Indian warfare, and though Capt. Hill manifested a wise forethought in this advice, no enemy appeared till the last of April, when they came out of the forests in Kittery and killed a Mr. Shapleigh, who was in the highway, and took his son prisoner and carried him to Canada. But as if delighting in ferocity, and in the groans and tortures of the white men, they exhibited their fiendish malignity in biting off his fingers, and to stop the bleeding seared them with burning-hot tobacco pipes. The Christian even, might well be excused for crying to the Almighty for vengeance on these fiends in human shape; and one can hardly refrain from sympathy and fellowship with the exclamation of one Benjamin Daniel, when his vessel was attacked the next year at Saco, and himself mortally wounded: "I am a dead man, but give me a gun to kill one more before I go."

The year 1706 did not pass without new admonition to the people of Wells to be at all times on their guard. On the thirtieth day of July "a man was killed and another wounded by the skulking Indians." Pursuit was immediately made, but the enemy escaped.

We think scarcely an instance can be found in which the pursuers overtook these murderers. Whenever a small number of them had accomplished their work of killing even a single person, they fled with such precipitancy, and to such a distance, that it was almost useless to pursue them. We do not know the names of the persons who thus became the victims of this unexpected raid.

CHAPTER XVIII.

QUEEN ANN'S WAR CONTINUED—INDIAN RAIDS—DROWNING OF WAKEFIELD AND OTHERS—CAPTURE OF LIEUT. JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD—HIS LETTERS—HIS RELEASE AND DEATH—INDIAN ATROCITIES—TWO MARRIAGES CELEBRATED AT THE GARRISON—SAMBO'S CAPTURE AND ESCAPE—GARRISON ATTACKED—CAPTURE OF PLAISTED—FRANCIS LITTLEFIELD.

In the spring of 1707, the government sent another expedition eastward to find out and break up the haunts of the enemy in the neighborhood of Passamaquoddy and Port Royal. But the enterprise was an entire failure, and resulted in serious injury to the Province. The Indians had become wearied with the war; but this unsuccessful termination of an expedition on which so much reliance had been placed, so re-inspirited them, that they entered with new zeal upon the work of desolation, cruelty, and death. They attacked all the towns west of Saco. All the settlements east had ceased to exist. The inhabitants had been driven to other places of refuge. Wells did not escape without severe loss. On the tenth of August, a Mrs. Littlefield with four other persons, was attacked while coming from York to Wells. She had with her two hundred dollars in money, a large sum to be in the possession of one person in those days. We suppose that this escort attended her on that account. She was robbed of her money, and all were killed but one man, who succeeded in making his escape. We have not ascertained the names of any of the attendants.

This year, 1707, was a most trying one to the people. They were obliged to confine themselves to the garrisons or to their immediate neighborhood, having but little opportunity to cultivate the soil, and no other means of obtaining the necessary supplies for their families. To those who found their happiness in the activities of life, this constant restriction from daily labor must have brought great weariness of spirit. But more than all these afflictions, in a little village of so

few inhabitants, the murder of one after another of their companions and friends must have come over their souls with a most depressing power. We know the effect of a single murder in one of our villages; what a shock it brings to the hearts of men. What must have been the effect when, day after day, murders, the most appalling, were committed at their own doors, attended also, as they usually were, by the most horrid atrocities that infernal malignity could devise?

But the distress of the inhabitants was sadly augmented by a melancholy event of this year not proceeding from Indian hostility. The twenty-fifth of October was a day of great lamentation and mourning. The people in these perilous times, cut off from almost all other sources of supply, were in the habit of obtaining much of their daily food from the sea, and early in the morning of this day, William Wakefield, James Wakefield, Joseph Storer, jr., Job Littlefield, and Moses Littlefield went out in a small sloop for the purpose of fishing. There was a heavy sea on the bar and the wind very close. As they endeavored to drive her over she was struck by the waves and upset, and all five were drowned. Every exertion was made to save them, but no canoe could live in such a sea. The bodies of four were recovered and buried with great lamentation. These men were all valuable citizens, and their aid was daily needed. The number of available inhabitants now was very small, and the anguish of many hearts almost took away from them the ability to contribute any service to the general welfare.

About the same time a messenger came with notice that about 300 Indians had appeared at Winter Harbor; that they had attacked a fishing shallop and killed Benjamin Daniel. We have before alluded to his exclamation in the midst of his dying agonies. The great guns were immediately fired, giving notice to all around that the enemy were near. This timely warning saved the people. They were so on their guard during the remainder of the year that the enemy do not seem to have done any great injury. The winter approaching, the Indians withdrew from this part of the Province. But the spring of 1708 opened adversely. A great freshet did much damage. The mill property had become very important to the settlers. Dams were not built with the strength which characterizes similar work at the present time, and the heavy freshet left but few of them standing.

The Indians seem now to have abandoned the hope of destroying Wells; still they traveled about in small squads, seeking opportunity to waylay and secure any whom they could find away from the protection of the garrisons. They concealed themselves in the unsettled territory between York and Wells. The people, very indiscreetly, we should judge, were in the habit of passing through these woods. Men exposed themselves to hazards in those times which few would dare at the present day. Exposure was a habit of their lives. Peril had been a concomitant of existence so many years, that life was cold and dead without it, and they would rush into it on the impulse of the moment, thoughtless of consequences. Such were the manifestations of many of the settlers, and to this inconsiderate courage are to be ascribed many of the losses which brought serious injury to the town. Lieut. Josiah Littlefield and Joseph Winn, two valuable men, were on one of these jaunts to York, on the 22d of April, this year, 1708, when they were suddenly surrounded by a body of Indians. Littlefield was taken prisoner, but Winn, being quick in his motions, succeeded in making his escape. The former was a millman and a very skillful engineer, and his services were now very much needed. The devastations of the freshet required the aid of such men to repair the breaches that had been made.

As there are many bearing the name of Littlefield now living in Wells who, we know, will be interested in the account of his captivity, as given by himself, we add here a letter from him, written soon after his capture in 1708:

“Dear and loving children, my kind love remembered to you all, and my kind love to my brother and sister, and my kind love to all my friends att Wells, and to Mr. Emery in particular, dasiaring of him prayers for me and for my children, hoping in God they are in good helth as I am att this present writing, blessed be Goð for it. Aprel the 23 I was taken by foer Indans, and may the 3 I arived att nongonuay (Norridgewoock), and from thence to caback (Quebec), and arrived at caback may the 26 and from thence to Moriel (Montreal), and arrived at Moriel June the 2, and now I have liberty granted to me to rite to my friends and to the governor, and for my redemption and for Wheelrite's child to be redeemed by two Indens prisoners that are with the English now, and I have been with the

governor this morning and hee have promised that if our governor will send them that wee shall be redeemed, for the governor have sent a man to redeem Wheelrites child and do lookes for him in now every day with the child to Moriel where I am, and I would pray whilrite to be very brief in the matter, that we may come home before winter, for we must come by Albany, and I have allso acquainted our Gofnear dedly (Dudley) with the same. no more at present but remain yours to command.

JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD."

loving cousen. My kind love remember to you and to your wife and children and to all my friends, hoping in god that you and my dear children are all in helth as I am att present. O, I dasiare to bless god for the same, and I would pray you to be very kind, and a father to my dear children while I do come home, and so take the care of them and my estaite to maintain them that they may not sufeare. I would have you not to pay any deates of mine till I do come home, and I would pray you to rasarve some quantity of money to gather for mee, for I shall be at a great charge in my coming home if please god to spare my life and helth, and what money you can resarve to gether for me let it be silver money, for I must borre some money, and peaper money would not pass heare, so I would commit the care of all my concerne into your hands while my return. I am in grate hopes that if please god to spare me my life and helth that I may be at home by the midst of winter next ensuing, so I shall dasiare your prayers constant for me, as mine shall be for you all, so I remain yours to command, ever loving onkel til death,

JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD.

Mary Storrar is well and Rachel Storar and — Storer is well and Mary Austin of York is well and dasiares to remember their duty to thear father and mother and their kind love to all thear friends and ralations, hoping in god you are all well.

I would pray you — Wheelright dear friends to be mindful in the matter consearning our redemson. I have riten to the governer at boston.

Yours to command,

JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD.

This for Capt John Whelright and Josiah Winn att Wells. deliver with care."

Littlefield's mechanical services were highly appreciated by the French, and he was kept at Montreal until the autumn of 1709, when he was released from captivity; but his freedom—there being no mode of transportation—was not a very great boon to him. The following letter gives the sequel to his liberation. His literature does not equal his mechanical skill; still it is not less interesting on that account.

It may be well to premise that the first notice of his arrival in Maine was communicated in a letter from Samuel Moody, at Canso, two days before the date of Littlefield's letter, in which he states that three Indians had come in, and hinted that they had him in their possession. The hint was undoubtedly intended to draw out some offer for his surrender. They knew that he was a useful man, and supposed that they should receive a large sum for his ransom. It does not appear where Littlefield's letter was written; from the fact stated by Moody, we presume that, at the time, he was not far from Canso.

“January 29, 1710.

I thought it convenient to give to his Excellency an account where I am, and how the case stands with me. I was coming home in the fal, and was taken by a canady Indian which told me that I must go back to Canady again, and I told him I thought I could not by reason of sickness in my journey, and he told me that he would kill me, and was a Indian that longing to Norigway, and I spoke to him to plead for me, that I might remain at Norrigway al winter, and with much persuading he sold me to a Indian belonging to Norrigway, which has nursed me and have recovered me, and have promised him payment for the love he bare to me in that respect, for he has been like a father to me, and now he is very willing that I should come home, if your Excellency would give leave that a sloop may come to Sacaty Hock, and to send Joseph Bane, for they have a desire to come to speak together, and they would have no other man than Joseph Bane to come for they reckons it all one as though your own person was there, if Joseph bane be living, and if not some other good onest man. So I remain your humble sarvent, hoping that you will take pity on me.

JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD.

And to send but three men besides
Joseph bane in the sloop.

And after the arrival of this
letter, the sloop to Sacaty Hock in fifteen days.”

Littlefield, we suppose, had entered into some agreement with his master, to go with him to Sagadahock, in the confidence that he could there make provision for his ransom. He had had before a hard experience in his endeavors to reach his home through the wilderness. As he states in his letter, after being wearied out, and reduced by disease, he was re-captured and carried to Norridgewock. He might well feel that the same fate would overtake him if he made another similar attempt. The first Indian whom he might meet, would seize upon him, knowing that thereby he should secure a valuable prize; he therefore agreed with his master, and two other Indians, to accompany him to the fort at Canso. Having arrived in the neighborhood of the fort, and Littlefield being secured, the Indians went forward, under a flag of truce, and after stating to the officer that they had Littlefield in possession, endeavored to enter into some negotiations for his delivery. Moody, who then had charge, was not fully satisfied of the truth of the statement; but the Indians, having obtained stationery for the purpose, returned to Littlefield, who wrote the letters which are here incorporated; so that there could be no doubt of their statements. Beside the letter to the governor, he also addressed the following letter to Moody:

“Jan. 29, 1709-10.

Capt. Samuel Moody, after my love to you, I would pray you to make these Indians very welcome for one is my master, therefore be kind to them and if you can, send to me an old Cot, and a pair of stockins, and a little solt, if it be but a pound or two.

No more, but remain,

JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD.

Yours to command.”

He seems to have made large promises for his ransom, as he also sent by the Indians the following letter to his friend in Boston:

“Jan. 29, 1709-10.

Cozen Barba: After my love to you and all my friends, I have sent a letter to the governor, that a sloop may come to Sacot Hoss, and I would pray you to send me this goods which I two hogshsiss of meat and one hogssiss of corn, ten yards of broadcloth of a sad color, and for a great variety of articles.

JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD.”

This order was for the purpose of fulfilling his contract with the Indians. Having left some property in Wells, his cousin Barber could well trust him for this purpose. The governor, though anxious for Littlefield's restoration, was for good reasons, opposed to purchasing the liberty of any of the unfortunate captives. Littlefield well understood this matter; but one will give everything for his life. In the hands of his enemies, who in the event of the disappointment of their expectations might carry him back into captivity, or perhaps, in revenge for his breach of faith, put him to torture or a cruel death, he endeavored to obtain the means for his liberation, without the knowledge of the governor. Who, when everything dear to his heart was involved in the issue, would hesitate as to his right and duty at this hour? Worn out by his travel in the wilderness, suffering from cold and hunger, reduced by disease, and sick at heart by perpetual and unsatisfied longings for his home and the society of his friends, how could he refrain from the use of any means which might restore him from the darkness in which he had so long dwelt, to the sunshine and the blessedness of his own fireside? His home might not have been of the most cheery character, but still it was his home. His wife was not the most gentle of the sex. A strong litigious proclivity sometimes carried her beyond the bounds of a becoming female modesty. But yet she was his wife, and men will love their wives. Though the smiles on her face, like angel's visits, might be few and far between, yet when they did come, they were so much the more joyful to his heart. They had children also, with whose lives all the fibers of his soul were entwined. How then could he go back into captivity without once again fixing his eyes on his long-lost home.

But the governor in one of his letters to Moody had said: "I always pity a prisoner in Indian hands, especially when their masters are indigent, in necessity of everything; but no consideration of that nature has yet altered my resolution never to buy a prisoner of an Indian, lest we make a market for our poor women and children in the frontiers."

Littlefield felt that recaptivity, and perhaps death, would be the consequence of his failure to fulfill his promises, and he may therefore have sent other letters to his cousin Barber, beside that which we have before copied. The letter of the governor enumerates several articles which are not named in Littlefield's. None of

the letters of the latter name the place from whence they were written. We presume he was forbidden by the Indians to make that known. Moody seems to have been aware of the contents of all his letters, and fearing that some difficulties might grow out of these orders for goods, if sent, kept this one to Barber in his own hands, while that to the governor was sent by Bean.

This latter was laid before the legislature, by whom the governor was advised to send Bean to relieve Littlefield and to ascertain "what the indians would say." But the governor says, in a letter to Moody, that before Bean was ready to sail "we are surprised by a letter from the fort, signed by Robert Pike, that tells us of other letters from Littlefield, importing the sending of hogsheads of corn, meal, pease, clothes, shoes, &c., of which you gave me no advice." Bean was therefore sent to Canso to obtain these other letters before adopting any measures for the release of Littlefield. Moody, feeling that he had mistaken his duty, in not sending all their letters to the governor, writes to him Feb. 1709-10: "I solemnly protest to your Excellency, before God, I lie not, that my design was only to prevent its coming into the hands of private persons, who might have sent these supplies, without their coming to your Excellency's knowledge." Moody enclosed the letters to Dudley, who wrote to him in reply Feb. 11th: "The business of seeing them at Sagadahock (being entangled with that expectation of a trade with Barker) is perfectly over, and will admit of no further consideration." He had written to Moody Feb. 4, that he "must insist on the delivery of Littlefield without any purchase, but that on his delivery to you, if they will, then tell me what they would have me know from them." And he now repeats "if they are in earnest to release Littlefield, or hope for anything from me, and then you will exactly follow your orders of the 4th of February, to insist on the delivery of Littlefield, and tell you their errand to me, they shall have my answer in twenty days."

Here was a sad fix for Littlefield. His scheme for his redemption was all frustrated, and his hopes of soon being homeward bound; blasted. Red tape, or official punctilio, had no charms for one in the hands of savages, suffering from the unnatural life which he was then living, and yearning for the old blessings and comforts of civilization. The Indian, his master, had evidently been exceedingly kind in his treatment of him, and Littlefield felt that he was worthy

of reward. He had brought him here without the consent of the French, in the expectation of being paid for his fidelity, and this untutored native, apparently somewhat christianized, must have felt that but little reliance could be placed in the word of the white man. In times of war, we are aware, there may be occasion, and thence justification, for extraordinary proceedings, but it seems too much like despotic usurpation, to prohibit one who has been a loyal citizen and a faithful subject from redeeming himself from bondage. The effect of such a ransom, to be sure, might not have been favorable to the general weal. Such a purchase of one's liberty might have encouraged the enemy to secure others as prisoners, to profit in the same way; but no civil law, and no other law, human or Divine, can justify the oppression of one honest citizen, because thereby good may come to others.

What course the disappointed Indians took under the circumstances, we have been unable to learn. Littlefield, being cut off from all access to his friends, or to the fort, was unable to do any thing toward the fulfillment of his promises, and we suppose he was carried back to Norridgewock. But after three or four months more in captivity, they concluded to trust to the governor's intimation that he would do what was right in twenty days after he was delivered up, and brought him back and surrendered him at the fort. On the tenth of July, Littlefield's master and many other Indians came in, and stated that the French were very angry on account of Littlefield's delivery, and that they now had no commerce with them, and asked a supply of provisions, agreeably to the governor's intimation. Littlefield's captivity was thus ended, and he returned home to the great joy of his friends. But it was only for a little while that his fireside was gladdened by his presence; or that he was permitted to enjoy that liberty for which he had so long sighed. He was an energetic man, and unwilling to be pent up and excluded from the activities of life, he went about his work as before, forgetting the sufferings of his captivity and fearless of again falling into the hands of the enemy. On the 18th of April, 1712, while teaming with others, he was shot down by the Indians, who still lurked about in the forest. Thus his earthly experiences were ended, to the great sorrow of many hearts. He had been a valuable citizen and an efficient man, on whose aid and counsel the people had placed much

reliance. He was elected to municipal offices of trust and responsibility, was selectman several years, town agent, and captain of the militia. His death brought heavy affliction to all.

We have devoted considerable space to this sketch of Lieut. Littlefield's history, believing that it would be of general interest among the townsmen. We now return to our point of departure in 1708. The remainder of this year, after his capture, was favorable to the settlers. The enemy did not show themselves in any part of the town. During this year and the next, the governor was active in doing what he could to dislodge the French and the Indians from their hold at Port Royal and the coast beyond Canso. It was the French alone who were responsible for the desolation which had caused so much suffering throughout the Province. They had inspired the uncultivated Indian mind with the fear of being driven by the English from the lands which they had long enjoyed as their own, and from thence sprung all that malignity and rage which would naturally grow out of such a wrong, and which could only find satisfaction in the enormities and merciless cruelties of which they had been guilty in their wars against the settlers. They were the mere tools of the Catholics. Had it not been for the influence of these French priests, the war would long since have come to an end. But they were continually urging them forward. The governor, confident that there would be no permanent peace, until Canada and Nova Scotia were a part of the British domain, felt it important to put forth every exertion for that end. In 1710, he succeeded in accomplishing one part of this important purpose, in subduing Nova Scotia and bringing it under British government. But Canadian influence would not permit the natives to abandon the war. They were still urged to the fight, and fell on the towns of York, Saco, and on Winter Harbor, and captured several persons. It is not known, however, that any attack was made on Wells until the fall of the year 1709, when, on the fifth of September, just before sunset, Joseph Titus, of Rehoboth, and one other man, soldiers, started from the garrison to visit their fellow soldiers and the people of the village. On the way Titus was killed and the other taken prisoner. So uncertain was life when one attempted to move from the garrisons. The Indians would lie in wait in the woods for days and weeks to secure the death of a single individual, and then flee with

great rapidity beyond the reach of all pursuers. They were not seen again in Wells until the last of April the next year, 1710, when on the twenty-ninth of that month, they killed two men who were planting corn in their fields.

The next year, 1711, two other men exposing themselves in the fields, were suddenly attacked and killed. This year and the next brought trouble and sorrow to almost every fireside. Many other acts of savage cruelty were perpetrated. A woman who had hazarded a walk too far from home was discovered by the Indians; she ran, but they overtook her, and having taken her scalp left her, supposing she was dead; but she afterwards raised herself and succeeded in reaching a potato hole, in which she laid herself down, and drawing her apron over her head, remained there during the night. In the morning she was enabled to reach the garrison, and afterward entirely recovered. A man by the name of Sampson lived in a house near by that of the late judge Wells. His wife had just been confined, and was then in bed with her babe by her side. The husband being absent, two Indians suddenly entered the house, killed the child and scalped the mother. The nurse, the only other person in the house, escaped by concealing herself in a bunch of alders near by.

In looking back to this period of our history, it seems to us remarkable that any man could have held a residence here, when peril marked every moment of life. And it is no less strange that in days of such hazard, men and women should expose themselves as they did, in venturing, at any time, beyond the protection of the fort. Every step from it was fraught with danger. They might carry their guns with them, but of what avail could they be against the muskets of the unseen enemy? At any moment the fatal shot might come out of the forest.

But it must be considered that the people were poor, and provision must be made for the support of their families. So many years of war had reduced many of them almost to poverty; they preferred hazard to starvation, and must look to mother earth for the supply of their wants. They used the land nearest to the garrisons, but this was not sufficient to satisfy their demands. In the year 1708, to meet in some measure the necessity for farm labor, the town granted liberty to Benjamin Gooch, William Larrabee, and Thomas

Wormwood, to till the highway four rods wide, which ran on the north-east side of Capt. John Wheelright's farm, at the eastern end of the town. Here they were in sight of, and under the protection of the garrison, and the road was of but little use while the war continued. Such were the straits to which our fathers were reduced.

While darkness was over all the Province, and while within Wheelright's garrison there were many anxious and sorrowing souls, the impulses of love were still warm in the hearts of others; and conjugal union was felt by some of the inmates to be a material adjunct to the panoply of defense against the enemy which surrounded them. They believed, that two being made one, would give increased power to resist all attacks on their peace and quiet; that a husband and wife would be much more effective in warding off trial and sorrow, than man and woman in their separate personalities. Accordingly, while thus enjoying the protection of the garrison, two marriages were celebrated within its walls. The names of the parties in the first, have gone with the past. The special matter of interest in this case is, what transpired out of the garrison, as a consequence of what was done within. From the knowledge we have of the people of this age, we are well assured that the inmates did not permit the evening to pass without the convivialities usual on such occasions. There was music and dancing, and for the time, the attention of all was drawn from the cares and anxieties of life. John Wheelright, though a thoughtful and considerate man, was sensible of the importance of maintaining among the people cheerfulness and an air of life and activity, and therefore he entered into the enjoyments of the hour; but the thoughts of the household were so much absorbed in the festivities, that they forgot the necessary care out of doors. Wheelright had a good many cows; these were sent to pasture a small distance from home; and to save trouble and exposure in going for them at night, the gate was left open, so that they could return of their own accord; but on going to the yard in the evening, they were not found there. No attempt was made to find them till morning, when Wheelright, finding that they had not returned, ordered his slave, by the name of Sambo, to look them up. Some of the company were confident that the detention of the cows was the work of the Indians; but Wheelright replied that there were no Indians within fifteen miles. Much confidence was reposed

in his opinion; he was, however, deceived in his calculations. The enemy had been in the pasture, and knowing that some one would come after the cows at night, had closed the gate, hoping to secure a prisoner. According to orders, Sambo went in search of the cattle; but he had no sooner reached the gate, than he fell into the hands of the Indians. They had three other prisoners, and started at once toward Canada. Sambo was loaded down very heavily by the traps which they carried with them, all being put on his shoulders. It was a sad hour in which he was thus cut off from a return to Massa Wheelright; and the thought of traveling to Canada with such a burden did not impress him very favorably. The Indians, too, had an inveterate hatred of the negro, and his life, he knew, would not be very precious in their sight; but to help him a little, the Indians provided him with a good pair of moccasins. Thus invested, he traveled off with the company in the direction of Mousam mill. He kept up pretty well, but not having much sympathy with his companions, or very lively anticipations of a visit to Canada, his thoughts were rather more personal than companionable. His wits had been sharpened by the experiences of life, and he was revolving in his mind some scheme for severing the forced connection between him and his red masters. He traveled along very patiently, till they were about coming to the Mousam river, when, being apparently somewhat fatigued, he lagged a little. Under the burdens which he had upon him, the Indians had no apprehensions of his attempting an escape; they set fire to the saw-mill, and went on their way till dark, when Sambo, being somewhat in the rear, suddenly dropped his burden, and with "consummate skill," though without much regard to prescribed tactics, beat a hasty retreat. Having run about a mile, he climbed a tree, and concealing himself among its branches, there awaited further developments. The Indians were soon in pursuit, and passed the tree, but in a little while came back again, without having seen him. Sambo, knowing too well the danger of immediately trusting himself again to the race, remained ensconced in the top of the tree till morning light, when, feeling assured that the Indians would not dare to remain longer in the neighborhood, he left his hiding-place, and returned to the garrison. Stepping up to Wheelright, he lifted his foot, and, in answer to his ejaculation, "Sambo! where did you come from?" replied, that he had had a

new master, who had made him a present of the moccasins, which he thought was pretty good pay for his day's adventure.

Another memorable event of the war, and the last specially interesting to the inhabitants of Wells, occurred on the sixteenth day of September following, when a wedding was to take place at this garrison, between Elisha Plaistead and Hannah, the daughter of Wheelright. This was a great occasion. Wheelright's acquaintance and friendships were extensive, and many persons were invited to attend the ceremonial; some from Portsmouth, some from places farther distant, and many in Wells. Notwithstanding the perils of travel, a large number gathered at the garrison. Probably some made the passage by water. Plaistead, the bridegroom, came with a large escort of his friends from Portsmouth. The festivities and merriment of the occasion were sufficient incitement to overcome all fears of the journey. Though the initiation to the connubial union is in fact a matter of deep solemnity, involving the interests and happiness of the parties for life, yet it never was, and never will be, possible to give it any other character than that which it had when the world first began to marry and give in marriage. However impressive the services, fervent the prayers, and solemn the admonitions, on such occasions, the hearts of the young and the middle aged will rejoice. The inspirations of the hour are altogether joyous. Male and female will rush from the prayer to the dance; from solemnity to festivity. Whatever may be the perils or threatenings from without, all within will wear the glad aspect of life and animation. Hannah was young, only eighteen years of age, and her buoyant spirits were not to be checked for the moment by any repressing thoughts of the contingencies of future years. In fact, the young girl who manifests any other than a cheery, happy spirit at such a period will not be likely to make her husband's home a heaven. A sad countenance can never bring peace and joy to a household. These joyous occasions are good for the soul. They infuse new life into society. They wake up the drooping spirits of the old. Fathers and mothers are quickened to newness of life. An old-fashioned wedding, when liberties were given and taken which conventionalism has since restricted, was in reality a mercy to many struggling souls, wearied with the labors of the day and saddened by the ill success of life. The convivialities of the evening cheered the hearts and animated

the conversation of the participants for, perhaps, many a day afterward.

The nuptials had been celebrated, and joy prevailed throughout the garrison, when the programme was suddenly varied by another party out of doors. The wily red man had been lurking around, watching all the movements of the happy company. A large force, numbering from 150 to 200, were near the garrison, ready for any evil work of which they could avail themselves. Some of the friends were preparing to depart when notice was given that two of the horses were missing. The thought does not seem to have entered their minds that the enemy had had any agency in carrying them away, and three of them, Joshua Downing, Isaac Cole, and Sergeant Tucker, rushed out immediately in pursuit; but they had gone but a short distance when Cole and Downing were killed and Tucker was wounded and taken prisoner.

The firing announced to the garrison the terrible reality that they were surrounded by the savages. But there were brave men among them; Capt. Robinson, Capt. Lane, Capt. Heard, John Plaisted, Robert Plaisted, Phillip Hubbard, Joseph Curtis, Lieut. Banks, and others, with Elisha Plaisted, the bridegroom, also a man not backward in duty at such a crisis. Unaware of the great number of the assailants, they rushed out in the darkness, and each one seized a horse already bridled, and started in pursuit of the enemy, first giving orders for a dozen men to run across the fields and intercept their retreat. John Wheelright does not seem to have exercised his usual precaution. What could these few men on horseback do in the darkness of the night, when the assailants were in ambush, ready to send the fatal missive whenever they should come within their reach? The Indians had so stationed themselves as to meet the people from the house, in whatever direction they might appear, and as soon as these seven or eight fearless men appeared upon horseback, they were at once arrested by the guns of the savages. Robinson was killed, and several of the horses shot under the riders. Plaisted, the bridegroom, was taken prisoner. The rest made their escape and reached the house in safety. A company of about seventy was immediately mustered, who pursued and gave battle to the enemy, but as they kept in the skirts of the forests, and were more numerous than our forces, not much was effected by the contest. One man was killed on each side, when the firing ceased. Lieut.

Banks, then under a flag of truce, was sent forward to ascertain the terms on which Plaistead could be ransomed. He was met by six Indians calling themselves captains; among them Bombazen, Capt. Nathaniel, and another, with whom he had become acquainted when our captives were redeemed at Casco Bay. They would make no immediate arrangement, but promised to bring their captives to Richmond's Island in five days, where they could settle the question. They knew that they had a valuable prize, and were in no hurry to dispose of it. Plaistead was also aware that his life was important to them, and therefore had no fear of being murdered. Although in large force, they did not attempt any other raids upon the settlers, but immediately retreated. Such was their general action. Having achieved this small success, they fled beyond the reach of any forces which might be gathered against them. In addition to Capt. Harmon's and Lane's companies, which were there at the time, those of Capt. Willard and Capt. Robinson were immediately sent to Wells. But there was now no enemy to fight. The Indians had entirely disappeared.

The foregoing account has been gathered from the histories extant, with some corrections and additions; but we think it is not, in all its details, correct. The marriage ceremony had, undoubtedly, been performed. The company did not attempt to go home at night, but all remained till morning, when going out they learned that some of their horses had been taken. The customs of olden time, and all the circumstances of this conflict with the Indians, make it evident that the out door action must have been in the daylight. No such fool-hardy adventure would have been attempted in the darkness. Lieut. Banks, who was a prominent actor in the drama, stated that it took place in the morning. The first tidings received from Plaistead were contained in the following letter written to his father, without date :

"SIR. I am in the hands of a great many Indians, with which there is six captains. The sum that they will have for me is 50 pounds & thirty pounds for Tucker my fellow prisoner in good goods, as broadcloth and some provisions, some tobacco, pipes, Pomisstone, stockings, and a little of all things. If you will come to Richmond's Island in 5 days at farthest, for here 2 hundred Indians, and they belong to Canada.

If you do not come in 5 days, you will not see me, for Captain Nathaniel, the Indian, will not stay no longer, for the Canada Indian is not willing for to sell me. Pray, Sir, don't fail, for they have given me one day, for the days were but 4 at first. Give my kind love to my dear wife.

This from your dutiful son till death,

ELISHA PLAISTEAD."

Plaistead was finally redeemed, it is said, in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, for three hundred pounds; but the foregoing letter does not bring much support to that statement. One acquainted with the existing state of the finances of the inhabitants of Wells, can hardly believe that there was so much money in the whole town.

Thus we have reached the close of another ten years' bloody war. Wells was not again disturbed by these savage raids. The Indians desired peace, and the next year, 1713, another treaty was signed, they giving the most solemn assurances that they would not again take up arms against the English.

During this war (in 1712), died FRANCIS LITTLEFIELD, aged 93. We have already referred to his strange disappearance from his father's family in England, when only eleven or twelve years old. He may have again met his father in Exeter in 1640; for beside Goodman Littlefield, the father, who had twenty acres of land there assigned him, another Goodman Littlefield had an assignment of four acres. This, we think, may have been Francis, who became of age in 1640. Anthony was a younger son. When Wheelright and the other members of the combination were driven from Exeter by the extension of Massachusetts jurisdiction over that territory, instead of coming to Wells with his father, Francis went to Woburn, Mass., where he was taxed in 1646, and where, by his wife Jane, he had a daughter Mary, born Dec. 14, of that year. We know not the parentage of this wife. She died on the 20th. He probably then removed to Dover, which he represented in the Legislature in 1648. We do not find him at Wells till after 1650; in 1648, he was married to Rebecca, the mother of all his children, whose names appear on

record. We conclude that there is no foundation for the current report that the father first found him settled on a farm in Wells.

He was a small boy when he left his father's house, and what could have induced this unnatural act, apparently voluntary on his part, we do not know; but it is remarkable, that, when in advanced youth, he must have known that his mysterious disappearance would cause great anxiety to his parents, he should have refrained from giving them any information of himself and his prospects. We conclude, that for some reason, his attachment to them must have been exceedingly weak. This dereliction of filial obligation might all disappear on a full knowledge of facts. The freaks of boyhood do not always indicate the subsequent character of the man; notwithstanding this apparent inconsistency with a true manhood, Littlefield maintained a fair position among the settlers of Wells. From the nature of his business, his acquaintance was extensive. He kept a public house; that is, so far as to accommodate travelers who were then following the seaboard in pursuit of a location at the eastward. He does not seem to have been very punctilious in his regard for law; he was licensed to sell spirituous liquors for one year; but he continued to sell after his license expired, and had difficulty in obtaining a renewal, although he promised not again to be guilty of such a violation of law. He was elected as a Representative of York in 1668; he was also Representative from Wells in 1665 and 1676, and became a strong supporter of the claims of Massachusetts. Savage speaks of him as a leader in that contest. The General Court held its sessions at his house. His part in the complication of Mr. Buss and Mrs. Eldridge was not such as a sound morality would countenance; but his version of the affair has not come down to us. He was recognized by the inhabitants of Wells as a sound man; and he lived to a good old age, which affords some evidence of a conscientious and satisfactory life.

That our readers may understand that the influence of a man at this period did not depend on his pecuniary status, we append an account of his property, as exhibited in the inventory of his estate, of which the following is a copy:

“Imprimis: one old bed and bedstead, and old furniture					
belonging,	-	-	-	-	£ 6 0 0
Imprimis: Wooling Cloaths & Lining, all old,				-	2 0 0
Imprimis: two old chears, with two old Chussons,					0 5 0
Imprimis: one looking glass, -	-	-	-	-	0 3 0
Imprimis: one pair tongs, one fire shovel,				-	0 2 0
Imprimis: old pewter, one old candlestick & skillet,					0 4 0
Imprimis: one old chest and one old box,				-	0 5 0
Imprimis: one cow, -	-	-	-	-	2 15 0
Imprimis: one old table and 2 old books,				-	0 6 0”

CHAPTER XIX.

REV SAMUEL EMERY—MEETING-HOUSE REBUILT—CHURCH ORGANIZND—
ORDINATION OF MR. EMERY—LETTER OF REV. SAMUEL MOODY—SUSPEN-
SION OF DEACON WELLS—DEATH OF MR. EMERY.

SAMUEL EMERY graduated at Harvard University in 1691. When he came to Wells cannot now be determined, but he had located himself here as early as 1698; had married and had one child, born that year. Though the records do not show any town action in the matter, he was probably here as a school teacher, or he may have been sent to Wells by the government as chaplain, in pursuance of the request of the people, which we have before stated. Being in the habit of preaching at the garrison, the people may have been well satisfied with his religious services, and by general consent, without a town meeting, have adopted the necessary means to retain him as their minister. In October, 1698, at a town meeting it "was agreed upon that said inhabitants shall cut and haul home for Mr. Samuel Emery, a minister of said town, five and twenty cords of wood for this ensuing year." The inference from this is, that he was a resident minister there. He had gained the good will of the people, although no contract had been entered into with him to become the pastor of the town.

We who have never been subjected to the sad experience through which our predecessors had to pass in this last protracted Indian war, can have but a very imperfect conception of the relief which came over them when the light of peace dawned, and they could go forth to resume their labors in the field.

As we might well anticipate, their first efforts were directed toward the re-establishment of those public religious services, so dear to the christian, and so necessary to the well-being of every community.

The old house of worship had been laid waste, and they now had it in their hearts to rebuild the temple for the service of Him who

had brought them out of their trials. Though many through the devastations of war had not where to lay their heads, they now came forward in town meeting and "voted to build a meeting-house for the public worship of God," on the site of the sanctuary which had been burnt by the enemy. Lieut. Joseph Storer and Capt. John Wheelright, who had been brave-hearted and energetic defenders of the town through all the vicissitudes of the war, with Jonathan Hammond and William Sayer, were chosen a committee, with power to contract for the "hewing and hauling the frame, and all timber, and for logs for boards and slit work, and for shingles, to be placed on the ground during the following winter," and thus the rebuilding of the house of the Lord was commenced in 1699. It was only raised and boarded this year, for they had not the ability at this time to complete it. Their population was small and their means limited. Many of the inhabitants had fled at the commencement of hostilities, and many had been killed. The building was so far advanced as to protect it from injury by the weather, but it remained in this unfinished state six or seven years. After 1700 they sustained public worship at this house. In the spring of 1703, it was voted "to give William Sayer £8 in money on condition that said William Sayer doth in a workmanlike manner, seat the Meeting House in all the lower part thereof" at or before the last day of May next, under the direction of Capt. John Wheelright and Lieut. Jonathan Hammond. This was all that the people were then able to do. The difficulty of obtaining money, and thence the low price of labor at this time, may well be inferred from this contract to seat the meeting-house. But he did not accept the contract, and the house remained but a mere shell, even without plastering or windows till 1707. It was then voted to glaze it and prepare seats for the congregation. How the people had been accommodated before this, the record gives no information.

When we consider the renewed anxieties and impediments which attended their labors, we can only wonder that they did not altogether abandon the work. Queen Ann's war commenced in 1703; so that they had scarcely begun before hostilities commenced. It might reasonably have been expected that they would at once have laid aside their tools and abandoned the house to the hazards of the war, rather than to have exhausted their means upon a work which, from its prominency, might seem to invite the incendiary

torch. But they appear to have had faith in the overruling Providence that it would be watched over, and that no evil would befall it. The year 1703, when they voted to have seats prepared for the congregation, was marked for the devastation of the Indians, all the way from Casco to Wells. Some of their most valuable and useful citizens, Samuel Hill, Nicholas Cole and others had been carried into captivity or murdered, and many buildings burnt. Why the meeting-house was spared, is only known to Him who has in His hands the destiny of all things.

The labors of the people were not lost; the house of worship survived the ravages of another ten years' war. In the year 1702, the town also voted "to build a suitable dwelling-house, on the town's land, for the use of the ministry;" but as in the previous year Mr. Emery had received a grant of a hundred acres of up-land with ten acres of marsh, he preferred to build the house himself, on his own lot, with such aid as the people were disposed to give him; and at a meeting in March, 1703, they voted "to give Mr. Emery £35, in good merchantable provisions, and lumber at money prices, to be applied to the building of his house, provided he agreed that the town should be discharged from any obligation to build any other house for his use, so long as he should continue here in the ministry." Mr. Emery readily assented to this proposition. In 1706, they voted to repair his house, and in addition, to build him a study twelve feet square. This study was built by the mill garrison, at the west of his house, where the river crosses the highway.

As is stated in another place, representations had been made to the general court of the great losses, both of men and property, sustained by the town during the Indian wars, and of their inability to provide for the support of the ministry. In view of these facts, some aid was furnished by the government to assist in building the meeting-house. It was of small size, thirty feet square; but the population having been so much reduced by the war, it was large enough to accommodate the people.

Prior to the year 1700 there had been no settled minister in town. Those of whom we have before spoken were hired annually, so that either party could withdraw from the contract at the end of the year. The aid which the people were so ready to give Mr. Emery clearly indicates that they were well satisfied with his ministrations, but as none of his intellectual efforts have come down to us, we

have no means of estimating his ability as a preacher. He was, undoubtedly, very acceptable in his vocation, or he would not have so commended himself to their sympathies.

On the 17th of March, 1701, the town voted to settle him as their regular minister, and "to give him yearly £45, to be paid one-half in money, the other half in good merchantable provisions, as follows: wheat at five shillings a bushel; Indian corn at three shillings a bushel; rye at three shillings a bushel; pork at three pence a pound; beef at two pence a pound; and to cut and bring to his house twenty-five cords of firewood, and that he should have the use of the ministerial land." They also agreed to fence all the land below the king's road, and give him and his heirs a hundred acres, as before stated. At this time there were no houses on the lower side of the highway. The upland there in front of the houses was all fenced in and designated as the corn-fields. The lands back of the houses had not been cultivated to any considerable extent.

The propositions made by the town were accepted by Mr. Emery. A church was organized Oct. 29, 1701, and the following covenant assented to and subscribed:

We, whose Names are underwritten, sensibly acknowledging our own unworthiness to be in, and Inability to keep Covenant with God as we ought, yet apprehending the Call of God unto us, to put ourselves into a relation of Church Communion, and to seek the Settlement of the Ordinances of Christ (according to Gospel Institution) among us, Do, abjuring all confidence in ourselves and relying on Jesus Christ for Help, declare as followeth:

1 That we professedly acknowledge ourselves engaged to the Fear and Service of the only true God (Father, Son and Holy Ghost) and to the Lord Jesus Christ, (the high Priest, Prophet and King of his Church) under whose conduct we submit ourselves; and on whom alone we wait for Grace and Glory, to whom We declare ourselves bound in an everlasting Covenant never to be broken.

2 That We are obliged to give up ourselves to one another in the Lord, and to cleave to one another, as fellow members of one Body for mutual edification, and submit ourselves to all the holy Administrations appointed by Him who is the Head and Lawgiver of His Church, dispensed according to the Rules of the Gospel, and to give

our attendance (as God shall enable us) on all the Public Ordinances of Christ's Institution, walking orderly as becometh Saints.

3 That We are under covenant Engagements to bring up our Children in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord, acknowledging our Infants to be included with us in the Gospel Covenant, and to stand in Covenant Relation according to Gospel Rules, Blessing God for such a Privilege. Furthermore, That We are under indispensable obligations at all Times, to be careful to procure the Settlement and Continuance of Church Officers among us according to the Appointment of Jesus Christ, the Chief Shephard of His Flock, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the Work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ, and That we are equally obliged to be careful and faithful for their Maintainance, Incouragement and Comfort, and to carry it towards them as becometh Saints.

4 Finally. Solemnly and seriously professing ourselves to be a Church of the Lord Jesus Christ, do promise, by the Help of Grace, to walk together as Persons under such Vows of God ought to doe, according to all those Rules in the Gospel, prescribed to such a Society, so far as He hath revealed or shall reveal his Mind to us in this Respect.

Now the Good Lord be merciful to us, and as He hath put into our hearts, thus to devote ourselves to Him, Let him pity and pardon us our Frailtys, humble us out of all our Carnal Confidences, and keep it forever upon our Hearts, to be faithful to Himself, and one another, for His Praise and our eternal Comfort.

JOHN WHEELRIGHT.

WILLIAM SAYER.

JOSIAH LITTLEFIELD.

JONATHAN LITTLEFIELD.

SAMUEL HILL.

JOSEPH HILL.

DANIEL LITTLEFIELD.

NATHANIEL CLARK.

THOMAS BOSTON.

NATHANIEL CLAYES.

JAMES ADAMS.

JEREMIAH STORER.

So far as can be determined from the knowledge that we have of these men, they constituted a substantial basis for a Christian church. Most of them had been recognized by the town as honest, useful citizens. As our Saviour said of Peter, it might be said of John Wheelright, that he was a rock on which this church was built.

The church being thus organized, the 29th day of October, 1701, was appointed for the ordination of Mr. Emery, and the churches of Newbury, Portsmouth, Dover, and York were invited to assist in the services of the occasion. We are unacquainted with any of the details of the proceedings on that interesting day. The solemnities were, undoubtedly, such as to awaken in the minds of the disciples a new and deep sense of the infinite importance of the Christian faith. An era was now to be ushered in, which was to be fruitful in the renovation of social life, and in the influence of the more durable principles with which religion inspires the heart. A church had been established, and the foundation laid for an abiding ministry of the word of God. Notwithstanding they had supported a minister during the greater part of the last half century, no church organization had been maintained among the people.

But now a sounder sentiment seems to have come over the public mind. Men began to have some appreciation of the value of education. The school-master was sought for, and a better civilization dawned upon the people. The church of Christ was established, and from that day to the present has exercised its benign influence in maintaining the order and peace of community, and thereby advancing its general welfare.

It will be seen that Joseph Storer, who was chairman of the committee for building the meeting-house, was not one of the original members of the church. Neither does it appear that he united with it during his life, though we know that he was a man of sound religious principles, and was addressed as deacon of this church. Our opinion is, that he was a member of the church at York, and one of its founders, and that he never transferred his connection to the church at Wells. This opinion is based on a letter of that distinguished divine, Rev. Samuel Moody. Though the letter contains nothing specially important or material to this history, we insert it entire, knowing that all such relics of this period have an interest to the historical student. From the address one would necessarily conclude that he was a member of the Wells church; but the record

does not say so. It is directed as follows: "To Lieu^t Joseph Storer, First Deacon of y^e Church of CHRIST, At Wells."

"DEAR SIR. York, Feb. 19, 1722-3. It has been a trouble to me that, in all this long Visitation of sore affliction on your Family, especially on your own Person, I have not had the opportunity to wait upon you, because one part of my Latin School has been my Dayly Care all this Winter. I desire heartily to sympathize with you in your sorrows and grievous Pains; your so distressing confinement; especially in being debarred the liberty of seeing GOD in his sanctuary. The great Pains you both took for the enjoyment of Christ in his ordinances before your settlement at Wells, is still, when I consider it, as it was in the Time of it, an Evidence of your love to the Habitation of GOD'S House, Psal. 26: 8, & such may Pray in Faith, as it follows in y^e next v. Gather not my Soul with sinners &c. In y^e mean time it's better to love God's House when we can't go to it, than to go to it and not love it. You know very well for what it was that y^e Good King Hezekiah desired to recover and live a little longer. Isaiah 38. And truly it's not much desirable to live, that we may get or keep or enjoy y^e World, especially to stay out of Heaven for these poor things; but that we may recover strength and do service in our Places; and get our Evidences cleared; and see our Children settled; much more y^e Church—for these & such like reasons, its desirable to live. Something may be done for God & his People, & our Family and Friends here, that we can't do in Heaven. And O how good is it to be put into y^e furnace, though never so hot, that we may be refined and new moulded, and made vessels of Honor fit for y^e Master's Use! And when the LORD shall see his children humbled, sanctified, made more Prayerful, more watchful, more abundantly fruitful in every Good Word and Work, by affliction, he will say, This rod was well bestowed! And who is there but would be rusty without frequent scouring? Yea God is but answering our Prayers in our sorest Trials. How oft have we begged for a more soft Heart, and tender conscience; that our Pride and Worldliness might be mortified. And is not this y^e very Errand on which affliction comes? Yet no affliction for the present seems joyous, but Grievous. The Lord prepares for what is yet before us. God is very Angry with y^e Countrey. Iniquity did never so abound: & does not the love of many wax cold? But these things were fore-

told. Mat. 24 : 12. And 'tis for our caution and comfort both, what our dear Savior adds, v. 13. But he that shall endure unto the End, y^e same shall be saved. Blessed is the man that endureth temptation, for when he is tried he shall receive the Crown. James 1 : 12. How reviving is it to Realize, how these light afflictions, w^{ch} are but for a moment, do work for us a far more exceeding and Eternal weight of Glory. 2 Cor. 4 : 17, wth what goes before & follows. But why do I mind you of these things that your thoughts are daily upon. May the spirit of Christ, not only bring to remembrance, but Comfort your Heart by his Word! The Comforter, you know, is promised for a time of affliction; and we must plead the promise as Jacob, Gen. 20 : 9 to y^e 12, 24. Faith is all in all. I had fainted, says afflicted David, unless I had believed. Psal. 27 : 13. Wth y^e last words of w^{ch} Psalm, I conclude. Wait on y^e LORD, and be of good Courage, and he shall strengthen thy heart; Wait, I say, on the Lord.

I am Your Brother & servant,

S. MOODY."

It is added on the margin, "I would mind you of one thing, w^{ch} I believe has not been forgotten by you, that God has in his distinguishing favour, lengthened your life after all that were laid in the foundation of this church are dead and Gone. To fill up every scrip of the paper, I would also mind M^s Storer, that I can think of but one or two sisters, besides herself, yet living, who were left of Mr Dummer's Ch^h. You will shortly be gathered with them y^t are wth Christ. O Pray for us.

My Dear respects to M^{rs} Storer & Mr John. The Lord make y^m all the Children: yea all Gods people of your Acquaintance truly thankful for his great mercy in sparing your Life."

We have endeavored to ascertain the principles on which this church was founded; but our labors have reached no satisfactory result. Josiah Littlefield, Jonathan Littlefield, Nathaniel Cloyes, and Nathaniel Clark were admitted to its privileges, by assenting to the covenant a month after this time. From this we infer that when they and others joined in the inauguration, they were not members of any Christian church. If so, was it consistent with the Congregationalism of the day, that men who were not members of any such

organization, should unite together and thus institute a church? Could those who were under no church covenant embody themselves, so as to be recognized as a body of disciples? We express no opinion on these questions; they belong to the theologian, rather than the historian.

But there is a more important mystery or obscurity hanging over this organization. It seems as if some relics of the early barbarism, which never recognized the right of woman to social equality, and the reverent respect of the other sex, had come down to this generation. We have, by many years' observation, been fully established in the opinion, that a church in which females are not a prominent part, would not be a very substantial auxiliary to the kingdom of Christ. We should think the race about as likely to extend itself without mothers, as a church, or household of faith, to prosper, when the mothers in Israel made no part of it. What a spectacle, to see fifteen men, month after month, surrounding the Lord's table, while their wives were excluded from any part in the sacred ordinance! Who does not know that the benign elements of our holy religion much more frequently find their home in the bosom of woman, than in the heart of man? And, who can believe, that none of the wives of these men, thus assuming superiority over the help-metres, provided for them by infinite goodness, were, at heart, as firm disciples of Jesus as their husbands? And yet not one of them is found, during the eight months following, in this holy communion! and then only one, for a whole year after! One widow was, indeed, admitted to the church two months after the installation. The whole aspect of the action of these men seems to indicate that they took to heart the postulate, that it was better for women to "show piety at home;" that an undue preponderance was given to some of St. Paul's advice, while a more important portion of it was unheeded.

No more than three of these wives came into the church till many years afterward. In the beginning of 1710, sixteen females had been admitted and twenty-five males, the church thus presenting a very marked contrast with the churches of the present day; in which, generally, a very small proportion are males. During the pastorate of Mr. Emery, there was but a moderate increase of members; in 1714, about twenty were added to the number; in other years, the additions were few.

We cannot infer the success or prosperity of a religious society at

this period, from the same evidence which would sustain such an inference at the present day. The whole town then constituted the parish; every man was bound by law to support congregationalism; and to attend public worship at the common church. No denominational divisions had yet sprung up, though occasionally some individual, impressed with the idea of the freedom of religious thought and action, ventured to utter his views openly, and exhort others to adopt them. There were no prayer meetings or parish conferences; certain lectures were recognized by law on week days; but the services were exclusively within the province of the minister. So that about the only means which we have of determining the prosperity of religion is by the number uniting with the church, or the number attending public worship. But the latter is very unreliable; many were found in the house of God on the Sabbath because they were obliged to be there. It was cheaper to go to meeting than to stay at home. There were always among the inhabitants those who were ready to complain of Sunday delinquents; so that no one could hope to escape from the penalty attached by law to the neglect of public worship. The people who lived in Kennebunk, on the Mousam and Kennebunk rivers, were required to travel six or seven miles to the meeting house, and frequently were subjected to fine and costs for non-attendance. It is thus impossible to form any well-grounded opinion of the success of Mr. Emery from the number of worshippers. As a general rule, whether the preaching was satisfactory or not, the main body of adults were in the house of God on the Sabbath.

As before stated, we have no means of determining Mr. Emery's moral or intellectual capabilities, as not a scrap of his writings has come down to us. There is some reason for the belief, that he did not require of his people more than they were able to bear. It is very manifest that he was of an honest and gentle temperament, ready to yield his rights for the sake of peace. Understanding the position of his people, and their poverty and distress consequent upon the last war, in 1716, he voluntarily relinquished all which was due him, being a large part of the amount allowed him as salary. This act was kindly reciprocated on the part of his people; and the next year they raised his salary to eighty pounds, and directed all the mill rents to be paid to him. They had built a study for his wife, in a former year, near the mill garrison, which was afterwards removed, for his own convenience, near to his house. Why it was

built for his wife we do not know. We have met with no evidence that she was much in the habit of study, or solitary meditation. At times, some interest in the material affairs of the society seems to have been awakened among the people; they were anxious to complete the meeting house, and passed many votes for that purpose, but they were too poor to carry them into effect, and in 1719 they were again remiss in paying his salary. Earnest religious men will not generally suffer slight obstacles to defeat good purposes. We think Mr. Emery did not wield the sword of the spirit with a great deal of power. During his ministerial life for twenty years, he seems to have had no difficulty with any of his people. A faithful and zealous preacher seldom goes on with his work year after year without hitting somebody, and excitement of some kind will almost inevitably follow plainly declared truth.

During the last years of his pastorate, some troublesome matters absorbed the attention of the church. But these affairs in no degree, we think, involved his character. The church were not always rigidly punctilious in their adhesion to the principles of the gospel; and as a part of his ministerial duty he was required to admonish and caution such as manifested propensities to forget their obligations. In such cases he may have been endowed with a peculiar faculty for rebuking the delinquent without offense. He evidently had the whole strength of the church with him. Both pastor and people were very charitable toward the infirmities of the race. Though small matters were sometimes magnified into great sins, the transgressor was readily forgiven on confession and repentance. One Hannah Boston had been a member of the church several years; but all her natural proclivities had not been subdued by the association. Some crotchets still lingered in her constitution; and she would at times astonish her fellow disciples by some strange fancy. She feigned herself to be the wife of Benjamin Preble. Whether this assumption was accompanied with any overt manifestations, we are not informed. But the church regarded it as a heinous misdemeanor. Mr. Emery summoned a meeting that the matter might be inquired into. She was also cited to appear before them and submit to examination. She obeyed the citation, appeared and confessed the charge; but manifested no contrition for it. No special determination was reached to censure, or suspend her from fellowship. But in the course of time she was in some way made to feel that she had been guilty of a

great transgression; and six months afterward she "made an open, penitential confession of her sin," and "was received again to the charity and communion of the church."

In the last year of his life, a more serious matter produced great trouble among the people, though not in any way affecting his pastoral fidelity. One of the deacons seems for a time to have forgotten his high responsibilities, to have manifested some wayward inclinations, not well harmonizing with the gentleness and fidelity which are expected of one whose church relationship was of so sacred a character. The aspect of the affair, we think, is by no means favorable to the deacon. It is apparent that selfish motives swayed him from his proper balance. He lived at the eastern end of the town, where the settlers were sparse and the lands unenclosed; so that his cattle might enjoy the freedom of grazing where they pleased. Great Hill probably afforded a very inviting pasturage, and he had appropriated it to his own use. Possibly he was not careful to maintain fences on his own lands. When he found the minister who lived so distant from the precinct in which his cattle were accustomed to roam, driving his stock so far to interfere with his assumed privileges, he was somewhat excited, and gave utterance to language not very respectful to Mr. Emery. Seeing these cattle from day to day enjoying the "fair pastures" upon which he had expected his own to feed, was a little more than his sensitive spirit could bear. His ire was aroused, and fostered by this daily exhibition, he was impelled to some manifestations not becoming the true disciple. He not only spoke unkindly of Mr. Emery, threatening that he would take care of his cattle, but carried his resentment to such an extent as to make no provision for the Lord's table on communion day, as was his duty. We can see not a shadow of an apology for his action in this regard. He seems, for the time, to have labored under some strange mania; not only treating the minister and church in a contemptuous and unchristian manner, but even disregarding the proprieties of public worship. His conduct became unendurable. The church exercised all possible lenity and forbearance toward him, leaving his whole demeanor for more than nine months to the adjudications of his own conscience. But forbearance, after so long a time, had ceased to be a virtue, and the power of the church was called into exercise, to deal with him in one of the ways marked out by Congregational regulations. He was summoned before them to re-

spond to charges of misconduct. After hearing the evidence it was unanimously determined that he deserved censure; and the duty of administering the rebuke was assigned to the pastor. As Mr. Emery was the person most deeply injured by the misconduct of the deacon, it would seem to have been entirely out of place in him to have been the agent for carrying the judgment of the church into effect. But so it was determined, and, as says the record, Feb. 12, 1723, it was "voted, *nemine contradicente*, that Deacon Thomas Wells be suspended from the communion of the church for his disorderly neglecting of his duty in not providing for the sacrament, June 3d, 1722; as also in expressing himself very indecently in affirming on May 24, 1722, to Mr. Emery that he said Wells was an overseer of the Haywards; as also affirming that Mr. Emery had driven his cattle for the sake of the grass which grew on the two Necks, viz. of Mousam and the Great Hill; as also for misbehavior in the church in the season of his being called to account by the church, and for contumacy in these things—and the above censure was then administered publicly on him per

SAMUEL EMERY."

This suspension from the church of his Master troubled him. His conscience took cognizance of his conduct, and having a long time suffered from its judgment, he was brought to repentance, and finally came back, like the prodigal son, and acknowledged his error, publicly making this confession: "Whereas I, Thomas Wells, a member of the Church in Wells, did some time past, in a time of sore temptation with me, omit my duty as Deacon, so far as to neglect making provision for the Lord's table; I freely confess my error to God, and the church, desiring forgiveness.

THOMAS WELLS.

WELLS, Oct. 21, 1724.

The church cheerfully forgave him, and "voted that his former acknowledgment relating to the offense for which he had been censured, shall be demolished together with all the papers referring to a controversy of some years standing last past, between the church of Wells aforesaid and said Deacon Wells, as also between the pastor and Deacon."

By this it would seem that he had previously made some acknowledgment, which was so qualified as not to be creditable to his Chris-

tian character. But though the church and the world may pardon transgression, and would blot it out from human remembrance, history can never be a party to such a proceeding. Men who make history can never expect it to be so ungrateful as to forget them.

Deacon Wells was a man of influence, and it was expedient that this unfortunate rupture should be healed. The churches in the vicinity were anxiously interested in it, fearing that it could not be reconciled. And the unexpected adjustment of it by the return and confession of the deacon, was a source of much joy to all the people.

Soon after this Mr. Emery removed to the Pool, where he died Dec. 1, 1724, aged 54. A town meeting was immediately called to consider what should be done in regard to the expenses of his funeral. It was voted to pay all the expenses of his last sickness and funeral; and to pay his widow, Tabitha Emery, ten pounds, "to procure for her a mourning suit of apparel." He had three sons and five daughters. How many survived him we cannot state. His widow died April 27, 1736. His dwelling house stood near the meeting house, where Capt. William Eaton has since lived. Several of his descendants remain in Wells. He was buried in the northeast corner of the cemetery near the parsonage house. He was the son of John Emery of Kittery, who was the son of John Emery of Newburyport. After the death of Mr. Emery, his widow was called upon for the records of the church. But she declined to deliver them, and they were thenceforth lost to the world.

CHAPTER XX.

CLOSE OF THE WAR—PROSPEROUS CONDITION OF THE TOWN—GRANTS TO VARIOUS PERSONS—WILLIAM LARRABEE—HOUSES BUILT IN KENNEBUNK—“GRANDFATHER POKE”—JOHN GILLESPIE—PLUM ISLAND—HARDING’S MILL—KENNEBUNK NAMED—TITLE TO THE TERRITORY CLAIMED BY THE INHABITANTS—BOUNDARY BETWEEN WELLS AND KITTERY CONTROVERTED—COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY GENERAL COURT TO SETTLE THE LINE—POUNDS AND IMPOUNDING—SCHOOLS—TEACHERS, MARTIN, TREADWELL, LYNN, AND LEDYARD—CLAIMS OF DANIEL AND SIMON EPPES OF TITLE TO KENNEBUNK—SECOND ATTEMPT TO MANUFACTURE TAR—CAPE PORPOISE RE-ORGANIZED UNDER THE NAME OF ARUNDEL—FIRST BRIDGE OVER KENNEBUNK RIVER—IMMIGRATION FROM IRELAND.

It may well be supposed, that while the war with the Indians was raging, very little attention would be given to town affairs not immediately connected with it; and thence there must necessarily be but little for historical record. When all the thoughts of the people were directed to the means of protection against the inroads of the savages, other matters connected with the progress, social and civil interests of the town, were unheeded. The war had now ostensibly reached its end.

But the desolations which it had brought to almost every family in town could not fail to have their influence on the energies of the inhabitants; yet, notwithstanding this depression, and the want of faith in the stability of the peace which had been declared, the people gave themselves to the work of restoring their farms, and projecting new enterprises of activity and profit. From this period, though new wars soon followed, a steady progress of the settlement has been maintained down to the period when this history ends. Some encouragement to fix the thoughts and awaken exertion to renew and enlarge the settlement, came from the fact, that Wells had become, and was established by law, a shire town. The Inferior Court of Common Pleas having been created in 1699, was to be holden here

semi-annually. Samuel Wheelright was appointed one of the judges; but he very soon died. There is no doubt that such an attachment to the franchise of a town gives to it some prestige favorable to future growth; and the settlement now started under more favorable auspices than at any previous time. During the whole of this war the necessary town action was maintained. Meetings were holden, officers chosen, and financial matters attended to. It was even voted to seat the meeting-house; so that now no extraordinary measures were required for the regulation of municipal affairs. Some of the mills were in operation, even in the midst of the struggle for protection and life. The two mills at Maryland were favored by a reduction of their annual rent, the upper of one-half, and the lower of two-thirds. The other mills were not relieved at all. How they could have pursued business to any advantage, we are left entirely to conjecture. At times, through the aid of their scouts, the people felt some confidence that the enemy had left their vicinity; but any trust of that character must have been exceedingly hazardous. The Indian could issue from the wilderness anywhere. He might travel through its darkest recesses all the way from Penobscot to Wells, and here first show himself. This confidence in their personal safety was not cherished by all. Samuel Cole, one of the owners of the Great Falls saw-mill, the best property in the town in a time of peace, sold out his part of it to John Wheelright. Other transfers of a similar character, from a distrust of Indian faith, were made; but now that the war was over, and grants were made more liberal in their conditions, the time for fulfilling the obligations to make improvements was, in some cases, extended to two, or five years. They were also subject to another peculiar condition; that no grantee should hinder any other townsman from cutting and carrying away from his land any timber of which he might have need. Growing trees at this period were, indeed, of no great value to the owner or land; and he might not suffer any material injury from having them removed; but we do not see how such a license could fail in producing much trouble in subsequent years. In 1713, a grant of two hundred acres was made to William Sayer, Jeremiah Storer, Thomas Wells, and Nicholas Cole, adjoining their mill at Little river, "on condition that they do not hinder any of the freeholders or inhabitants of the town cutting and carrying away any timber whatever."

WILLIAM LARRABEE, one of the most energetic and fearless defenders of the town, as soon as the war closed, took a grant of land on the Mousam river, three or four miles from the settlement at Wells. He was a man of great fortitude and resolution. In the midst of the war, March 30, 1706, he had secured to himself a help-mate by a conjugal union with Catharine Adams, and now came to Kennebunk as almost the pioneer of the settlement, there being no occupied dwelling-house near the center of the town, or the site of the present village. The Harding house, near the mouth of Kennebunk river where Samuel Gooch formerly lived, may have survived the ravages of the war. In a former manuscript history of Kennebunk, we stated that this house was built by Stephen Harding. We think this statement was erroneous. The land, to the extent of six hundred acres, a mile on the river, covering all the territory of the village at the Port, from the sea upward, was granted to George Butland, whose house, we are inclined to believe, was the first on this spot. Butland sold his grant to James Littlefield, whose daughter married Stephen Harding, who afterwards occupied this house. To distinguish the place, we have called it Hardings, in other parts of this work. This house was taken down about a hundred years since. The cellar is still visible. The house built by John Sanders near the mouth of the Mousam river, may have survived the desolations of the war. Larrabee built his house in 1714. It stood on the point of land about forty rods below the Roundabout, on the eastern side of the river. It was a small tenement, and built of timber. The same year a house was built by John Looke, a short distance below Larrabee's, on the point of upland afterwards called Butland's ship-yard, and the next year, one by Thomas Wormwood, about forty rods below. These two last-named were garrison houses. Palisades were built around them with large timber, as high as the eaves of the house, and sufficiently far from it to allow room for work in the intervening space. These walls were probably not built till a few years afterward, when a renewal of the war was apprehended. The Harding house was also protected in the same manner. This house, from its location near the beach, the principal highway for travelers, was then very necessary for the public accommodation. Beside the custom of those who were passing on the land to different parts of the Province, east and west, the occupants had occasion to entertain many who came

into the river in coasters. It was but a one-story building, but people did not then expect the conveniences and comforts which mark the age in which we live.

A few years after Larrabee located himself on the Mousam river, others took up lands below, nearer the sea, and in the vicinity of the public travel. A small house was built in 1721 or 1722, by John Webber, a little below the house of Owen Wentworth, on the opposite side of the road; and a small two-storied house by Richard Boothby, where the house of Robert S. Smith now stands. A house was also built on what has since been called Gillespie's Point, being the land which projected into the sea from the eastern end of Great Hill. This was in the first days of the settlement called the Great Neck, afterwards Grandfather's Neck, on account of the occupant, Ephraim Poke, who was called Grandfather Poke, not, we suppose, because he was an old man, for he was just married in 1731, to Miss Margaret McLean. In attempting to ford the river a few years afterward when the tide was higher than he had supposed, he was drowned, as was also his horse. His widow moved to Saco where she died. The neck was subsequently occupied by Nathaniel Spinney, and then by John Gillespie. After he took possession of it, it took the name of Gillespie's Point. The sea has been gradually encroaching upon it from time immemorial; and when it was so far reduced by its ravages as to make it certain that the foundation of the house would soon be reached, he abandoned it and moved to the village. It is now so far reduced, as at high water to be but a small island. All along the shore from the Kennebunk river to Ogunquit, the same encroachment has been made upon the lands bordering upon the ocean. Off the Ogunquit river about the time of which we are speaking, 150 years ago, a mile from the shore, was a small spot of land called Plumb Island, overgrown with bushes, to which people resorted sometimes to pick blueberries. But the little isle has long since succumbed to the power of the ocean, and now the fisherman casts his line or his net over the identical spot where the settlers picked their berries.

In 1718, the lumber business being so profitable, Harding the owner of the little outlet of Lake Brook, in ancient times called Lauson's Creek, now called Gooch's Creek, built upon it a saw-mill. It was not very efficient in consequence of the small water power on which it depended. But the timber was very abundant in its immediate vicini-

ty, and no expense was necessary for the transportation of the lumber sawed. Vessels could come up very near the mill. Some few settlers had located themselves on the opposite side of the river, and coasters began to come in from the west for the lumber; but in consequence of the slow working of the mill it was not found sufficiently profitable to justify its continuance. The business of selling timber was more lucrative than that of manufacturing boards, and after ten or fifteen years the mill was abandoned.

These are all the houses or buildings of which we have any knowledge previous to the fourth, or Lovell's Indian war. Sayward's house, appurtenant to the mills had disappeared, having, as is supposed, been destroyed by fire at the same time with the other buildings; so that nearly the whole territory of that part of Wells was yet a dense wilderness. Previously to this period no particular designation was given to the land between the rivers Mousam and Kennebunk, but from the year 1717, the name Kennebunk was applied to it; there being on it a sufficient number of houses to render necessary a distinction from the Wells village.

The time had now arrived when the inhabitants of Wells began to think that they had rights in the territory of the town; which strangers ought not to be permitted to come in and share, without rendering to them, exclusively, some equivalent. They had struggled through the most terrible conflicts, to maintain their hold upon it, and they were not disposed to yield to others, without compensation, rights and privileges which they had secured by their labors and the blood of many of their companions; and at a town meeting holden on the twentieth day of March, 1716, they voted that "the right and property of all the common and undivided lands within the said township, doth belong to, and forever hereafter shall be and remain unto the persons hereafter mentioned and their heirs, forever, in proportion according to their interest in the town, to be disposed of and improved according to the directions of the law in that case made and provided."

Col. John Wheelright.
Mr. Samuel Emery.
Mr. Jacob Hammond.
Mr. Joseph Storer.
Capt. Joseph Hill.

Mr. Nathaniel Clark.
Mr. Joseph Wheelright.
Mr. John Butland.
Mr. George Butland.
Mr. Samuel Stewart.

Mr. Jonathan Littlefield.	Mr. James Boston.
Mr. Daniel Littlefield.	Mr. Nathaniel Cloyes.
Mr. William Sayer.	The heirs to the estate of John Cloyes, deceased.
Mr. Dependence Littlefield.	Mr. John Harmon.
Mr. Samuel Hatch.	Mr. Stephen Harding.
Mr. Nicholas Cole.	Mr. Zachariah Goodall.
Mr. Francis Sayer.	Mr. Moses Stevens.
Mr. David Littlefield.	The Heirs to the estate of Benjamin Gooch, dec'd.
Mr. Joseph Littlefield.	The Heirs to the estate of Daniel Sayer dec'd.
Mr. Ezekiel Knight.	The Heirs to the estate of Thomas Boston dec'd.
Mr. John Wells.	The Heirs to the estate of William Parsons dec'd.
Mr. Jeremiah Storer.	Mr. Thomas Wells.
	Mr. Samuel Hill."

No one familiar with the labors and struggles of the brave men of Wells, during the long and afflictive wars through which they had passed, can fail to sympathize with them in their judgment that these lands ought to be all their own. But what is equitable in all good conscience, is not always legal. We have carefully examined this vote but have been unable to find any sound basis for it. If any right existed in the inhabitants of the town to these lands, it was in their corporate capacity, and not as individuals, and every man who thereafter became an inhabitant, by virtue of his inhabitancy, became a proprietor in common with others previously dwelling within its limits. If the lands of the town were vested in the residents as individuals, then many others who had fallen in the wars or who had died before this vote was adopted, were also owners in common of the soil, and their interests descended to their heirs; and no action of the town, or of individuals, could divest them of their rights. We are uninformed when the title upon which they relied as a basis of this vote, accrued. Not one of these persons who thus undertook to divide up this territory among themselves, was an inhabitant at the time of the incorporation, and we know of no action by the government, or any proprietary afterwards, which invested those

living in the town with any other real estate title, than that of the land which they severally occupied. So far as we have been enabled to understand this procedure, it was based on the inhabitancy of about the year 1700. All who were then townsmen were regarded as invested with common rights; but for what reason we do not know. In those days men were not very punctilious as to strict law; they did many things which would not find much countenance in the jurisprudence of subsequent years. For example: we should judge there was some little arrogance in the following vote, passed about a month afterwards; on the 15th of May following, when gathered together at the meeting-house, it was "then voted that this be a legal town meeting to do town business, for choosing men to address the General Court relating to the township." Rather a summary mode of legalizing a meeting, and establishing its action as that of the town. If a company of men can vote themselves, without further or previous ceremony, to be invested with municipal powers, binding upon all whom they may affect, we are inclined to the belief that such an assumption would not do much for the promotion of peace or social progress among the people.

A controversy now arose with the town of Kittery in regard to the boundary between the towns. It will be remembered that the territory of the Berwicks, and also of Eliot, was a part of Kittery, and of course that town bounded on Wells. In 1655 the line between the two towns was run by a committee consisting of Joseph Bolles, John Littlefield, and William Hammond, on the part of Wells, and Humphrey Chadbourne, and Richard Nason, and Anthony Emery on the part of Kittery, which was settled by them and concurred in by the towns. This line began at the head bounds of York, at a marked tree near York pond, and ran on a straight course to Baker's spring, and from thence "to the head bounds of the great river of Newicewanock." It was then agreed that both towns should engrave their names on the rock at Baker's spring, and on the tree started from.

It would seem that after this there could be no question as to where the bounds were; but hitherto there had been no settlement in the vicinity of the line, and more than fifty years had elapsed since it was run. The inhabitants now began to locate their grants in this neighborhood. Daniel Littlefield had laid out some grants near the spring, embracing some of the Tatnick marshes, having the right to

cut logs for the use of the mill, which he had erected on a branch of the Ogunquit river. Locations had probably been made by inhabitants of Kittery in the same neighborhood, and a quarrel arose between the adjoining proprietors, as not unfrequently happens between the grasping owners of contiguous lands. The inhabitants of Kittery chose a committee to run the line, first notifying Wells of their intention to do so. Wells accordingly chose Nicholas Cole, Daniel Littlefield, and Joseph Hill, to meet with them for the purpose. They accordingly met, on the sixteenth of July, 1716, at the head of York, where Kittery joined Wells, and started from this place, on a w. n. w. course, to Baker's spring, which was admitted to be a true monument, and all readily concurred in this line. It would seem that there should have been no difficulty in completing the perambulation; but when the Wells committee proposed to start onward in their business and finish the survey of the line, the Kittery commissioners refused to proceed, and forbade the Wells commissioners to go any further. Upon what ground they claimed to act in this abrupt manner the records give us no light. They insisted that Wells had no right to any of the territory beyond the rock; that all above belonged to Kittery; that the Wells commissioners had no business, and should not go there. This was a bold assumption on the part of the Kittery commissioners, as it seems to us now. The line had been run, and acquiesced in, more than a half century. After an exciting controversy, the commissioners of Wells came to the conclusion that there was no alternative, but to abandon the undertaking and report the facts to the town; but Wells was not disposed to brook such insolence from the town of Kittery. There were among the inhabitants men of nerve and self respect, who were ready for any conflict involving the rights of the town; and Daniel Littlefield was chosen agent to prosecute any one who should trespass on the disputed territory. Littlefield may have had a personal interest in this question. The town also chose William Sayer as agent to apply to the General Court, for an order directing the line to be run. An order was granted, giving authority to fix and establish it. Joseph Hill, Nicholas Cole, and Daniel Littlefield were again appointed a committee, and went on, renewed and settled the line, making report to the Legislature, in which the line was established to run "from a certain pitch pine tree standing at the south-east end of Bonnepeague pond, south by east, 2^o 45 ms., 4 miles and

40 poles to Baker's spring." So the town of Kittery "took nothing by their motion."

But, as with many other facts which appear in the records of a past age, there is something inexplicable in this whole proceeding on the part of Kittery. It seems to us that at this time Kittery had nothing to do with this line. Berwick was incorporated in 1713, three years before this attempt at running it took place. Kittery did not then join Wells; its limits being several miles from it. The boundary was a matter concerning Wells and Berwick alone; Kittery had no more to do with it than with the boundary between Wells and Cape Porpoise. We must infer, therefore, that there is a deficiency in our knowledge of all the circumstances of the case.

In 1714 the town voted to build a new pound; where the previous one stood is unknown. In 1645 it was required that every town should build and maintain a pound; and these inclosures were to be found in every place, down to the present century; in many, they were continued till within a very few years. As some of our readers have never seen one of these inclosures, we will briefly state, that they were generally built of timber or stones, and in later years, with frame and plank slats. They were from six to eight feet high, and from thirty to fifteen feet square; with no covering of any kind for protection amidst the severest storms; generally they were located near the meeting-house. A pound keeper was chosen annually, whose duty it was to receive all the animals not entitled to the freedom of the town, which were driven to him by the hayward, having been found making use of the public highway, or in the inclosure of some person other than their owners; and to retain them in the pound until such owners should pay the fine and all expenses, and take them away. There was no special law requiring them, like some other animals, to be fed on bread and water; but they were kept in solitary confinement on very lean fare. Public notice was to be given at the next lecture, of the impounding, with such a description of the animals as would be necessary to identify them to the owner. For example, if one of Thomas Cole's swine should be thus impounded, the minister, in giving his notices, as is usual before reading the hymn, would state, that a hog was taken up in the highway and impounded, having a square piece cut off from the off ear on the under side, and a slit on the top of the near ear; or if Judge Wheelright's sheep were the captives, it would be a flock of sheep with a slit on

the top of the ear, and the under part cut out. They did not hesitate to maim their stock for the purposes of identification. Hogs had the liberty of the town, being licensed to go where they pleased, on the condition, if they were old enough to be capable of evil, that they wore a ring in the nose, according to a vote of the town in 1698, that "all swine, above a year old, shall be sufficiently ringed from April 10th to Oct. 10th."

In the progress of civilization this matter has ceased to be a subject of town action. We now hear nothing of pounds or impounding. Though the law remains on our statute book substantially as it was two centuries ago, it has become a dead letter. Like the stocks and the ducking-stool, the pound has disappeared from our precincts. The last in Wells was on the town lot, and in Kennebunk on the cemetery lot, opposite the Methodist church; and for a few years afterwards, on the opposite side of the road, near the saw-mill.

During the short breathing-time between Queen Anne's and Lovell's war, the great subject of schools seems first to have suggested itself to the attention of the people. They had lived here fifty years, and children had been born and grown to manhood, without instruction in the common rudiments of education. Though the law required that the town should now maintain a grammar school, as it contained more than fifty families, even the lowest grade of instruction had not yet been provided for. Many of the population could neither read, write nor cipher. The minister, Samuel Emery, was the only person who had received a college education. He could not have failed to appreciate the importance of schools, and we presume his influence was now brought to bear with force upon his people, in regard to a matter involving so materially the best interests of the town. During the perils of the wars, children could not have been trusted to attend school at any considerable distance from their homes; and in fact, no school could have been safely kept. But there was not a school-house in town, and if any provision had been made by private persons for the instruction of their children, it must have been at some of the dwelling houses; though there is good reason for the belief, that down to this period, no school of any kind had been maintained. The evidence shows, that with a very few exceptions, the most influential had grown up with little or no intellectual culture. Books for instruction were not found in the houses of any of the inhabitants. But now, March 20, 1715, it was voted

“that the selectmen use their endeavor to procure a school-master for the town at the town’s charge, not exceeding £20 per annum and his diate; and to have the school a quarter of the year at a time near each end of the town and the other half of the year near the middle of the town.” It will be remembered that the two ends were then, west, beyond the Ogunquit, and east, near Cole’s corner. Kennebunk was not sufficiently settled to be noticed as a material part of the town. Not more than five or six families lived within what are its present limits. At this time it was with much difficulty that school-masters could be obtained; and especially was this the case when no larger sum was offered for their services than that named in the foregoing vote. It does not appear that the selectmen met with any success in their efforts for this purpose, or that they made any special exertions to accomplish it. In 1716 the town was indicted for not having a schoolmaster. This had the effect of awakening the people to a sense of their duty in this respect. Mr. Richard Martyn, we suppose the son of the former minister, was engaged for the service. He was an educated man, having graduated at Harvard College in 1680. The profession of a teacher was about as profitable as that of the minister. The remuneration appears to us to be small; but as his “diate” was added to it, the income would be about as much as his. But it did not satisfy Mr. Martyn and he demanded higher pay, and the next year the town voted, “that thirty pound for one year be paid Mr. Martyn schoolmaster, and his entertainment by a rate proportioned on the several inhabitants within the town, to be paid quarterly; year to begin on this 10th of October instant, on condition that said Richard Martyn perform the work of schoolmaster, on the usual and accustomed hours and seasons of keeping school, and to teach all such youth and children, both boys and girls, to read, rite and sifer, or Latin, according to their capacity, belonging to the town, that are sent seasonable to him; the school to be kept, the first quarter at Col. John Wheelright’s house; the 2d Quarter to Mr. Daniel Littlefield’s house (near Ogunquit river), and the remaining half year near the middle of the town, near the Meeting House.” The persons with whom Mr. Martyn diates to be paid six shillings per week, during the term of time exprest.” His services seem to have given satisfaction to the people, for the next year they offered him £45. But the position was not very desirable and he did not choose to accept it. In 1717, the town voted that the

selectmen should "endeavor to agree with Charles Treadwell to keep a free school for a year; but not to give him more than they had paid Martyn." Treadwell was not an educated man. Whether he took the school or not, the record does not show. If he did, he continued in charge of it but a little while, for in September they voted that "John Lynn should be their schoolmaster for one quarter of a year," at the same wages paid Martyn.

Such was the introduction of school instruction in Wells, and from this period we feel that we are speaking of a different race of men. The interest of the children in their studies naturally awakened an interest in their parents, and may have induced them to give some attention to study. Children are sometimes the most effectual instructors. Their questionings are frequently strongly suggestive to parents. The interest which had been awakened in the town did not die out. The people persevered in the maintainance of schools, even during the war which followed. Nicholas Ledyard of Salem was the schoolmaster several years. We have thought that he may have been the father of the famous traveller, John Ledyard.

In addition to the causes which we have before named, as delaying the settlement of Kennebunk, another we think may be found in the doubt which existed as to the title to the land. Great excitement now prevailed in consequence of notice from Daniel Eppes of Salem and Simon Eppes of Ipswich, of their determination to enforce their rights to the territory of Kennebunk, or to that part of it which lies between the Kennebunk and Mousam rivers. Their claim was founded on a deed of John and Robert Wadley, made to them in 1659, in which they convey to Daniel Eppes and Simon Eppes, "as purchased by them of the Indians, who were the true proprietors thereof, as does most clearly and evidently appear by the deed of sale made by the said Indians unto the said Wadleigh, and also sufficiently attested unto, being all the land between Cape Porpoise river and Kennebunk river, the land only excepted that lyeth in possession of Butland, David Pearce, Mr. William Symonds and John Cheater, from the sea-wall between Cape Porpoise and Kennebunk river, so to the Great Falls that are upon Cape Porpoise river, which are by estimation about seven or eight miles from the sea."

On the receipt of this notice of the intention of these men to prosecute their claim, a town meeting was called Sept. 14, 1719, "then and there to adjutate and debate what may be done in that

matter concerning Major Eppes laying claim to the land laying between Kennebunk river and Little river." This notification implies a much larger claim than can be established by the Indian deed. It may be that there is error in the record. At the meeting holden only four days after the issue of the warrant, it was voted to defend against any suit brought against any inhabitant, founded on the Indian deed, and Francis Sayer was chosen to notify the Wadleys to that effect. But the claimants were not to be bluffed off by this vote of the town, and the next year instituted their suit to recover the lands. What was the nature of their defense to the claim does not appear in any record to which we have had access. But we are aware that no possession had been had by these claimants for more than sixty years; neither do they seem to have done any act indicating ownership; neither had they done anything to maintain the civil authority over it during the long and severe Indian wars. Yet we have been unable to discover from these facts any just defense on the part of the town. In regular town meeting Sept. 2, 1676, the record says, "After serious debate of matters have generally acted and do hereby conclude that there be a humble petition drawn up to his Majesty in his name, earnestly supplicating his Majesty's favor, petition and conformation of the propriety of lands which we honestly bought of the Indians," etc. Here is a plain avowal of the source of their title, and how was the Indian title acquired? By this deed of Thomas Chabinocke, the Sagamore of Wells, to the two Wadleys, and by no other, though we are unable to see, in this transfer of the Indian title to them, how any benefit could enure to the town of Wells. The fee was in them—and it ill became the inhabitants, who had in their petition to the king set up this deed as the foundation of their right, now to ignore it when operating against them. Corporations have no more license to be dishonest than individuals. We are compelled to say, therefore, that this whole proceeding of the town was far from being creditable to them. We think the people came to the same conclusion, for in a month afterward they settled and adjusted the claim, by giving to the Eppses a grant of a mile square between the Mousam and Kennebunk river, or Mousam and Little river, wherever they could find it, free of any grant theretofore made by the town; and to John Wadley a grant of two hundred acres adjoining that of Epps'.

In 1718 an attempt was made to renew the business of manufac-

turing tar. Two men, Judah Paddock and Henry Marsh, came to Wells, and asked for the privilege of using the pitch pine knots, or candle-wood, as it was called, birch, etc., which were found so extensively through the town, for this purpose. The right was granted of taking all necessary materials from any of the lands between the Mousam and Branch rivers, from the sea up to the Mousam path. This whole land, we think, to this day, is full of roots, knots, and other vegetable relics, which would well subserve this important object. For all tar manufactured, they were to pay to the town eighteen pence a barrel. The work was required to be done on the land. We have not been able to ascertain what degree of success attended this enterprise. The ground which they were at liberty to occupy was an entire wilderness, and the apprehensions of another Indian war must, in a few years, have led them to abandon a business which they could not safely pursue so far removed from all assistance, and from refuge to the garrisons.

There is no doubt that in the territory of Wells and Kennebunk ample provision has been made by creating wisdom, to call into exercise the philosophy and energies of the people. Material for wealth and industry is buried in the lands of many of the inhabitants, who have never dreamed of the riches there awaiting development. We have abundance of peat, rosin, iron, and probably we are not wanting in some more valuable portions of the mineral kingdom. We may have to go deep into the earth to reach the stores; but at some future time they will be brought to light; we only need enterprising, scientific men to open up these resources.

The brief period which has occupied our attention in this chapter, is an important one in the history of the Province. The ravages of war were again everywhere visible. Destruction of mills, houses, and villages marked the track of the Indian scouts. Most of the buildings had been burnt, and towns which had had but an infant existence, were swept from the face of the earth. Wells alone had sustained itself against all the assaults of the enemy. Cape Porpoise, the adjoining town, was completely destroyed; hardly sufficient tokens of the work of civilization remaining, to entitle it to be regarded as a town; but now the work of renovation was going on all over the Province. Men were returning to the rescue of the unfortunate villages, from the destruction which had overtaken them.

Houses were rebuilt, farms restored to order, mills were rising again on the banks of all the rivers, and an enterprising and industrious spirit was busy in devising and preparing the means of renovation. All seemed to go into the work with a will. This general impulse to the activities of business might have had its origin in some measure, in an auxiliary act of the Legislature, which provided for the issue of bills of credit or loans to the people, on furnishing the security of a mortgage of their farms. Many of them had lost everything else by the war, and were thus unable to do anything toward rebuilding their houses. This immediate supply must have furnished very efficient aid in the work of reconstruction. The money was offered to towns, but Wells did not vote to accept any portion of it. How much was received by individual inhabitants cannot be ascertained. The county of Yorkshire received a hundred thousand pounds, and we can have no doubt that some of the townsmen who had suffered severely were thus helped. Cape Porpoise must have availed itself of the benefit of this legislative benevolence. That town was rebuilt, and reorganized as a corporation, and took to itself the name of Arundel. Wells, bordering upon it, was inspired with new zeal, by the encouragement which it afforded, of strength and aid, in the event of a renewal of Indian hostilities. A great many grants of land were made, and the prospect of an enlargement of its borders, and a substantial increase of its population, was very animating to the settlers. The rapid renewal of the villages eastward, and the consequent rapid increase of travel, demanded increased facilities for transportation. Though a road had been laid out the "upper way," as it was then termed, from Wells to Saco, no provision had been made, or enforced, for the immediate erection of bridges. The roads were generally located so as to pass the rivers at some convenient wading-place; that to Saco passed where it now does over the Kennebunk river; but the people demanded a more convenient way of passing it than by fording; and the town, in 1772, was indicted for not building a bridge. Such a judicial admonition in those days was not disregarded; and consequently this bridge was then built, being the first on Kennebunk river.

In 1720 an accession to the population of the town was made by the immigration and settlement of several persons from Ireland. Some of these were ancestors of valuable citizens now living among

us. Thomas Boothby, Henry Boothby, and William Jepson came from Magwater; Andrew Simington and George Simington came from Strabarre; Thomas Gillpatrick and Robert Page from Donathkeedy; John Ross, from Sligo; and Bryce McLellan from Ballymony. They brought wives and families with them. Anne Weer came also as one of the company. These all became good and valuable citizens.

CHAPTER XXI.

LOVEWELL'S WAR—INDIAN RAIDS—VARIOUS PERSONS KILLED—SERGEANT LARRABEE'S GARRISON—DEATH OF CAPT. FELT AND OTHERS—DESTRUCTION OF NORRIDGEWOCK—SOLDIERS FROM WELLS—INDIAN COWARDICE—WHEEL-RIGHT'S EXPEDITION TO LOVELL'S POND—ATTACK UPON THE DURRELL FAMILY—INDIANS RESIDENT AT WELLS—THEIR CHARACTERISTICS—AMBEREUSE—INDIAN POW-WOW—LIST OF INHABITANTS IN 1726—JOSEPH STORER.

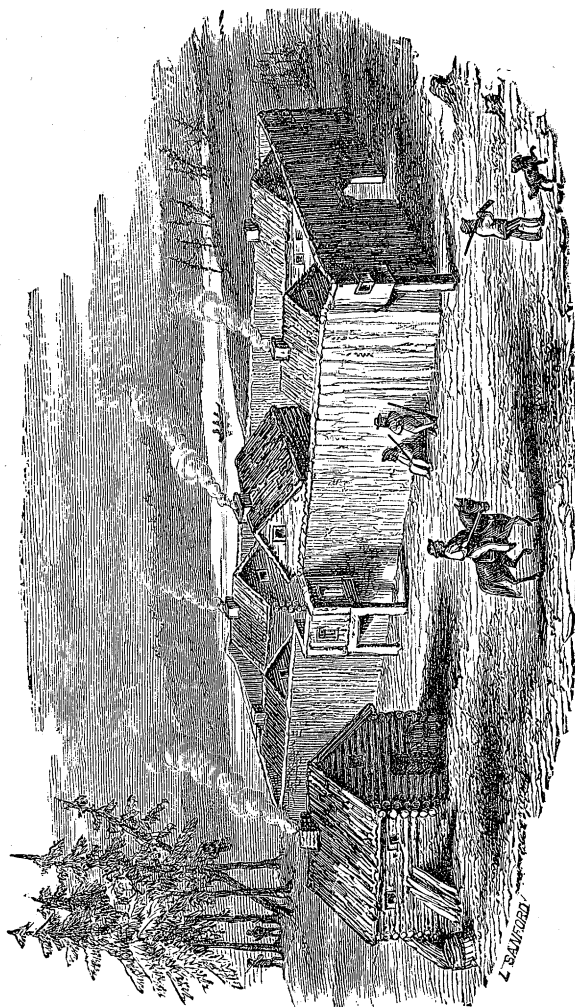
As we have stated in the preceeding chapter, at the close of the Indian war in 1713, the confidence of the people in a continued peace, led them to more freedom in selecting sites for habitation. Previously they had been impelled by the constant fear of renewed hostilities, to secure to themselves house lots as near to the principal settlement as possible. But now they had ventured to look to the eligibility of such lots in themselves, disregarding in some measure those extrinsic considerations, which had prevented them from selecting sites best adapted to meet the demands of life. They had built houses on the Mousam river, and at the eastward of Great Hill, where the Wentworths and Boothbys now live, and also at Merryland, and were commencing anew and rapidly advancing the settlement of the town, with the fair promise of a quiet and peaceful pursuit of their agriculture and other employments. But the war-whoop was again heard in various parts of the Province, and the inhabitants were admonished to new precautions for their protection. They were not to be driven from their little farms; but set about building stockades to their houses. It did not require bulwarks like those which modern civilization has made necessary, to defend against the attacks of enlightened skill. Walls of timber, or palisades, were a sufficient protection against any armory which the Indian could bring to bear upon them. The houses of Look, Wormwood, Harding, and perhaps others, were guarded in this way. It seems to us of the present age to have been almost a reckless resolution of these few men, here to face the brunt of a savage war; but

their all was in the houses which they had built, which, if abandoned, would surely be committed to the flames; and beside, they were led to believe, that the tribes alone were to be concerned in this new aggression upon the Province; and they thence felt that here, in the western part of it, they might escape its terrors. Although the French abjured any, and all, agency in fomenting dissatisfaction with the Indians, and stirring them up to war, yet it is as certain as almost any fact in history, that they were continually instigating them to their work of cruelty and desolation; but as they had no open hand in the warfare, the Indians were too feeble, of themselves, to protract it for a great length of time. The war commenced in 1722. Its opening act sent a thrill of terror to the hearts of these brave men of Wells. Nine families were taken at one time at Merry Meeting bay; more than the whole number at this time living on the territory of Kennebunk, which might at any moment be attacked. Assaults had also been made on the fort at St. George's river, and on other places; soon their ravages were extended to the adjoining towns. One man had been killed in Berwick; but winter coming on, the foe retreated, and quiet again prevailed in the houses of the settlers.

In the spring (1723) the Indian scouts were again abroad; on the eleventh of May, one Parsons, and one Randall, were killed at Berwick; and on the same day Daniel Low, who lived in Merryland, was killed; and the saw-mill on Little river, belonging to Nicholas Cole and others, was burnt. Two young men were also killed while going from Wells to York. Just after, Benjamin Major was killed in Arundel, and a saw-mill on Kennebunk river (we suppose Storer's) was burnt. About the same time other persons were killed in Berwick and Saco. Aug. 27, Mr. Jepsun was captured, and afterward murdered. He was at the saw-mill at Mousam for some special purpose, and probably alone. Such was the terror inspired by the savage outrages, that he remained here unburied a fortnight, when Joseph Hill and about twenty others, prepared for the purpose, came here, and interred him. His bones probably lie in the field not far from the house of Jefferson W. Sargent. Three or four more were killed in Arundel, before the close of the year; though the winter following the Indians did not cease from their incursions, as was their custom, but continued their raids upon Berwick, and some places east.

The people had been so accustomed in the former war to the perils

which continually beset them, that they had now become careless, and did not exercise that precaution which was necessary to personal safety. Many of the murders which occurred were the result of imprudence. Lieut. Governor Dummer being informed of this dangerous temerity, wrote to John Wheelright, directing him to "charge the people within the district of your regiment, to be very careful when they go into the fields not to expose themselves by going out weak and without arms; but that they associate in their work in parties of ten or a dozen men, well armed, keeping a centinel with their guns; and I desire you forthwith to acquaint all the garrisons as far as Capt. Heath's, at Richmond, to keep a watchful guard at this frontier." If such admonitions had been properly regarded the Indians would have been far less successful in their incursions. But men inured to danger will frequently become fool-hardy. Many fell in this war, who, had they exercised due prudence, would never have been its victims; but there were men at this time of sound discretion and unflinching courage, who were always on the lookout. Among these was Sergeant Stephen Larrabee, son of William Larrabee; he had been bred to danger, and could look it calmly in the face when necessary; we shall speak more particularly of him in another place. He saw the necessity of preparing for these raids, and endeavoring to protect the few men who were pioneers with him in the wilderness of Kennebunk; and also of providing a refuge for others from the eastward, who might be obliged to flee from their homes, and planned a grand fort at his house on the Mousam river. We have before spoken of his father's house. He built a garrison or fort, covering an acre of ground; timber was abundant, and close at hand. The walls were of large, square timber, about fourteen feet high. The structure was in the form of a parallelogram; it fronted southeast, or down the river. On the four corners were four flankers; so projecting that the person within might have a view of any operations without, on the side, and one end of the fort; they were in an angular shape, with a kind of port-hole in the angle, but not sufficiently large for a person to enter. There was also on the lower side a large flanker, in the style and fashion of a portico, though built, as were the others, six feet from the ground; so that one could pass directly under it. There were three gates, one at each end, and one on the side of the fort flanker. Within the walls were five houses; that of Sergeant Larrabee was very large, wide, and of one story, and stood in the



SERGEANT LARRABEE'S GARRISON.

center of the fort; in the north corner was the house of Edward Evans; in the eastern, that of Ebenezer Bayridge. The other two, one being at the western, and the other at the southern end, were occupied by Nathan Morrison and the soldiers which were stationed there under his command; and also by such persons as found refuge here from the neighborhood, on the occasion of an alarm, or whenever it was known that the Indians were in the vicinity. All the houses were of one story, having, as they were called in those days, block windows; that is, merely square holes, to let in the air and light, which might be blocked up in a moment, to protect the inmates from outward danger. Most of the houses at this period were lighted with similar windows; they were about a foot square; some had thick, substantial shutters, others were provided with blocks. At the northeastern end of the garrison, just before the gate, was the house of Samuel and Anthony Littlefield; it was built of logs, and was the same previously built and occupied by William Larrabee. In this entire structure, exclusive of the dwelling houses, must have been used at least thirteen thousand cubic feet of timber; it was a great work for the small number of men who were engaged in it; how long time was occupied in its erection, or when it was commenced, or when finished, we cannot state. Of its splendor or magnificence we can say nothing; it was not built for show, but for protection. It was the largest building which has ever stood within the limits of Kennebunk; and was an honor to its noble projector, whose memory should be cherished not only by his descendants, but by all who can duly appreciate true patriotism, and a sincere and sound benevolence.

In this garrison, or within these bulwarks, including the house outside, which was made an appendage, and from which there was direct access to the garrison, were frequently gathered all the inhabitants of Kennebunk, together with other persons (sometimes over two hundred), driven there by the exigencies of war for the preservation of their lives.

In the spring of 1724, the Indians were early at their terrible work. In March they killed Samuel Smith at Arundel; in April following, a sloop belonging to Lynn, under the command of Capt. John Felt, came into the Kennebunk river after lumber and spars, to be taken at the mill on Gooch's creek. As stated in the history of Kennebunkport, he engaged two young men, William Wormwood and Ebenezer Lewis, soldiers stationed at Harding's garrison, to assist

him. The spars were afloat, and Felt was on the raft; the bank on the north side of the river was thickly covered with trees. Here a party of Indians had concealed themselves, awaiting a favorable opportunity to attack the crew. The first intimation that the latter had of their presence, was the discharge of a gun, killing Capt. Felt. Lewis immediately ran to the mill brow, where he was also killed, by a ball striking him on the head. Wormwood ran, pursued by the enemy; finding himself likely to be overtaken, and fearing Indian captivity more than death, he placed his back against a stump, and defended himself with the butt of his gun until the bullets of the enemy had deprived him of life. By mistake, he had taken a gun not his own, when he went to the work, and it missed fire. He told them that if he had had his own gun, he would have had the satisfaction of killing one of them before he died. These men, it is said, were buried in the field near Butland's rocks, where Felt's grave-stones were standing till within the present century. They should have been standing now. These mementos of the trials and dangers of the early inhabitants, should not have been left unheeded to the ruthless hand of time. This event is strangely perverted in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, where it is said, "About the same time John Felt, William Wormwell, and Ebenezer Lewis were killed at a saw-mill on Kennebec river." The same perverted account has since found its way into various histories of the Indian wars.

This massacre occurred on the twenty-fifth of April. Historians give an account of a similar occurrence on the seventeenth, when the Indians "fell on a sloop at Kennebunk which belonged to Lynn, and killed the whole company." But we have good reason for believing that these supposed different events were identical. We derive our knowledge from records made at the time in Wells; and as the other murders, committed before and afterward, are minuted, and no account made of this last which we have stated, the inference is that no such event took place on the 17th.

On being apprised of the death of Felt and his companions, all the men in the vicinity, being about twenty, gathered together and started in pursuit of the Indians. John Webber, who was more eager than the rest, and thirsted for the blood of these demons, kept himself somewhat in advance of the others, and reaching a pile of brush got up on it that he might have a more extensive view. Here he stood some time, looking about. At length satisfied that they

were too late in the pursuit, the party returned home. When the Indians came in after the war, they gave a minute account of this raid, and Wawa the Sagamore, or the king as he was here called, then stated that he lay under the brush all the time while Webber stood upon it, but that he dared not kill him, as he could easily have done, knowing that the remainder of his company were near by. Wormwood was the son of Thomas Wormwood, who lived at the Larrabee village on Mousam river, and whose descendants are still living in Kennebunk.

Prior to the spring of this year, the government do not appear to have come to the aid of the inhabitants. But such had been the frequency and extent of these raids on the settlers, that one hundred and fifty soldiers were now sent into the province. Portions of these were stationed at Wells, Kennebunk, and Arundel. These few soldiers might do something to stay ravages near the Point where they were stationed; but to the people who lived a few miles from them, they afforded but little protection. The murder of which we have given an account was committed almost at the gate of the Harding garrison. We think there were some soldiers stationed there, while there were also several vessels with crews on board in the river close by. There was no other security than unremitted precaution. Outside of the garrisons there was always danger. The government, we judge, aided the town in some measure, by the scout which was ordered. Jeremiah Moulton was directed to keep guard day and night, and to scout about Wells village, Kennebunk, Merryland, Cape Neddock and Berwick. The Indians had no courage. The knowledge that they were pursued or watched, in a measure held them in check.

In the month of August occurred the memorable conflict at Norridgewock. The government had long been satisfied that Rasle, the French Priest residing in the Indian village at that place, was the instigator or abettor of the outrages which were continually being committed in various parts of the Province. He had been among them as their spiritual adviser nearly forty years, and had acquired supreme control over them. Their attachment to him was strong, and it was undoubtedly in his power to have stayed their frightful ravages. Still they were continued. No treaties could bind them, however solemnly entered into. The Provinces would endure these truce-breakings no longer, and a force was now sent under the com-

mand of Captains Moulton, Harmon and Bourne to destroy the village, and, if possible, to take Rasle alive. The two former of these belonged to York; whether the latter was John Bourne, of Wells, or Richard Bourne, of Cape Cod, our investigations have not enabled us to answer. A great many of these soldiers were from Arundel. The following were from Wells: John Elwell, Benjamin Sayer, John Wakefield, Nathaniel Wakefield, Gibbens Wakefield, Stephen Larrabee, John Jellison, Samuel Waterhouse, John Butland, Anthony Littlefield, and probably others.

The expedition was a complete success. The whole village was destroyed. Father Rasle bravely defended himself; but he was shot down by one of the lieutenants. Great joy prevailed when information was received of the successful issue of the enterprise; and Moulton received the commendations of the government for his skillful management of it. It was intended that Rasle should have been captured and brought to Boston; but Jaques, by whom he was killed, perceiving that he was in the act of firing at our men, shot him. Some of the present day have denounced the action of this expedition as not demanded by the circumstances of the case. But they have not had the experience to which the early settlers were subjected. Had they lived in those days they would probably have partaken somewhat of the spirit of these brave men.

The result of this expedition, so auspicious to the Province, did not immediately bring the war to a close. The government endeavored by a commission to Canada, to persuade the French to terminate it, as they undoubtedly could if so disposed. But the labors of the commission were entirely fruitless. The Indians continued to wreak out their vengeance against the people. The whole year 1724 was one of excitement. Men were murdered day after day. The skill of the Indians in ambuscade baffled all the exertions of the soldiery and of the government to protect the people. One man was killed in Arundel in August, and two more in September. One was killed on the main road near the bridge over Kennebunk river. It is a marvel that so many escaped. The Indians were about in small scouts; and being few in numbers, easily concealed themselves in the recesses of the forests; while the English almost recklessly pursued their business at the mills and on the rivers. But though the natives manifested a remarkable tact in concealing themselves from discovery, they seem to have had little or no skill in detecting the hiding

places of the white men, as appears by the several instances of escape already stated. Richard Kimball, who was an influential man, and would have been a valuable prize to them, while at one time traveling from his house to the landing on the road by Kennebunk river, discovered several Indians, just as he was about passing Wonder Brook at its mouth. He immediately jumped down and hid himself under a log projecting from the bank. One would think that here was but little chance for escape from captivity. But they failed in finding his hiding place.

At another time the Littlefield mill was in operation, and the owners were getting out lumber. Boards were sent to the Port by rafts. Gondolas had not then come into use. Samuel Littlefield, one of the owners of the mill, who, to distinguish him from another of the same name, was generally known as Fat Sam, was engaged in rafting. He was alone in his work. But possessing remarkable strength he was able to manage his raft without help. As he was working down the river he discovered several of the enemy; he instantly brought his raft to the shore on the opposite side and hid himself under a windfall. They passed directly by it, but did not discover him. He then returned to the river and proceeded with his raft. Our only explanation of this failure of their martial strategy, is to be found in the general cowardice of these savages. In looking over the history of these early wars, it will be seen that they seldom captured any one who had his gun with him. They knew that an attempt to take one thus armed, would almost certainly result in the death of some one of their number, and the discharge of a single gun would at once rouse all within the hearing of it. Every man was required to carry his gun with him when going any material distance from his home or place of labor. Kimball and Littlefield, we infer, were thus armed. At least the Indians thought so. And knowing that any one who should be in a position to discover them, must also be himself discovered, and thus receive the contents of their guns, they never dared to push their investigations too far. They felt it was not safe to look through or under the windfall, or over the bank of the brook. Assured of this cowardice as an element of Indian character, the women frequently availed themselves of the use of the musket. The grandmother of one of the ladies of Kennebunk, by accident, was left alone in the evening with a little child; and being satisfied by the motion of some of the growing vegetation in the

garden, that it was disturbed by some living object making its way toward the house, she seized the gun and fired. Immediately three Indians jumped up, and with all speed fled to the forests.

The government now felt the importance of putting more energy into the work of subduing these terrible enemies to the peace and prosperity of the people, and accordingly another expedition was set on foot to search out and subdue them. One Peter Talcot, who had been taken captive by the Indians, having succeeded in effecting his escape, communicated to the governor some facts in relation to their place of encampment; and Capt. Samuel Wheelright of Wells, with the necessary force, was sent into the interior toward Pigwacket. He was directed to take with him Stephen Hardin, who lived at the mouth of Kennebunk river, and some other man who was acquainted with the place and the route. The Indians were said to be secreted in the neighborhood of Lovell's Pond. We give the account of Wheelright's expedition as stated by himself. "The Journal of Capt. Samuel Wheelright in a march from Wells to Pigwacket. Wells, 1724, Nov. 20. I received orders from his Honor the Lieut. Governor to draw out 50 of the posted men at York, Wells and Arundel, with Lieut. Brown as my Second, Mr. Stephen Harden and Peter Colcord as Pilots, to go to Pigwacket in search after the Indians.

Nov. 21. Victualed my men. 23d Lieut. Brown and Ensign Card came to Wells and victualed their men. 24th. Foul Weather. 25th. I set out and marched about 8 miles further, and by reason of the snow on the bushes, we could go no further, and then camped, and that morning sent back three men sick. 27th. We marched about 15 miles and 4 men sent back sick. 28th. 12 men more I sent back sick, and some that detained us and so we marched but 10 miles. 29th. We marched about 18 miles. 29. We lay still by reason of foul weather and the men being sick, we being then within 10 miles of Ossipee Pond. Dec. 1. In the morning when I came to muster the men in order to march, some were sick, some lame, and some dead-hearted, and the snow being somewhat hard, so that I could not get above 18 or 20 that was fit to march forward. Upon which I called the officers together for advice, and so concluded to return again which was contrary to my inclination.

3d. got home to Wells.

SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT."

We can hardly persuade ourselves that this is the history of the expedition of a military company one hundred and fifty years ago. That these men, some of them inhabitants of Wells, hardened by the toils and antagonisms of pioneer life, should have been so speedily disabled by a little snow on the bushes, in the month of November, as to be unable to march sixty miles, is a marvel not easily explained. We are inclined to think that if the whole company had been entered on the roll as "dead hearted," the record would not have been wide from the truth. We have been accustomed, previously to this time, to speak of our predecessors as men of energy and courage. The main body of them were not townsmen; but still a portion were, and some of the merit of the expedition belongs to us. The captain was the son of Col. John Wheelright, the main pillar of our support and defense through all the vicissitudes of the Indian wars. But the march to Piqwacket could never have ceased to afford matter for the taunts and gibes of humor and waggers during his life. His sick men, we opine, were not long delayed from blessing God in their own houses, that they were restored to health. The valiant company whose outward march was so obstructed by snow as to require ten days' time in reaching Ossipee Pond, were so brave and hardy on the return, that the journey was accomplished in two. There was evidently among them little of the spirit of the noble Lovewell and his party, who faced the brunt of all the storms of winter, and fought a battle which will honor his memory as long as civilization shall maintain its hold on this continent. This battle did much to reduce the Indians to subjection, and Wells should have had an honorable share in it.

The Indians disposed to cease from hostilities, in December entered into a new treaty; but a spirit of revenge for the murder of Rasle being aroused in the French, they prevailed upon the natives to disregard the treaty, and continue the war upon the English. In October, 1726, an attack was made on the family of Phillip Durrell in Arundel, of which Col. John Wheelright in a letter to the Lieut. Governor, dated Oct. 27th, gives a brief account: "Phillip Durrell of Kennebunk, went from his house with one of his sons to work, the sun being about two hours high, leaving at home his wife, a son twelve years old, and a married daughter with a child 20 months old. He returned home a little before sunset, when he found his family all gone, and his house set on fire, his chests split open and all his cloth-

ing carried away. He searched the woods and found no signs of any killed." A further and interesting account of this transaction will be found in Bradbury's History of Kennebunkport. This family is spoken of as living in Kennebunk. It was common in that day so to distinguish all who lived in the neighborhood of Kennebunk river. There were then no prescribed limits to the territory thus designated. Among the articles taken from the house and carried away by the Indians, was a Bible, which was left by them in the woods where they encamped. This was afterwards found and restored. It belonged to Mrs. Baxter, the married daughter of Mr. Durrell, and has been carefully kept since, being now in the possession of Oliver Bourne, Esq., one of her descendants.

The captives generally were carried into Canada, and for a small sum sold to the French, who demanded a large sum for their ransom; thus making the wars a source of much profit to them. We do not understand how the French could hold English subjects in their possession, while they claimed to be neutral in these wars, and to have no agency in them. At a conference holden with the Indians at Falmouth in 1727, it was said by them that three of the persons captured in this last incursion were killed on their journey to Canada, that the boy was sold to the French, and that they had no power to restore him. This boy, Bradbury says, was but two years with the Indians; and yet his appearance and habits afterward were always those of the red man. We suppose these two years must have been prior to his sale to the French.

This was the last act of what was termed Lovewell's war, immediately affecting those dwelling in this neighborhood. Wells does not seem to have suffered much in any of its stages; its garrisons, so numerous, afforded protection to all who resorted to them; and its bravery in former wars, manifested in the successful defense of the town against all the forces brought against it, may have had some restraining effect upon the enemy. In the early years of the settlement there was no enmity between the races; but in the progress of increasing civilization, a spirit was engendered in the bosoms of these sons of the forest, which made them unwelcome neighbors of the white men. The intercourse which existed in times of peace had no effect in softening their revengeful spirit, when those peaceful relations were broken off. Mercy, and remembrance of former associations and kindnesses, seem, with here and there an exception, to have

had no home in any of their souls. They were cruel and malicious to the last degree; and thence among all the inhabitants there prevailed a bitter enmity toward them.

In concluding this chapter, it may be well to add some account of the Indians, with whom our predecessors were specially acquainted; the author has known and had frequent conversations with men, who, living in their neighborhood, were thoroughly acquainted with their peculiar characteristics. It may be thought by some of our readers, that the spirit cherished toward them was not consistent with the relations which they were bound to maintain. While we cannot but heartily condemn the various agencies by which, from year to year, their characters were moulded, we cannot find it in our hearts to complain of the people of the last century, for their enmity toward these natives. They were here a large part of the warmer seasons, living and having their homes among the settlers. Some of them dwelt on the north side of Gooch's creek, near where the road now passes; here were about twenty wigwams. Another community of six or seven wigwams lived on Great Hill and Grandfather's neck, and a third, a small distance below Larrabee's fort, where there were three or four wigwams. These structures were made of small sticks of wood about twelve feet long, standing upon or driven into the ground, in a circular form, inclining inward at the top, leaving only a small space for the escape of the smoke, and covered with brush, clay, skins, or anything else attainable, to make them tight and warm. The whole Indian population in Wells was about one hundred and sixty; they were of different tribes, according to the divisions made by ethnologists, but classed under the general name of Abnekis. Whether they were of the Saco, Piqwacket, Kennebec, Penobscot, Norridgewock, or some other classification, we cannot determine. In ancient times, the people here were not accustomed to make any distinctions; they were all Indians, or savages. Tom Wawa, or Wahaunay, was the leading Sagamore, having his home on Great Hill. The inhabitants called him the king; he was well known to the whites; entered freely into conversations; visited their houses, and was well acquainted with their various employments and habits of life; and thus gathered all the information necessary to aid him in any subsequent raids upon them. He was not the Hopewood, as some have supposed, who died long before this time, for he lived several years after the Lovewell fight, in which he was second in

command. Like most of the Indians who dwelt among the English, he was addicted to the free use of intoxicating liquors; and while savage by nature, he was made much more so by its frequent use. He was in the habit of beastly intoxication, as were all the Indians then commorant in this vicinity.

It was with these wild savages that the people of Wells had been involved in the terrible wars of which we have given an account. While dwelling among them, familiar with their houses and families, enjoying a social intercourse, and manifesting toward them the kindest friendship, suddenly their hearts would overflow with malice, and they would be found wreaking out their vengeance upon them in relentless torture, and cruelties the most revolting. Wawa was the leader in the attack on the Durrell family; he was, we suppose, well acquainted with all the members; yet he and his treacherous band could, in the absence of the father, cruelly murder his wife and children, and soon afterward return and dwell among the people, as if they had no agency in their death. They could one day exhibit all the innocence of a true and honest friendship toward their white neighbors, and the next, without provocation, but merely from the promptings of an infernal spirit, riot in their blood.

This trait of Indian character, the sudden vibration from apparent friendship to the most malignant and cruel hatred, without provocation, is entirely inexplicable and without parallel among other nations. There can be no mistake as to the fact; our informants, as well acquainted with them as with their white neighbors, in all our conversations with them, recognized this as a marked feature of the Indian character. In their every-day life they were associating with them, and could recount all their names as well as those of the white men; and while thus dwelling together in apparent harmony and peace, all at once the Indians would become sullen, and discontinue their associations; and then would be seen grinding their knives and making other preparations for the renewal of hostilities. And yet there was another remarkable feature of this peculiar Indian polity; they never thus transformed themselves from friends to enemies without giving notice, so that all might take heed to themselves and their property; like those men who are subject to spells of insanity, who, confident that the paroxysm is coming upon them, warn their friends to take the proper precautions to guard against injury. The habit of giving this notice was invariable; whenever they came in

from their raids they erected near their wigwams a pile of stones, in a conical form, two or three feet high. So long as this pile remained they were at peace with the whites; but when war was to be renewed, it was thrown down. They were never guilty of a violation of the armistice signified by this monument.

There is another fact which we are unable to reconcile with the general history of the relation of our fathers to the aborigines of the country; our knowledge of that portion of the tribe who were accustomed to abide in this vicinity, is derived from men who were contemporary with, and dwelt among them; so that we are confident and well assured of what we affirm. These hostilities, we are informed, were never continued more than a month or six weeks at a time. We know that the wars continued many years; and no history which we have seen speaks of any such suspensions of arms, or such intermittent wars, as this fact suggests. We shall attempt no solution of this problem; but recognizing the fact as stated by our informants, we do not understand why these savages, who could thus suddenly break up their homes and slay the inhabitants, should not have been regarded as murderers, and disposed of as criminals of that character always have been, instead of being suffered to dwell among them unmolested.

When the Indians returned thus to their homes, and raised the pile of stones, they seemed to be overjoyed that hostilities had ceased; they came to the houses of their old friends, with their faces as radiant with joy as though they had been long absent from the scenes of their former attachments, and had returned innocent of all iniquity. Almost the first thought was, of music, and dancing with those on whom the day before they would have inflicted the most merciless cruelties. They seem to have been influenced by some principles or motives of which we have no knowledge.

But this strange development of character was not universal. There was one among them who seemed to have more of the spirit of civilized man. Ambereuse, living in one of the wigwams on Mousam river, was a man of peace; never manifesting any propensities for strife and war, but always desiring to live on friendly terms with the white men. He was never known to have any agency in war. He said he did not like war. Whenever his companions deserted their wigwams for their direful work, he remained at home; and though the pile of stones was prostrated, he continued his asso-

ciations with the settlers as intimately as if peace was undisturbed. We suppose he was of the number of those who were then denominated "praying Indians." This friendly Indian lived here till 1752, when he removed to South Berwick. Sullivan in his History of Maine says: "There came to Berwick an Indian named Amberuse, with his wife. He said he hated war, and only wanted to live where he could make his brooms and his baskets and live in peace. He remained there for several years and then removed to the Kennebec."

As stated before, the Indians had but a summer residence here. During the summer months, for the most part, they subsisted on clams, which were then very abundant. When unsuccessful in the pursuit of game, these furnished the necessary supply for all their wants. They had numerous canoes, yet they were not in the habit of fishing beyond the mouth of the rivers. Salmon, shad and alewives abounded in the streams, and at the Mousam Falls great quantities were taken. Large heaps of clamshells used to show themselves in the vicinity of their wigwams. The food which was most highly prized by them was the deer, which at the time of which we are speaking had begun to diminish. The progress of the settlement, and the clearing of the forests had tended to drive them inland. Yet they were still to be found in considerable numbers, and every capture was a source of much joy; not merely for the food secured, but because of the exciting scenes which followed. Every one has heard of the Indian pow-wow. It was set up here on all occasions of rejoicing; and especially when they had been successful in the chase. One grand object of the pursuit of the deer was, to obtain their hoofs, these rendering important service in carrying on the pow-wow. A large number of them was required for each individual. When the deer was killed, the hoofs were taken off, and prepared for use, by removing all the interior substances, and leaving nothing but the shell or horn. They were then dried by exposure to the sun, and being thoroughly siccated, were strung upon some kind of a cord for use in the savage frolic. As another part of their paraphernalia on these occasions, they were provided with strings of beads, about the size of robins' eggs. When they had met with any unusual success, or any joyous event occurred, they organized and prepared for the pow-wow. The hair was shaved entirely from one side of the head, which was then painted, one part red and the other blue, and sometimes with a variety of colors; they then decorated

themselves with the beads, suspending one string from the right, and the other from the left ear, to the tip of the nose; they were made to hang loosely, the curve falling down nearly to the shoulders. The deer's hoofs were then applied; they were tied round the legs just above the ankle, each person wearing two strings; thus equipped, they began the pow-wow. This was performed by jumping and shaking (for the purpose of rattling the deer-horns, which constituted the music), bellowing, hallooing, roaring, and other noisy vociferations, incapable of description; altogether making, as I have been told by those who had witnessed these frolics, a most awful melody; this was continued till closed by the exhaustion of the participants.

These Indians seem to have had no idea of a God; there was nothing in their action which looked like worship, or which indicated any sense of dependence on a higher power. They had become wofully corrupt; those who lived in these days concurred in the judgment that they were desperately wicked. The only answer to the enquiries as to their worship which we could draw from those who furnished the foregoing facts, was, that "they worshipped no other God but the devil, and him they served constantly."

The Lovewell war ended in Dec., 1725; in 1726 the following were all the inhabitants of the town:

Charles Annis,	Stephen Harding,	Matthew Patten,
Richard Boothby,	Nathaniel Harmon,	Thomas Penny,
James Boston,	Archelaus Hewitt,	Peter Rich,
John Burks,	George Jacobs,	Caleb Richardson,
George Butland,	Nathaniel Kimball,	John Ross,
John Butland,	Caleb Kimball,	James Sampson,
Nathaniel Clark,	David Lawson,	Francis Sayer,
Samuel Clark,	William Larrabee,	John Storer,
Eleazer Clark,	David Littlefield,	Jeremiah Storer,
James Clark,	Dependence Littlefield,	George Simonton,
Nicholas Cole,	Francis Littlefield,	Moses Stevens,
Ichabod Cousens,	James Littlefield,	Joseph Stevens,
Benjamin Crediford,	Joseph Littlefield,	Samuel Stuart,
Joseph Crediford,	Samuel Littlefield,	Samuel Stuart, jr.,
Josiah Crediford,	John Littlefield,	Joseph Taylor,
Moses Dormer,	Jonathan Littlefield,	William Taylor,
John Eldridge,	Samuel Littlefield, jr.,	Samuel Treadwell,

Samuel Emery,	Nathaniel Littlefield,	Israel Tucker,
William Eaton,	Peter Littlefield,	James Wakefield,
Malachi Edwards,	Job Low,	John Wakefield,
John Fairfield,	William Low,	Nathaniel Wakefield,
Thomas Gillpatrick,	Henry Maddox,	John Wells,
Joseph Getchell,	Gershom Maxwell,	John Wells, jr.,
Zachariah Goodale,	Bryce McLellan,	Thomas Wells,
Joseph Hill,	John McDonald,	John Wheelright,
Samuel Hill,	James Medole,	Samuel Wheelright,
Samuel Hatch,	Abel Merrill,	Joseph Wheelright,
Phillip Hatch,	David Morrison,	Josiah Winn,
Benjamin Hatch,	Jacob Perkins,	Josiah Winn, jr.,
John Hatch,	Robert Poke,	Thomas Wormwood.
Samuel Hatch, jr.,		

Soon after the close of the Lovewell war, in 1730, died JOSEPH STORER. He was the son of William Storer of Dover, and was born in 1648. His father died in 1660, and his widow married Samuel Austin, of Wells, in 1661. The family were then moved to Wells, where the children were put under the guardianship of Austin, in whose family they continued until maturity. We are not aware that any of them were favored with an education, beyond that which was acquired under the roof of the father-in-law. Austin kept a public house, and was a commissioner for trials several years. In those days public houses were not always nurseries of virtue; yet, where books were not always accessible, they afforded opportunity, through the intercourse of strangers, of acquiring much practical knowledge. Tavern keepers were then generally well-informed and intelligent men, and were selected for offices of trust. They were licensed to sell intoxicating liquors; but the business does not seem to have had the baleful influence upon them which has been so often witnessed in a later day among those of that occupation. Austin and the Storer family seem to have escaped from the ordinary injurious effects of the traffic. The Storer came to manhood well grounded in moral principle, and thence became men of great usefulness. Joseph Storer seems to have been engaged in the lumber business, building mills and manufacturing boards. He was old enough to learn the lessons of the Indian war of 1675; was active in that service, and was thus fitted by his knowledge of Indian char-

acter and warfare, to make the necessary preparation for future collisions with the natives. He built a house on the main road, where John S. Pope now lives, about the year 1679, and afterwards added fortifications with palisades around it. During the next war he built several small houses inside the fortifications for the relief of those who were reduced to the extremity of fleeing here for refuge. This house was constantly open for the service of the people. Officers and soldiers resorted to it *ad libitum*, while he, with a truly patriotic spirit, was always ready to respond to the wants of all who had been driven from their homes by peril and suffering. Wheelright's garrison had not then been built; so that at three periods afterward this was the frontier garrison of the Province.

Storer was, in every way, active in defense of the Province, encouraging the people to maintain their ground; giving up to some of the inhabitants lots of tillage land near the fort for cultivation, as well as pasture for their cattle. The wounded were brought to his house as to a hospital, where he provided good nursing for them in the kindest care of his own family. For these services he received no remuneration from any source. A sincere and earnest patriotism prompted him to all this benevolence. He was an officer in the service, but these ministrations to the public needs in days of fearful peril, far outshone any glory of military distinction. Perhaps it may be said, that to him more than any other man, was the Province indebted for its preservation from entire desolation. The timely erection of his garrison afforded the last refuge for the fleeing inhabitants. Without this there would have been no barrier to complete waste, and abandonment by civilized man. The whole territory must have been given over to the revengeful and merciless foe.

Mr. Storer's life, through all the trials of the Indian wars, was marked by a noble humanity. He was a solid man; Christian in all his attributes. He was one of the founders of the church at York; and thus his name is not found among those who inaugurated the church at Wells in 1701, though afterward to the close of his life he acted as one of its deacons. From him have descended all the Storer's in Wells.

The name has undergone various changes in its transmission from past ages. The Storer family, we think, descended from Rev. Thomas Storr, Vicar of Bilsby, in Lincolnshire, England, one of whose children was Augustine, whose sister, Marie Storee, was the

wife of the Rev. John Wheelright. Augustine was one of the combination at Exeter, William, of Dover, being his son. The name has been spelled Storr, Storee, Story, Storah, and Storer. By the latter the family in Maine are now, and have been known many years.

Storer was commissioned as a lieutenant, and was always distinguished as Lieutenant Storer, though not called into any service requiring his absence from the garrison. He married Hannah Hill, daughter of Roger Hill, of Saco, by whom he had eight children. The genealogy of the family will be more particularly stated in another place. At the period of his death in 1730, he was the wealthiest man in Wells. One was then required to possess but little property to be regarded as a rich man. His estate was appraised at about 5,000 dollars. Among the items were a half dozen silver spoons, the first of that style possessed by any inhabitant of the town, indicating something of his social standing and of his aspirations for rank among the townsmen. As his name is not in the list of inhabitants in 1726, and for other reasons, not necessary to state, we think that for several years he must have resided in York.

CHAPTER XXII.

GRANTS TO VARIOUS PERSONS—CONFIRMATION OF TITLES BY THE PROPRIETORS—FERDINANDO GORGES—BATCOMB—THE LITTLEFIELD AND WINN CONTROVERSY—BILLS OF CREDIT AUTHORIZED BY THE LEGISLATURE—SHIPBUILDING AT WELLS.

FROM the close of the Lovewell war, in 1726, to the beginning of the French war, in 1744, but little appears in the history of the town worthy of special notice. Wars have never been fruitful of much good to the race. The whole tendency of these contests has been to demoralization. No man can be made better by a violation of the laws of Infinite Wisdom. There are, indeed, occasions when the people must fight; when it would be a sin against humanity to permit an aggressor to go on and accomplish his iniquitous designs. Under such circumstances, an obligation rests on every good man to interpose his own energies between the transgressor and his object, whatever may be the cross thereby assumed. Still the incidental results of war are debasing. The associations which it creates are generally of a character adverse to the growth and maintainance of a sound morality. These Indian wars excited and nourished a bad spirit. The cruelties of the savages worked severely on the sensibilities of the people, waking them up to revenge, and a retaliation not less wicked than the outrages of the ignorant children of the forests. Massachusetts gave a large bounty for the Indian scalp, so that the best instincts of the human heart were paralyzed. Men were virtually educated by the government to disregard the teachings of the moral sense, and rejoice in rendering evil for evil.

These Indian wars not only corrupted the moral sense, but actual immoralities speedily ensued from them. A great part of the time all the people were crowded together in the garrisons, so that the proprieties of social life were disregarded. The seclusion and privacy of one's own house could not be maintained. Wholesome restraint and action under such circumstances were speedily dispensed

with. Freedom became licentious. Accordingly, after the doors of the forts were thrown open, misdemeanors and immoralities abounded. A great many, males and females, were indicted for offenses, misdemeanors against Christian purity. It was exceedingly difficult under such influences for one to maintain a true dignity; but the schools were now in operation, and a long term of peace very much modified the moral aspect of the town, though there were some pugnacious men and women who seemed to find satisfaction in continual broils. The expectation of a more lasting peace was general; lands, consequently, became of greater value, and all were anxious to maintain their individual rights. A few only of those to whom grants had been made in former years had so fulfilled their conditions, as to have confidence in their titles, and a great many confirmations became necessary and were allowed by the proprietors during the twenty following years. New grants also were made, and various persons, Ichabod Cousens, Charles Annis, Joseph Getchell, Thomas Penny, Gershom Maxwell, Peter Littlefield, Job Low, Benjamin Hatch, Eleazer Clark, Daniel Morrison, were admitted as proprietors.

Even the grant of land and mill privilege to Henry Sayward, on which he had expended so much money, was considered of doubtful validity to the present possessors, and it was renewed and confirmed to Joseph Hill and John Storer. To put an end to all apprehensions as to the question of title, which prevented many people from entering heartily into the work of renovation and improvement, at a proprietors' meeting in 1734, it was voted to confirm the titles of all persons to the land they then lived on, so that now nothing was needed but enterprise and activity for a rapid extension of the settlement.

Among those who were at this time inhabitants of the town was FERDINANDO GORGES. It is sometimes difficult to ascertain the person meant by this appellation. In 1686, Ferdinando Gorges, of the province of Maine, made a lease to "John Littlefield, sen., of Batcomb, near unto the township of Wells in said Province." From the signature we should judge the lessor to be the first Ferdinando Gorges, to whom was granted the original charter of the Province. Any chirographical expert in contrasting this signature with that of the original patentee, we think, would have little hesitation in de-

claring them to be the same hand-writing. But the patentee had been dead nearly forty years, and this Ferdinando, we suppose, was the grandson of the first. He speaks of himself in various places as "of the province of Maine," and as "attorney of Henry Gorges of the Island of Barbadoes," who was the brother and heir of Thomas Gorges. He lived on the northeast side of Ogunquit river, where he speaks of his location, and describes it as "the messuage or farm house, and all houses, edifices, buildings, barns, stable, saw-mill, orchards, with 200 acres of arable land now in his tenure and occupation." This territory we suppose to be part of Batcomb. Here John Littlefield, the first, lived. Batcomb was a small parish in England, in the county of Somerset, and probably bore the same relation to Wells in that county as it did to the town of Wells here. Probably it embraced the Wheelright farm. In 1651, this farm and Cape Neddock were made a village and authorized to send a deputy to the general court, and were thus to continue until they "grow to be more capable for a town." Thomas Wheelright, who signed the York submission to Massachusetts, we suppose lived here. Where his house was we do not know. Being a bachelor, perhaps he had no occasion for any. None of the inhabitants of Wells who yielded to that jurisdiction and signed the submission, are known to have resided on this territory. It does not seem to have been regarded as a part of the town. We therefore leave the question of the boundaries of Batcomb without any further labor for its solution.

John Littlefield had but a temporary lease of his farm and mill privilege, the fee being in Henry Gorges of the island of Barbadoes. But lands being then of but small value, but little was thought about titles. Littlefield had built his mill here many years previously, and continued to occupy it till his death, in 1696.

Though the relations with the Indians and the French after the third Indian war were of a satisfactory character, and the people enjoyed the opportunity of seeking to retrieve their former positions, a new conflict sprung up more disparaging to some of the inhabitants than were the terrible wars through which they had passed. Those conflicts had served to unite the settlers, and they were of one heart and soul in resisting the awful ravages of the Indians. But an internal war was now set on foot in Batcomb, the evils of which far transcended those which any external foe could bring on them.

After the death of John Littlefield, his children agreed that Josiah

should occupy the estate during the lifetime of Patience, his widow, and for a short time afterwards. Josiah in a few years, 1708, was captured by the Indians and carried into captivity, as we stated in another place. During his captivity, his children and all his estate, by order of court, were put under the care of Josiah Winn, who married Lydia, a daughter of his brother.

After Littlefield's return from his captivity, a controversy arose between him and Winn, as the custodian of his property and of his children while he was absent. The precise difficulties which gave rise to this litigation we are unable to state. We judge from the fact that the trust was committed to Winn by the probate court, and from the tenor of Littlefield's letter from Canada, that Winn was a man of good character, and that the public reposed confidence in his integrity. But Littlefield's wife was of a very different temperament from that of her husband, she not having much of that meek, quiet, and peaceable spirit which becomes the female sex. We have good reason for the belief that the government of the household was one of unrestrained gynecocracy; that she ruled the family without any deference to the teachings of the Bible. She was a second wife. It frequently happens that this relationship is productive of great discord in the family. The new wife is perhaps unduly tenacious of her own rights, or it may be that the children of the first thoughtlessly rebel against the installation of a stranger into the ministry of the household affairs, and thus dissatisfaction with the new connection grows very rapidly into such disaffection that the family is broken up. We think it is highly probable that Littlefield's wife was not well reconciled to the order of court, taking away from her the care of her husband's children and property and giving them to the charge of Winn. He then had three sons and five daughters. The daughters, very wisely, after the death of their father, took to themselves husbands. Anna married Jacob Perkins; Esther, Joseph Credeford; Sarah, James Clark; and Elizabeth, Zachariah Goodale. The name of Lydia's husband we have not ascertained.

The controversy between Littlefield and Winn was not settled during the life of the former. The wife being indignant, as we suppose, because the guardianship was not committed to her, and thus always in the mood for fault finding, probably complained to her husband of some of Winn's proceedings, representing them in such a way that he gave credence to her statements. This action on her part had a

tendency to defeat any proposition for an amicable settlement, and before they had reached any adjustment, in 1712, Littlefield was killed by the Indians. His widow, Elizabeth Littlefield, was appointed his administratrix.

During his occupancy of the saw-mill, Winn had supplied it with various articles of machinery necessary for its operation. It being now manifest that no peaceful adjustment of the matters in controversy could be brought about, he first quietly removed from the mill and took to himself the articles which he had thus provided. Eliab Littlefield also, brother of Josiah, who, with Samuel Webber, had leased to him their part of the mill, at the same time took away the water-wheel, crank, and other materials which he had supplied. The widow's pugnacity was now aroused, and a war began between all the parties interested in the estate, which, we think, is without a parallel in the history of New England.

This contest was indeed a private one; yet so many were involved in it, and the connections of those immediate participants in it so extensive, that it became necessarily one of public concern. One of the main objects of history is the instruction of subsequent time. All ages may profit by the experience of preceding generations. The admonitions of this contest cannot fail to be in the highest degree salutary. By showing the evils resulting from family discord, and strife as to rights in the paternal estate, it will afford a lesson which should come with power to every heart. Let it be remembered that all the parties engaged in this controversy were, at first, persons of character and good standing in society, though very deficient in education. Josiah Littlefield was the first-named in the formation of the church in 1701. Winn and Jacob Perkins had been selectmen of the town.

Probably Elizabeth Littlefield, the widow, knew very little about the title of her husband. Whether the fee of the house, land and mill was in him, she never enquired. Perhaps she had no reason for a doubt on that question. Eliab Littlefield and Webber now called upon her for possession of the mill. This she at once refused, and they were compelled to resort to their suit. In this action they prevailed. Judgment was rendered against her, and she appealed to the superior court. The widow now put on the harness, and was determined to "fight it out on this line." Her vengeance was not to be appeased by reason or entreaty. Winn, who had undoubtedly

been faithful in the care of his wards, and of the estate of his uncle, operating the mill and managing it during the frightful period of the war, felt that he ought to have an equivalent for his services. But the angry woman would give no heed to his claim. He, therefore, commenced his action against her, as administratrix, and recovered judgment for his pay. From this judgment she appealed. Her pugnacity received now a new impulse, and determined to brave any encounter that her revenge might dictate, she brought her suit against Winn for cutting trees on the lands of the estate, which, we suppose, was merely a part of his action in operating the mill for the benefit of Littlefield. In this action she failed, judgment being rendered against her. From this judgment she appealed. At the same time she brought another suit against him to recover a debt of five pounds, which she claimed he owed the estate. But the same fate followed this suit and she again appealed. She then sued Eliab for a debt which he owed, and obtained a verdict in her favor; from which he appealed.

She again brought her action of trespass against Winn for carrying away the machinery from the mill. But the jury determined it to be Winn's, and judgment was rendered against her. She then brought an action of trover against him for taking several pieces of iron from the mill. But the result was against her, the jury returning a verdict that the iron was his. From this judgment she appealed.

Malachi Edwards was a witness for the widow in these suits, and in the intercourse necessitated by them, such manifestations were made by her as to captivate his sensitive heart. Probably impressed with the conviction that the widow with her property would be a very acceptable prize, he amplified the facts to some extent to ingratiate himself in her affections. At any rate, their mutual inclinations were gratified, and on the tenth day of October, 1716, they were married.

Still it is difficult to account for this union. Edwards at this time was one of the selectmen, and we thence infer was a man of fair judgment and of good character. Littlefield, her first husband, we know was a solid man. The spirit of the widow must have been well understood. Both of them must have been captivated by some facial expression, or by some amenities in her deportment which do not "appear upon the record." Her demonstrations certainly could

not have enticed any considerate man into such an important connection. It is most probable that her supposed property had its usual influence in drawing Edwards to her embraces; and that she felt the need of his aid in her endeavors to save it to herself, from the claims of those to whom it rightly belonged. At any rate, the burden of the contest was now laid on his shoulders. Before the marriage, she brought an action of trespass against Eliab for cutting down trees. In her union with Edwards she lost none of her pugnacity. The battle went on. The verdict was in her favor; and being thus in the ascendant she was inspired with new vigor for the strife.

Eliab Littlefield, now living in Manchester, being fully satisfied that the widow, thus doubly armed for the contest, would yield to no demands however honest, was determined to secure his title to the possession of the estate, and brought this action against Edwards and wife, to eject them from the farm. The widow held the agreement entered into by the heirs to allow Josiah to occupy the estate during the lifetime of the mother. But she refused to let them see it or to have any use of it. From some cause which we have not learned, perhaps from a failure to get possession of this lease, Littlefield failed in this suit, and judgment was rendered for Edwards.

The next suit was brought by Winn against Edwards alone, for some trespass which he had committed. But the latter was successful in his defense. From this judgment Winn appealed. He then sued Edwards and wife for trespass on his land adjoining Ogunquit river, near Sandy Point. Of the result of this suit, we are not informed. It was one of considerable magnitude, but our minutes are not sufficiently full to enable us to speak of its nature or termination.

Edwards was now thoroughly enlisted in the fray, and pressed on by the zeal of his wife, he turned upon Winn, and brought an action against him upon an agreement, which he had entered into some years previously, to pay him £100. But in this case he failed. Judgment was rendered for Winn, and Edwards appealed.

Winn then again sued Edwards and recovered judgment against him. Edwards appealed. Edwards again sued Winn, but was unsuccessful.

At length the children, and other parties interested, became excited by the long delay in the acknowledgment and adjustment of their claims. Jacob Perkins was filled with some inspirations not

very creditable to the noblest work of God, and, like Peter, begun to curse and swear. For this he was criminally prosecuted.

Edwards also seems to have lost somewhat of the dignity of a true manhood. He was at the time a constable, and in town meeting was directed by Justices Hill and John Wheelright to execute a warrant. He seized the offender and then laid hold of Hill in a contemptuous manner, and directed him to stand guard over his prisoner. For this he was prosecuted and was required to pay a fine of ten pounds.

Winn was brought into court, and was fined for his indecent words and actions in presence of the court, while in a state of intoxication.

Jacob Perkins was also again prosecuted for the very serious offense of striking a negro on the head with an axe; so that the ten years of litigation seems to have wrought a very material change in the characters of these combatants. But Edwards soon recovered his self-possession, and lamenting and showing penitence for his folly, with his wife Elizabeth, endeavored to garrison himself by a union with the church in 1732. With this step he gained new courage, in the expectation that thereby he would have the sympathy and support of the best part of society. But they were soon called to face an opponent more difficult to meet than any hitherto involved in the conflict. Henry Gorges who, as we have already stated, owned the fee in the mill and farm (Littlefield being simply lessee under him), came in and claimed the property, brought his suit, and recovered the possession, so that the principal cause of the quarrel was removed. Nevertheless the strife went on.

But we hardly feel justified in giving a further detailed account of the numerous suits and prosecutions which followed the institution of the first action. Suffice it to say, that in our investigations we have followed the controversy nearly to the middle of the century, and have examined between forty and fifty suits and criminal prosecutions between the immediate parties, their descendants, and friends. There seems to have been a disposition to fight it out, to use a common but in this case very apt expression, "to the bitter end." The acrimony and bitterness engendered by the conflicting claims of the widow, the heirs, and their mutual friends could not be appeased by any influences which could be brought to bear upon them. Malice had usurped supreme control over all, and it would not be satisfied so long as any opportunity for the gratification of the spirit of revenge presented itself. Winn fought valiantly until the king of ter-

rors, in 1735, interposed and forced him to lay aside his armor. The controversy did not die with him, but, as is not uncommonly the case, the members of the family turned upon each other. "The father against the son, and the son against the father; the mother-in-law against the daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law," and their foes were "they of their own household." Finally, all the heirs united in a suit against Edwards and wife, to recover the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds, which had previously been decided by the court to be due from them, but which they refused to pay. The heirs recovered judgment for the amount, but Edwards and his wife were determined to pay nothing, and appealed. Jacob Perkins, Joseph Crediford, James Clark, Zachariah Goodale, Eliab Littlefield and others were drawn in, till the conflict culminated in a terrible embroilment. Exasperation reached its highest pitch. The passions of the opponents of Edwards were aroused to such a degree that they were ready to take his life, and on the eighteenth of July (1739), while he was working on his marsh, Jacob Perkins, George Jacobs, jr., and John Jacobs suddenly fell upon him, dragged him to a pond, and forced him down below the water, even into the mud, and while one held him down in that position, Jacob Perkins ran for his pitchfork to thrust him through. But at that moment, or before he could execute his fiendish purpose, a son of Edwards, Joshua, ran to his rescue, and the assailants were driven off. The curses and imprecations showered upon Edwards, appearing by the deposition of Joshua Edwards, now before us (too shocking for insertion upon the historic page), show that the parties must have been wrought up to the highest frenzy. If ever a case occurred where the modern doctrine of "momentary insanity" could be admitted, it could well have been pleaded by these men. They were evidently beside themselves with rage. One would suppose that this terrible encounter would have opened the eyes of the various parties and led them to end their fraternal strife; but not so. Jacobs again and again brought his suit. Any one desirous of further information in regard to this protracted litigation may gratify his curiosity by an examination of the records of our courts from the year 1710 to 1750, during which time he will find one or more suits commenced almost yearly by some of the members of the family or their sympathizers.

Another subject of considerable interest occupied the attention of

the town in the year 1728. In consequence of the destructive wars in which the people had been engaged, the inhabitants, or a large portion of them, had become poor, and many could do but little toward retrieving their previous condition, or toward any enterprise tending to build up and enlarge the settlements, and the Provincial Legislature of Massachusetts this year (1728) adopted the expedient for relieving the people in their distressed condition, by authorizing a loan in bills of credit to be distributed among the various towns in proportion to the taxes paid. Six thousand dollars issued for this purpose. A town meeting was called to choose a committee to receive the amount assigned to Wells, and at the meeting held for this purpose, on June eighteenth, it was voted, "That the money that is our proportional part of the loan money be brought into the town of Wells." Some of the inhabitants strenuously opposed the measure on the ground that the town would thereby become responsible for the repayment, and as some of the persons who would receive a portion of it would not or could not repay, the town might thus be subjected to severe loss. But the people decided to take the risk, and Joseph Hill, Joseph Littlefield, and Samuel Stuart were chosen trustees to receive the sum assigned to Wells, and to let the same out to the inhabitants, not exceeding thirty pounds to one person, with good security. We have not learned that any loss accrued to the town by the relief thus afforded. Probably, all who received paid it according to the terms of the loan. Many good men, who might otherwise have been unable to initiate any important work, were, by this timely aid, inspired with new energy for their employments.

The people of Wells then, as ever since, were dependent on navigation as the main-spring of business. Farming and milling were the occupations of a large majority of them, but these were unprofitable without the aid of vessels, and there were a few men in the town who were glad to avail themselves of the coasting business as a means of profit. All along through the twenty years' peace, ship building was carried on in the yards at Wells. Robert Barret, Enoch Davis, Joseph Hill, John Batson, John Webber, John Winn, John Storer, and Francis Storer built and sailed coasters. These, though chiefly of small burden, were engaged in a more enlarged coasting trade than such vessels are now employed in,—traffic extending to the far south and to the British dominions on the north.

But we purpose to speak more particularly upon this subject in a future chapter.

Although at this period a good degree of prosperity prevailed, and the inhabitants of the town were generally improving their condition, still the same was equally true of other parts of the Province, and other locations presenting greater attractions to those seeking a more extensive business than could reasonably be expected in the future of Wells, several prominent men, whose aims were higher than a mere comfortable maintainance for their families, allured by the prospect of a larger and more extended traffic, were induced to leave the town. The McLellans, since so distinguished in the commercial world, sold their farms and moved to Falmouth, now Portland. The Simontons, also, left about the same time, and we think went to Falmouth. Other valuable men had died about this time; among them Joseph Storer, Thomas Wells, Josiah Winn, John Wheelright, and others. The loss of such men was a great hindrance to the prosperity of the town.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE MEETING-HOUSE—COLLECTION OF MILL RENTS—PARSONAGE BUILT—
STOCKADE BUILT AROUND IT—ALTERATIONS TO THE MEETING-HOUSE—
PAUPERS—DANIEL TUCKER—THROAT DISTEMPER—SCHOOLS—RICHARD
DEAN—FIRST SCHOOL-HOUSE—FIRST SCHOOL IN KENNEBUNK—NATHANIEL
HARRINGTON—ANDREW TYLER—JOHN LESTER—WOLVES—JOSEPH HILL.

As stated in another chapter, soon after the close of the second war, a meeting-house had been commenced and the outside finished; but Indian hostilities and the poverty of the people prevented any further expenditure on it for several years. In 1707, it was "voted and agreed on to Glays & Seale within side of the Meeting House with lime at the towns cost." Though this expression, "at the towns cost," is common and has no special force, it may be well here to say, that at this time it was contrary to law for any persons to build and finish a church on their own account, as it was said such liberties would produce divisions, and regular congregational worship would be interfered with. This was in the midst of the war; but the inhabitants were confident of their ability to protect it. The glazing was absolutely necessary, both for its preservation and for the comfort of the people; but the war was reducing the property of the inhabitants, and some of the best men of the town had been carried into captivity, and, beside, the great freshet of 1708 had done much damage, so that they were unable to carry their votes into effect. The house, therefore, was doomed to stand in its unfinished condition many years longer. In 1714, the people again voted to underpin and finish it, with the addition of galleries, and to pay for it by the collection of all debts due the town, and assessing the balance.

The spirit was good, but the purse was weak, and the vote could not be carried out. In 1719, it was voted that "the selectmen take care of and provide for the repaire of y^e Meeting House at y^e Town

Charge, and to raise money sufficient for that use, viz.: To Underpin and to plaister it withinside in the rooffe, and to mend y^e leaks that shall be found there, and also to build a Tower on said Rooffe." Before passing this vote they had not counted the cost. The return of peace had kindled an enterprising spirit, and they were for making improvements; but the means were not at hand. The tower was not built, and thus the church still remained unfinished, the town voting that "the widow Sarah Knight be allowed forty shillings this year for looking after the Meeting House to keep it cleane and deasent," and making upon it occasionally some small repairs. The people were at work, doing what they could to better their condition, and though the Lovewell war was upon them it did not check the growth of the town. The population was rapidly increasing. In 1725, the county tax was £100. Of this Wells was assessed seventeen pounds ten shillings. This, to us, appears to have been a very light burden; but the inhabitants were poor, and it bore heavily upon them. The mill privileges had been granted on the condition that the grantees should pay an annual rent to the town. These rents varied from one pound to five. But the mill owners were backward in their payments. Some had not paid for several years, till the amount had become so large that they were unable to discharge it. A considerable sum was also due for logs cut on the commons, but the debtors failed to respond to the claim against them. No measures had been taken to enforce the payment of these demands. But the mill privileges were the best property in town, and the inhabitants who had no interest in them, and others who had paid their rents regularly, now insisted that all such claims should be collected. At a town meeting in 1723 this subject produced much excitement, and it was voted that John Wells and Samuel Stewart be a committee to collect them, and to sue all who could not be induced otherwise to pay. Thirteen persons had their dissent from this vote entered upon the records, probably from the belief that the debtors were unable to pay.

A new spirit had taken hold of the minds of the people, and though again in the midst of war, they resolved to build a respectable house for the use of the minister. Until within a few years all the houses had been of one story only; but they voted now to build one "two story high, 38 feet long, with an ell 18 feet long and 16 wide," "to be don and compleated at or before the last day of June

next cum twelve months," which would be in 1727. The work was "to be don workmanlike to the turning of the Kee." The house was built by Samuel Stewart, under the direction of John Wheelright, Dependence Littlefield, and Nathaniel Clark. For the whole work he received about \$315. This house is still standing, and has been occupied by the various successive ministers from that time to the present day. After it was finished they built a large barn and repaired the meeting-house, so that now their parochial accommodations were in a very favorable condition. But amidst the uncertainties which prevailed as to a continued peace with the Indians, it was deemed proper and necessary that the house and the minister should be protected against the exigencies of a new war. No one could tell when it would break forth. No reliance was to be placed on treaties, and as a price was paid by the French in former wars, and very probably the same would be done in any future conflict, for captives in proportion to their standing, the minister, so important to the people, might be the first person seized. They therefore took great care for his protection. Rev. Mr. Jefferds, the settled minister, was very popular, and in 1734 the town voted to build a stockade garrison, 65 feet square, which would surround the house and leave an intervening space sufficient for necessary out-door work. Two timber flankers were also added to the house, from which the view of the sentinel would extend to every part of it. How long this stockade stood, or when the flankers were removed from the house, we have not ascertained.

The population had now increased to such an extent that the meeting-house was not large enough to accommodate all who would attend meeting, and the people were obliged to adopt some measures to obviate this trouble. Accordingly, in 1735, it was voted to add twenty-five feet in length to the northwest end, and to make a new roof over the whole; but this vote was very unsatisfactory to many of the leading men. Deacon Thomas Wells, Samuel Wheelright, Joseph Sawyer, Nathaniel Clark, Samuel Clark, Nathaniel Wells, Richard Boothby, Eleazer Clark, Jeremiah Storer, James Wakefield, William Sayer, and Joshua Wells were earnest in opposition to it. These men were all living at a considerable distance from the church, and either wanted a change in the location or an entirely new house. We think the former was the prevailing reason. The next year they voted to finish the inside, and Capt. John Storer,

Francis Littlefield, and Jacob Perkins were chosen a committee to take charge of the business and finish the house. At another meeting the same year they decided to change the pulpit to the middle of the northeast side of the house, to take down the woman's gallery, and to change all the seats so that they would front the pulpit, making one door at the end and one on the side. The house now stood with the end at the road. The prices of the location of the pews were all fixed. These were all sold to "such persons" as were thought proper. The purchasers were to build their own pews, but they were to be built "in uniform as those were already built." The people in the body of the house and in the galleries were to be seated by the committee. This direction to the committee, after the locations were sold, we shall not attempt to explain. But it was more than the people could do to plan the whole house at one time, and another meeting was soon called, when it was voted "that the women and men's seats in the body of the meeting-house be lengthened so far as the room will allow, and fitted up with seats on the back sides;" and at another meeting, a week afterward, it was voted that "the Places for Pews be ordered, Laid out, and assigned to each particular person by the committee, and that the pews should be don and finished in uniform within one month."

It will be remembered that at this time we were the subjects of England, and much of the spirit of English society prevailed among the people. Certain dignitaries were to be provided with the most eligible pews. Dignity seems then to have consisted in the possession of property and of intellectual attainments above the people generally. Republicanism had not yet taken hold of the hearts of the mass of community. All seem to have recognized the pre-eminence which was awarded to high rank, so that no one objected to the priority in selection which was allowed to these prominent men. This acknowledged distinction will appear more clearly hereafter. Some of the dignitaries were already in the possession of pews in the old portion of the house. The committee was now directed to assign seats "to Deacon Thomas Wells, Deacon Samuel Treadwell, Mr. John Littlefield, Mr. Samuel Hatch, Mr. Samuel Emery, Mr. Joseph Wheelright, Mr. David Littlefield, and Mr. Nicholas Cole, for them and their families to sit in." At another meeting, in August, 1737, it was voted that "Joseph Sayer, Esq., have the old doreway that is between his father's Pue and Mr. Francis Little-

field's given him, to be added to his father's Pue," and "that Mr. Samuel Emery, Mr. Dependence Littlefield have the liberty of cutting out a window against each of there Pues of the same bigness of the other windows, and Joseph Sayer of cuting one out against the old doorway now given him of the same bigness, if they will be att the whole cost of cutting and Glasing."

Notwithstanding so many meetings had been called with special reference to the meeting-house, it was not finished, though more than forty years had passed since it was commenced. The people had not been educated, and therefore did not understand the necessity of a plan before they set out upon the work. Every man had his own undigested schemes for its construction or modification, and thus nothing satisfactory to the whole was accomplished.

We have occupied more space in this account of the erection and completion of the meeting-house than may, to some of our readers, seem necessary. But every one will learn from it something of the character of the people, and of their straits in reference to the means of accomplishing the work. The movers in it had the same difficulties to encounter which in every age obstruct the progress of benevolent and useful designs. There were among the people men of mean, selfish spirits, who had no generous, patriotic impulses to lead them to action for the common good. In the year 1737, as we have before stated, one of the matters for which a town meeting was called was to see "wheather the town book shall be a charge to the town, or whether the book shall support itself or not." At another time, a meeting was called solely for the purpose of raising about thirteen dollars to pay off some small debts. But there were others who had sufficient self-respect to control the proceedings, and to allow such trifling matters no consideration.

Though there was no one among the inhabitants who could be termed wealthy, all had hitherto by prudence and industry, kept themselves from becoming a burden upon the town. They knew not what it was to be obliged to maintain a pauper. Each man had looked out for himself and family alone. But now an entirely new question arose to awaken the deliberative powers of the people when in council. One Smith had died, perhaps had been killed in the war. His estate was so entailed as to be unavailable for the payment of his debts, or for the support of his widow and children. The family were thence in rather a suffering condition, and soon, Elizabeth, one

of the daughters, becoming disabled for self-support, required aid from the town; and thence, in Aug., 1724, the first meeting was called, "to consider of some proper way to take care of the pore." But no system was adopted. They simply voted to raise thirteen pounds "to keep her one year." Soon after Margaret, another daughter, was cast on public charity, and afterwards, Mary the mother. Meetings were called, year after year, "to consider what to do with them, that the town might be eased of the vast charge they were at" in providing for them. Elizabeth died in 1740, and the town voted to choose some mete person to sue for the money expended, "if there is any law to get it." But nothing more seems to have been done till 1745, when Pelatiah Littlefield was chosen "to sew widdow Mary Smith's Estate of Wells, or Elswhere any may be found, to get what the town has expended on the children." But no good resulted from this vote. They then petitioned the general court that the entailment might be taken off, so that they might get hold of the property, but with what success we know not.

There is only one other instance of pauperism up to 1750 which we have discovered. That was the case of Daniel Tucker, of whom our readers have often heard in song, if in no other way. He had become lame and sick and was in "a miserable condition." In January, 1728, a town meeting was called "to consider what may be proper to be don concerning Daniel Tucker, who is not able to do any kind of service." He had been bound to Gershom Maxey, to whom had been paid ten pounds for taking care of him. Meeting after meeting was called to consider of his case; and finally it was said he was "in such a miserable condition that he could not continue long," and Malachi Edwards and Jacob Perkins were chosen a committee "to take care that Daniel Tucker be carried to some Dockter as soon as possible in order for his cure." But the committee did not respond to their commission, and a new meeting was called, when the selectmen were directed to agree with Dr. Bulman of York, at an expense not exceeding fifty pounds, to take the cure and charge of him. Thus he was carried out of town and ceased to trouble the people. When and how he closed his unfortunate life does not appear. But he lived long enough to do some good in the world, though undoubtedly the selfishness of many was gratified in having him out of the way. His contemporaries were compelled to exercise their charity in ministering to him of their abundance.

Many of them, were they now living, would undoubtedly join heart and hand with the boys of our day in singing the popular song, "Get out of the way, old Dan Tucker."

These pauper cases were specially hard on the town, from the fact that the people were, at the same time, called to experience and contend with various other adversities. All New England suffered much at this time from the throat distemper, which according to Smith's journal, first appeared in Kingston, N. H. It is said to have been "the most fatal scourge that ever visited New England, and rapidly hurried its subjects to the grave." "The throat swelled, became colored with ash colored specs; great debility and prostration ensued with putrefaction." In Wells, this disease was very fatal, though we have been unable to ascertain who were the subjects of it, and upon what families it fell with most severity. There was also at the same time a great scarcity of the necessities of life. Smith says, under the head, April 21, 1737, "All the talk is—no corn, no hay, and there is not a peck of potatoes to eat in all the eastern country." In addition to all these untoward influences, the public mind began to be disturbed from apprehensions of renewed Indian hostilities. These fears harrassed the people many years; and they were not destitute of foundation. In 1740 John Storer was sent by the government to Fort Richmond and St. Georges to repair the forts there, and put them in order for defense. When he arrived at St. Georges' Truck-house, Major Moxus' son Augustin, came to him, saying he was glad to see him, and informed him "that the French had made presents of wampum to the Arrosecuntocook Indians, and that they had taken up the hatchet against the English, and at the same time there were also presents of wampum sent to the Arrosecuntocook Indians to be delivered to the Penobscot tribe, to persuade them into such measures as to take up the hatchet against the English, but the Penobscots utterly refused and sent back the presents," and, therefore, he thought there would be no war this summer. But the confidence thus expressed by the Indian could not entirely remove all anxiety. The French were always intent on kindling and spreading the fires of vengeance among the settlers.

Notwithstanding all the disheartening agencies which were at work to retard the progress of the settlement, and to repress all action beyond that for the immediate support of their families, the interest of the people on the subject of education was annually in-

creasing. The subject of schools, at every meeting, absorbed much attention. Mr. Jefferds, the new minister, was a young man, graduating at Harvard in 1722, and fully appreciating the necessity of schools, he could not have failed to exert his influence on parents, to do what they could to maintain them. Still old thoughts and habits were yet so far in the ascendancy, that no great liberality of expenditure for that purpose could be expected. The scale of life among the people had been one of rigid economy. Everything to be acquired must be at the smallest possible expense; so that in 1724, it was voted that the "selectmen should get an able schoolmaster, to teach in reading, writing and arithmetic;" the school to be six months in the middle of the town, and three months at each end; meaning Ogunquit and Cole's corner; but they were not to pay him over £45, about one hundred and fifty dollars. Under this instruction they secured the services of Richard Dean, who kept school three years. How well qualified he was for the service we have no means of judging. He was not liberally educated, yet he may have been an efficient instructor. But they were obliged to increase the pay to fifty pounds. In 1728, the town voted to have the school kept near the center, that is in the vicinity of the meeting-house, five or six miles from Merryland, and six or seven from Kennebunk, so that those living in these two places were entirely cut off from its benefits; but the dwellers in the village had the control of town affairs in their hands, and the suburbs were powerless and must submit to the action of the majority.

The population was now rapidly extending over the town, and those in the outskirts demanded some share in the appropriation. Of what benefit could a school near the meeting-house be to those living six or seven miles from it? Why should they be compelled to contribute year after year for the maintainance of schools, when they were deprived of all benefit from them? But this argument had no effect, and the town continued to spend the money at the center and the two ends. In 1730, they even voted to spend it all at the center. But those in the precincts could endure this illiberality no longer; and the next year it was voted that the families dwelling in Merryland, being remote from the town and not able to send their children to the town school, should be exempted from paying anything to the town schoolmaster, on condition that they maintained a constant school for teaching their children among themselves, to the value of

twelve pounds or upwards for the year; and the families to the eastward of Mousam river were allowed five pounds, "on condition that they keep a school for teaching their children to that value or upwards." This was the introduction of schools in Merryland and Kennebunk. The people in Ogunquit had this year built a school-house, which was the first in town. The remainder of the money was spent here and at Capt. Samuel Wheelright's at the eastern end. Though there was a little more liberality in the disposition of the money this year than had been manifested before, it does not seem to have had any permanent basis in the convictions of men. It was several years before anything was allowed to Kennebunk. The school was kept at Samuel Stewart's, and near Caleb Kimball's, Samuel Treadwell's, and the town lot. One year "two months schooling" was allowed to Merryland. In 1734, it was voted that two school-houses should be built by the town; one on the ministerial lot, and the other near Deacon Samuel Treadwell's; each of one story, and 22 feet by 16. Of the cost of these school-houses, Kennebunk had to pay about one-fifth, though no benefit whatever accrued to the people of that part of the town. It was not till 1740, that any material allowance was made to them, though they had paid the same proportion of the money raised for schools, as was drawn from them to build these houses. But this year they determined to submit to this grievance no longer, and petitioned that a special meeting be called to obtain the justice which was their due, and at this meeting it was voted "that there be a schoolmaster got for the Remote part of the town for the year ensuing," and four months were allowed for "Kennebunk and Mousam," "two at Arrisicket, and four at Meriland." After this period the action of the town seems to indicate a more generous spirit. In 1741, it was voted that two schoolmasters be provided for the town; one of them a grammar schoolmaster. A portion of four months and a half was allowed to Merryland, and four months in Kennebunk, near James Wakefield's, who lived at the Landing. The schools were kept at private houses in various parts of the town; at John Winn's, Joseph Getchell's, and at Mr. Jefferds'. Nathaniel Harrington was the teacher several years, from 1728. He graduated at Cambridge that year and was a popular instructor. In 1741, they were kept by Andrew Tyler, who graduated in 1738, and afterward became a minister of the gospel. In the same year by John Lester. We know nothing in his favor.

He was arrested for a small debt contracted in Exeter, and probably his connection with the schools then closed. Those from Harvard College were grammar schoolmasters. Lester and Tyler, we suppose, were instructors in the lower schools. Up to 1750, either much of the exclusive spirit which ruled in previous years still lingered among the people, or those [in the ancient part of the town thought the dwellers between the Kennebunk and Mousam, as well as those in Ogunquit and Merryland, were not sufficiently versed in the rudiments of learning, to be prepared for instruction in the higher branches, for, in that year, they voted to have a grammar schoolmaster near Treadwell's, Jefferds' and Cole's, and a schoolmaster at Merryland, Kennebunk and Ogunquit.

During the period covered by this chapter their old enemies, the wolves, so destructive in the early days of the settlement, seem to have caused the people great annoyance. The wilderness was still all about the town, and its recesses afforded them safe places for refuge during the day time, while at night they came forth for havoc, and by their howlings frequently made the darkness hideous, so that the town was always ready to offer a bounty for their destruction. In 1730, five pounds were paid; a few years afterward, eight pounds. In 1747, it was voted that eight pounds should be paid to every person who should kill one; if he killed two, he should have twelve pounds each; if three, sixteen pounds each. The people seem to have been excited and enraged by the destruction which they suffered from them. Some of the hunters who scoured the woods in their pursuit occasionally took advantage of the eagerness of the people to exterminate them, and claimed the bounty in cases not contemplated by the voters, so that in 1734 it was "voted to give five pounds to every person killing a grown wolf and three pound for a wolfe's whelp within the towne, the whelps to be such as are pupied and not found in the bitch's beley." In subsequent years, the game was required to be full grown to claim the highest bounty; a smaller sum was allowed for whelps. The action of the town for the destruction of wolves continued till about 1770, after which the municipal war against them was abandoned.

Town meetings, which were holden at all hours of the day, from eight o'clock in the morning to five in the afternoon, were then, as now, occasions of general interest. The distribution of the school money was a matter which took hold of the attention of all, and

every measure proposed was calculated, to some extent, to come home to the special interest of each inhabitant by its effect on the purse. Their available taxable property was limited. Aside from their stock, there was but little on which they could draw to discharge their public burdens. The settlements were sparse, and each one had abundance of land from which to gather the common necessities of life; but there was no market for their produce. Whether there was a prevailing ambition for office we are unable to answer; but to the office of constable there was intense repugnance. The record shows no reason for this aversion; but it was difficult to find any one who would take upon himself its responsibilities. Sooner than accept it, the people would at once come forward and pay the fine, about sixteen dollars, for refusal. It was, undoubtedly, hard to collect the taxes, and very naturally the collector's reception by the people, when in the prosecution of that duty, was not very cordial. The other business of the office was not very remunerative. The following copy of the return of an officer on a precept now before us shows something of the difficulties of the office, as well as the intellectual culture of the official: "July the first 1756. pursuant to the with In excecution to me directed I tried to take the with In named John Senckler And he would not be taeken, but keeps me of with fors and arms—Jabez Dorman june Constobel." The office was one of importance, and carried with it some dignity, but the opposition to it was very decided. At a meeting of the town, March 29, 1736, Nathaniel Kimball, John Gooch, John Gillpatrick, Richard Kimball, John Wakefield, Jeremiah Littlefield, and David Lawson were successively chosen constables; but each one refused the office and paid down his fine, five pounds. The whole amounted to £35, or about \$120. In consequence of the obnoxiousness of the office, town meetings were frequently called for no other business than to choose a constable in place of some one who had declined.

Died July 12, 1743, JOSEPH HILL, aged 73. He was the son of Roger Hill, of Saco, who married Mary Cross, of Wells, 1658. He was a prominent man among the inhabitants, though he does not appear to have been much in public office. We are inclined to the opinion that he sympathized much with the English aristocracy, and that his intercourse was marked with that courteous and gentlemanly demeanor which the best civilization of that day inculcated. He

had a good property, and indulged in a style of life above that of most of the people of that period, and was anxious that the dignity of the family should be maintained through all coming time. He therefore made such an entail of his estate that from generation to generation it should "bear up" the name of Hill. He was commissioned as a magistrate, and was representative in 1727; collector of the excise in 1734. Various municipal offices were committed to him, and in the disposition of pews in the meeting-house the best appears to have been conceded to him, as a matter of propriety. He had three slaves, Sharper, Plato, and the "negro boy Tom." In his will he gave the first and the last to his wife, Plato to his son Nathaniel, and to the church and the minister each ten pounds. His wife, the mother of his children, was Hannah Littlefield, who died Oct. 10, 1738. Having no sympathy with celibacy, and his own experience concurring with the declaration of Infinite Wisdom that it "is not good for man to be alone," he two months afterward, Dec. 12, 1738, married Sarah, daughter of Daniel Sayer.

He had five children, Joseph, Benjamin, Nathaniel, Hannah, and Peninah. Joseph married Mary Emery; Nathaniel married Priscilla Littlefield; Hannah, Rev. Samuel Jefferds.

CHAPTER XXIV.

NEW CANDIDATES FOR THE MINISTRY—REV. SAMUEL JEFFERDS ORDAINED
—CHURCH DISCIPLINE—BIOGRAPHY OF MR. JEFFERDS—INVITATION TO
REV. SAMUEL FAYRWEATHER—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO ORDAIN HIM
—REV. GIDEON RICHARDSON ORDAINED—HIS DEATH—REV. MOSES HEM-
MENWAY ORDAINED.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Mr. Emery, the town again set earnestly to work to fill the pulpit. Col. John Wheelright and Deacon Thomas Wells were appointed a committee to visit the headquarters at Boston and Cambridge and obtain some one to preach several Sundays. As they had enjoyed the ministrations of several persons, for some of whom they had decided predilections, the committee were directed to apply first to Mr. Lowell; then to Mr. Thompson; then to Mr. Haile, and then to Mr. Dennis. Mr. Thompson was engaged and preached six weeks. Ministers were then treated with great courtesy and respect. It was customary to designate some persons as an escort to attend them on their return as far as the Piscataqua river. Capt. Joseph Hill and John Storer were appointed to accompany Mr. Thompson and to obtain another candidate. They were requested to apply to Mr. Haile, and also to apologize to Mr. Thompson for so doing, alleging that the town reserved the liberty of employing Mr. Haile or any other person. Mr. Haile preached six weeks. Samuel Stewart and Francis Sayer were chosen to escort him to Piscataqua and to apply to several to preach successively as candidates. Mr. Thompson was to be applied to first, then Mr. Dennis. If both declined, the committee were instructed to engage some other young minister. We suppose the Mr. Thompson here referred to was Rev. William Thompson, who was settled in Scarboro in 1728. The ministers thus employed were paid about four dollars a Sabbath, though in every case the committees were directed, in addition, to give them the thanks of the town

for their visits and services. Neither Thompson nor Dennis acceded to the invitation of the committee, and Mr. Samuel Jefferds, a young man who graduated at Harvard in 1722, was engaged. He preached for them six months, and his services were so acceptable that the church voted to invite him to settle as their minister, and the town unanimously concurred in the vote. Col. John Storer, Deacon Joseph Storer, Mr. Jonathan Littlefield, Samuel Hatch, and Francis Sayer were appointed a committee to extend to him the invitation. The two bodies met together at the meeting-house Nov. 22, 1725, when the following letter from Mr. Jefferds, in reply to the invitation, was read:

"To the Church of Christ in Wells at their meeting now in the Meeting House in said town, and to the inhabitants of said town at their meeting now at the same place.

Hon^d and Beloved,

It having pleased the LORD Jesus Christ, the Great Head of the Church, who rules in Zion, some Time since, to direct you in the choice of a Minister and Pastor unto me, I cant but admire the condescending Grace of Christ unto me, who am less than the least of all Saints, That I, together with my poor labors, should be acceptable to you his people. I also bear thankful Resentments of your Expressions of Love and Generosity to me, and do hereby declare my acceptance of your Call unto me to the work of the Ministry and the Pastoral Office among you, of a ready mind: Assuring you that I shall give up myself to the Service of Christ according to my Measure, for the promoting the Spiritual and everlasting Good of you and yours, as not doubting but you will ever provide according to your Ability for the honorable Support of the Gospel and my comfortable Subsistence with you, and so requesting your Prayers to God for me that he would enable by his Grace faithfully to perform The work and Service whereunto you have called me, I am your Servant for Jesus sake. Nov. 21, 1725. SAMUEL JEFFERDS."

Dec. 15th was appointed the day for his ordination. This consecration of a minister to his work was, in that day, regarded as an occasion of great public interest. The people gathered together from all the surrounding towns. The candidate was to be set apart for life. The short pastorates of a few years only had their origin

within the present century. The order of proceeding did not differ materially from that now pursued, though we judge from the record that one part of the ceremony has been dispensed with in modern times. It is said that he was ordained to the pastoral office "by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery of the Church of York, the two Churches of Kittery, and the Church of Berwick." These churches were represented by their pastors and delegates. The Rev. Samuel Moody, of York, made the introductory prayer. The Rev. Jeremiah Wise, of Berwick, preached from Acts xx. 24. Rev. Mr. Newcomb, of Kittery, gave the charge, and the Rev. Mr. Rogers, of Kittery, the right hand of fellowship. The Bible was not then read at ordinations, or as one of the services of the Sabbath.

Mr. Jefferds appears to have been a very acceptable minister, quietly pursuing his pastoral duties. We assume it as highly probable that the rules adopted by the church for the government of the body of communicants were suggested by him. They were not of a very rigorous character. The requirements for admission were not such as to exclude any whose outward morality was not inconsistent with the demands of the gospel. One which was adopted soon after his ordination, does not seem to us to indicate a very high estimate of the requisitions of a professed Christian discipleship. "No person," says the rule, "who has fallen into any scandalous sin shall be admitted before he shall make a particular public confession of and repentance for such sin and offense before them, provided the fall and offense be public," and should have none of the privileges of the covenant. We are in doubt as to the intended import of the last clause of this rule, and therefore forbear comment. But it cannot be supposed that any Christian church would think of admitting to membership a person upon whom such a stigma had fallen. The adoption of this regulation would seem to imply that any man who had been guilty of an odious crime, might purge himself from its criminality by merely confessing his aberration and declaring his repentance of it. It would seem much more consonant with the principles of a sound Christianity that such an one, whose spirit was thus diseased, should remain on probation a long time before being permitted to come up to the Lord's table, that is, if any man assumes to have authority to determine who shall enjoy the privilege. If any barriers are to be placed around it, they should be of such a character as to exclude all whose lives are not in fellowship with the

life and example of the Master. But Mr. Jefferds was of a kind and charitable spirit. Sensible of his own fallibility, he was disposed to look upon the aberrations of his fellow-men with, perhaps, more of pity and commiseration than true charity would require. He would not break the bruised reed. Notwithstanding the strict requirements made of the disciple of the Master, he was ready to come to the aid of the unfortunate offender in the dark hour of his sin. We see this in several instances during his ministry. Even the deacon, Thomas Wells, who, for his obliquities during the pastorate of Mr. Emery, had been suspended from the church in 1732, seems to have been guilty of a little dissimulation in his apology for again neglecting to provide for and set the communion table. "It was entirely owing," he said, "to his misunderstanding of Mrs. Hatch, whom he employed to bake the bread and set the table. He supposed, when he asked if she had the flour, she answered in the affirmative, though he said she had not." But he had been guilty of the neglect for two successive Sabbaths, and the failure must have been the subject of conversation in the daily intercourse of the communicants. Yet he seems to have delayed offering any explanation until a church meeting was called to inquire into the matter, and then, after its adjournment, he presents his equivocal apology. We cannot refrain from the conclusion that his disregard of his plain duty had its source in some other cause than that which was stated, and yet the church and the minister were satisfied with the explanation.

So also at a meeting in 1733, the record says: "the confessions offered to the church by two of the brethren thereof, respecting their disorderly walk, are satisfactory;" and again in 1734, at a church meeting holden at the meeting-house, "occasioned by Peter Littlefield wounding his brother John Littlefield by a blow in his anger upon some matter of difference between them," upon the said Peter's confessing his fault therein, and professing his repentance therefor, the church was satisfied; while John Littlefield was faulty in some measure himself in receiving the blow; and the members of the church were required to use their influence to make him sensible of it. Again in 1736, "the offense given unto the church by William Patten, in the Hand it appears to them he had in promoting the forging of Bills in imitation of public bills of Credit lately found out, and in uttering of them, being considered, the Church voted that William Patten shall make a public confession of his above

mentioned offense unto the whole Church, immediately before the next administration of the Lord's supper, and give the same into the Church in writing as he would expect to be admitted to the privilege of special ordinances with them;" [and accordingly he confessed "his having had a criminal hand in the scandalous affair respecting bills forged, repenting sincerely;" and he was on this readmitted, though a long while suspended. In 1738, Joseph Hamlin confessed having received stolen goods, and the church were satisfied.

Although these proceedings exhibit much of a charitable and forgiving spirit on the part of minister and people, yet when it is considered that the Eucharist was held by the church to be under their care and control, we cannot but feel that more latitude was here given to human frailties, than was consistent with a wise oversight of these Christian ordinances. We cannot believe that in these cases the religion of Christ was the ruling principle of life, and that the offenses were such slight departures from it, that confession and professed repentance should have authorized condonation and renewed fellowship. If Mr. Jefferds and the church had regarded the table as the Lord's, they might very well, so far as concerned themselves, have pardoned the injury which had been done, leaving to the transgressors alone the responsibility of coming to the holy sacrament unworthily.

Mr. Jefferds, though endowed with but ordinary intellectual power, was useful in his ministerial relations. He evidently labored to promote a kind and peaceful disposition among his people, so that he drew to himself their sympathy and good will. And they in return, were ready to come to his help in all his domestic concerns. The dwelling-house of which we have spoken was built for him; and as the money currency was continually depreciating, the town voted several successive years to add thirty pounds to his salary. In 1736, it was increased eighty pounds. In 1738, one hundred; afterward, one hundred and fifty; and then three hundred. And more than all, as exhibiting their strong attachment to him, and readiness to make any sacrifice on his account, in 1748 they called a town meeting, "to act and do anything that may be thought Proper and Reasonable, in any affair wherein the Rev. Samuel Jefferds be concerned." Afterward in 1749, Joseph Sayer, Joshua Wells, Samuel Stuart, Nathaniel Wells, Caleb Kimball, Benjamin Stevens, Richard Boothby, Daniel Morrison and Gershom Maxwell were chosen a committee to

"Consider the Difference of money and the Necessaries of life now from what they were when Rev. Samuel Jefferds was settled among us, and to see whether the town has made his sallery as Good from time to time as what he first agreed for."

Mr. Jefferds did all he could for the harmony of his people. Having imbibed much of the spirit of puritanism, and educated in the principles of congregationalism, he could not but feel that any departure from it should not be encouraged or tolerated. One Daniel Rogers, an itinerant preacher in 1742, addressed to him a letter, requesting his influence to obtain for him liberty "to preach the everlasting gospel." But he refused to favor his request. Order in the ministry was then considered to be material to the growth of a sound religion. The church also opposed the granting of any such license.

Mr. Jefferds was strongly impressed with the opinion that Quakerism was a great evil, as were the divines of Massachusetts generally. This hostility against this harmless denomination, although more intense in the preceeding century, when the sect were styled vagabonds and enemies of Christianity, and were not allowed to abide in any of the towns, but were driven out and whipped, and if they returned even put to death, continued till near the close of Mr. Jefferds' ministry, though it had in some measure abated. The ministers in Maine were much troubled by its extension in this Province, and held fasts in different places, to implore the Divine interposition to stay its progress. Under the date of July 3, 1740, says Smith's Journal, "The church kept a day of fasting and prayer on account of the spread of Quakerism. Mr. Jefferds and myself prayed A. M. Mr. Thompson preached; Mr. Allen and Mr. Lord prayed, and Mr. Willard preached P. M." Sept. 17, 1741, "a fast was holden at Wells," probably on the same account. "Mr. Jefferds prayed and I preached, P. M., and was more than two hours in the sermon; preached extempore all the application, had great help."

We are not to ascribe the apprehensions of these faithful servants of the master to any illiberality of feeling. The doctrines and habits of the Friends were repugnant to all the theology, modes of worship, and of church edification to which they had been accustomed from early life; and they felt deeply that their prevalence would endanger the peace and perhaps the existence of the church of Christ. New England was not then so far enlightened as to have divested itself of all the follies, superstitions, conceits, and erroneous opinions which

marked the previous century. The church still continued to feel that there was no religion without its pale; and thence recognized the importance of a constant striving against the entrance of noxious error.

Mr. Jefferds was, we may well suppose, the leader in his own precinct in all measures, having for their object, the promotion of a sound religion; and was ready to endorse all action fitted to give it strength and vitality. It was considered then, that one object of law was to compel men to an obedience to its precepts. Every man was thence required to place himself in position for the reception of religious instruction. This duty was enforced, without respect of persons. In 1737, Samuel Emons, Edward Evans, Caleb Kimball, Samuel Littlefield, Edmund Littlefield, and Edmund Littlefield, jr., were all indicted for not attending public worship. These men lived in Kennebunk, seven miles from the meeting-house, and found it very inconvenient to attend church on the Sabbath. But we are inclined to the belief that their attachments to the sanctuary were not very strong. Others were guilty of the same neglect. This indifference was strikingly manifest about the middle of Mr. Jefferds' ministry, when so many were accustomed to neglect public worship that a committee of the church was appointed to inquire into the causes of this non-attendance. Mr. Jefferds was probably a little slack in his preparations for the pulpit. He owned a part of a saw-mill at Great Falls, the profits of which may have had too much sway over his sense of obligation to his people. Still we believe him to have been, on the whole, faithful to his trust; and that his failure, if any, was in his misconception of the needs of the human soul. His preaching, though sound, did not come to his hearers with sufficient power to bind them to the altar. The generality of men, then as now, preferred excitement to logic. Some of the ministers looked on the revival growing out of the preaching of Whitefield in 1743, as seriously jeopardizing the great interests of religion. But the discontents were principally in Massachusetts. In Maine, nearly all were united in its support, though they strongly condemned much of the theology to which it had given rise as repugnant to the teachings of Christ; still more, the dangerous practices which had become current, especially that of illiterate men attempting to become preachers of the gospel, and assuming authority to judge the hearts of others, and denouncing those who could not assent to their views

in reference to the mode of preaching, and the manifestation of its effects. Mr. Jefferds sustained the revival, though with much misgiving as to the danger in which the order of the gospel was involved. It does not seem to have reached Wells. The excitement died away without any additions to the church.

During the ministry of Mr. Jefferds he baptized 484 males and 451 females. In the later years of his ministry he occasionally preached at Kennebunk, to which place he was escorted in military style, several citizens of that part of the town usually going to Wells on horseback, with their arms, and accompanying him on his journey from his home, and also on his return. Great care was taken during his whole pastorate for his protection and comfortable support. We have not learned that any dissatisfaction with his parochial services or personal deportment ever existed. He was a man with, and of the people.

Mr. Jefferds was the son of Simon Jefferds of Salem, Mass., where he was born in 1703. He married Sarah, daughter of Col. John Wheelright, Oct. 27, 1727, and died of pleuretic fever, Feb. 1, 1752. Forty pounds were raised by the parish to pay the expenses of his funeral, and his salary was continued to his widow to the end of the year, during which time, also, she was allowed to occupy the parsonage house.

The people set about the matter of filling the vacancy immediately after the death of Mr. Jefferds. Mr. Samuel Fayrweather, who graduated at Cambridge in 1743, was requested to preach as a candidate. He supplied the pulpit two months, and the church was so well satisfied with his services that he received a unanimous vote to settle over them in the ministry. The town also on the sixteenth of June voted to concur with the church in the invitation, and to offer him a salary of £93 6s. 8d. The records give us no information as to the division in the balloting on this subject. It is very manifest that there were some dissentients. The disagreement was not abated by lapse of time. The invitation was duly extended to Mr. Fayrweather, but he made no reply to it. Month after month the town waited for his answer. After waiting nine months, March 16, the following answer was returned. It gives no apology for the strange procrastination. Neither does it exhibit any appreciation of the injury done to the society by his negligence.

"To the First Church of Christ in Wells, and to the Inhabitants of said town now at their Meeting House.

Grace, Mercy & Peace be multiplied unto you and yours through Jesus Christ our Lord.

As gratitude is esteemed among the Social virtues the greatest, so I can do no less (at this time) than thank you for unmerited Respect, in constantly attending on my ministrations and giving me a unanimous call to the work of the sacred ministry among you. You have all had a taste of my gifts and see that by the grace of God, I am what I am; unto me who am the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach the unsearchable riches of Christ. As it is eleven months since I gave you my first Fruits, and nine since I was honored with your call, it may now be reasonably expected that I give my final answer respecting this matter, and my answer to you, gentlemen, is, upon the maturest deliberation, that I accept the call, not for filthy lucre's sake, but of a ready mind; humbly relying on the Strength and Grace of Christ, to assist me in a so arduous and important a work. May I be a precious Gift of an ascended Saviour, a workman that need not be ashamed! rightly dividing the word of Truth, and giving to every one his portion in due Season. May a double portion of that spirit which rested on my dear and worthy Predecessors, descend on and animate me through all the parts and branches of my duty. Brethren, pray for me, and as you have voted such a sum so cheerfully for my Support, so do I confide in you for the Punctual Payment of it according to your vote. So giving myself up to God in the First Place, I most heartily by his blessed Will, resign myself up to you his people in your service in the Glorious Gospel. Subscribing myself most affectionately your Servant for Jesus' sake.

SAMUEL FAYRWEATHER."

Notwithstanding the objections in the minds of a portion of the town, the 23d day of May, 1753, was appointed for his ordination. He had some strong friends in the church, among whom were the Wheelrights, Col. John Storer, Capt. John Winn, Peter Littlefield, Daniel Chaney and others. A council of more than fifty was called to advise and assist at the ordination. But the opponents could not be reconciled to the proceeding. We have not learned all the objections to the candidate. But, we think the leading one was his insult to the society in delaying his response to their invitation nearly

a year; probably with the hope of obtaining a position more favorable to his personal interests; and further, that he had been guilty of some "imprudences," which we find nowhere specifically stated. The attempt to ordain him had created a great excitement, so that that charity which thinketh no evil, was not very manifest in the intercourse and proceedings of all the parties. The objections, we suppose, were well understood by all the churches before the council assembled, as some, who were chosen delegates, and did not attend, sent their dissent to the ordination in writing. Forty-eight were present. Of these, thirty-six were favorable to Mr. Fayrweather and twelve against him. The majority regarded the objections as trifling and uncharitable; but as the opposition was so strong, and might increase to such an extent as to jeopardize the harmony of the society, they adjudged it best that he should not be ordained; though at the same time they denounced the heat and uncharitableness of the opposition, as "an infringement upon the rights of society." They regarded the candidate as of unblemished character, and recommended him to the service of all the churches.

He yielded to the adjudication of the council with becoming complacency, praying that it might be "overruled in much mercy to the church and congregation, and that the people might be led to own the hand of God in it," though he was "greatly concerned for Wells, and his heart trembled for the ark of God in that place," and he would still "pray that peace might be within its walls." We have but little knowledge of Mr. Fayrweather beyond what is developed in these proceedings. Soon after the decision of the council, he preached two Sundays at one of the leading churches in Boston with such acceptance that he was invited to supply the pulpit two Sundays more.

The council having thus refused assent to the ordination of Mr. Fayrweather, the church and town were necessitated to seek another candidate. Gideon Richardson, of Sudbury, was invited to preach. He had graduated at Harvard in 1749. At this time education was esteemed so essential by all the people that it was difficult for one who was not a graduate of some college to find acceptance with a council of Congregational ministers. We are unable to state with whom he studied in preparation for the ministry; but the people were highly pleased with his pulpit services, and at a meeting of the church on the 22d day of October, 1753, it was voted unanimously

to extend to him a call to the pastoral office. At a town meeting on the 12th of November following, it was voted to concur with the church in this invitation, and to give him as a salary eighty pounds with the use of the parsonage. The invitation was accepted, and the 27th of February, 1754, designated for his ordination. On this occasion fifteen churches were assembled in council. The public services were opened with prayer by Rev. Thomas Smith, of Portland. Sermon by the Rev. Mr. Loring, from 2d Thess. v. 11, 12. Rev. Mr. Wise, of Berwick, gave the charge; Rev. Mr. Thompson the right hand of fellowship, and Rev. Seth Storer offered the concluding prayer. Mr. Storer was the son of Joseph Storer, of Wells.

Our knowledge of Mr. Richardson is very meagre. The unanimity with which he was invited to settle over the parish speaks well of his ministerial qualifications. He appears to have been firm in the principles of Congregationalism and decided in his action. In those days, whatever was done by the church may well be regarded as done at the suggestion and with the support of the minister. The question of the settlement of Mr. Clark over the second church in Falmouth, in 1755 and 1756, produced great excitement in all the churches. A violent opposition arose in the town against his ordination. A large council was called which sustained the opposition. Again and again the churches were invited to convene to ordain him; but though at four different times Mr. Richardson was invited to attend with delegates he declined to do so. The ministers could not agree as to the course of action in settling the question. Some contended, we suppose, that every minister and delegate should vote; others that all votes should be taken by churches. Mr. Little refused to attend and participate in the council unless the proceedings were governed by the latter rule. Richardson, we think, took the same view of it. The fact that a large council had once refused ordination was conclusive with him and his church.

But during his pastorate another vote was passed by the church which does not, in our view, exhibit a very wise judgment of the interests of the church. The record says that there was "a great prevalency of a violation of the seventh commandment," and looking upon it to be the duty of the church "to do something to suppress this gross and scandalous sin," it was voted "that all such persons residing among us as shall be guilty of the violation of the seventh commandment shall not be restored to the charity of the

church without making a written acknowledgment of their sin and profession of their repentance before the church and in the presence of the congregation." The man who would be guilty of the offense, if it was known in the community, would have no hesitation in professing repentance, or in signing an acknowledgment of his transgression. Promises and professions are of little value in comparison with a life of integrity and unbending fidelity.

During his short life Mr. Richardson seems to have been successful in his ministrations. While thus settled at Wells, he baptized 109 males and 110 females. We presume that he was constitutionally feeble. The great earthquake, it was said, gave a severe shock to his nervous system, from the effects of which he never recovered. He died on the 17th day of March, 1758. His funeral was probably attended by large numbers, as great preparations were made for the occasion. Among the provisions made were four gallons of rum, four pairs of gloves, turkey, chickens, and a ring. For what purpose the latter was furnished we cannot state.

Mr. Richardson was followed by Moses Hemmenway, who subsequently became one of the most eminent theologians of New England. He was duly ordained on the eighth day of August, 1759. His uncle, Rev. Phineas Hemmenway, preached the sermon; Rev. Mr. Lyman, of York, offered the ordaining prayer; Rev. Mr. Harrington, of Lancaster, gave the charge; Rev. Mr. Little, of the Second Parish, the right hand of fellowship, and Rev. Mr. Lancton, of York, made the concluding prayer. At ordinations, as well as funerals, the physical man was carefully provided for, and on this occasion, to sustain the body, while provision was thus being made for the soul, three gallons of rum were purchased, wine to the value of £1 10s. 6d., and cider, £1 2s. 6d.

Dr. Hemmenway having attained a high rank among the distinguished men of the last century, we shall endeavor to give a full biographical sketch of his character in a future chapter.

CHAPTER XXV.

EXPEDITION TO LOUISBURG—LIST OF VOLUNTEERS FROM WELLS—LETTERS OF GEN. PEPPERELL, COL. STORER, REV. SAMUEL JEFFERDS, MRS. BULMAN—LIST OF SOLDIERS WHO DIED AT CAPE BRETON—FEARS ENTERAINED OF AN ATTACK BY THE FRENCH FLEET—SHIPWRECK ON MT. DESERT—INDIAN ATTACKS UPON BRUNSWICK, FALMOUTH, SCARBORO, AND SACO—ANECDOTE OF JOHN BUTLAND—MURDER OF MRS. WALKER—ATTEMPT TO SURPRISE LARRABEE'S GARRISON—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF COL. JOHN³ WHEELRIGHT.

DURING nearly twenty years of peace the population of the town had largely increased, and the inhabitants, by the steady pursuit of their various employments, had gained material strength. The Indians had, with good fidelity, fulfilled the obligations of the treaty and were on terms of friendly intercourse with them. Some, as stated in another chapter, were living, a portion of the year, in different places in the town of Wells. Their numbers had been much reduced by the former wars. The English settlements at Arundel, Biddeford, Saco, and on the seacoast as far as Pemaquid had been renewed, and thus an active population of many thousands was spread over the Province, so that the fears, which, in former years, had paralyzed the arm of industry and filled life in the wilderness with fearful anxieties, had ceased to trouble the minds of the inhabitants. But the Indians were yet under the control of the French priesthood. The power of treaties, the most solemn, was insufficient to overcome its baneful influence. A war had arisen between England and Spain, and France, ever ready for any enterprise which might curtail the power of the former, joined hands with Spain, and thus again introduced here the flame of discord and strife. The old spirit of revenge against their neighbors was kindled again in the hearts of the Indians.

The French had attacked Canseau and destroyed the whole village before any knowledge of the war had reached Boston. They

also attacked the garrison at Annapolis, though they failed to capture it. The eastern Indians, it was found, were also engaged in these assaults on the English possessions, and the government declared war against them, while every exertion was put forth to calm the tribes who were scattered within or bordered upon the Provinces. Gov. Shirley wrote to Pepperell to charge upon the people here to avoid all provocations which might excite them to engage in the war against us. Pepperell wrote to Major Storer to endeavor to impress this caution on the people, and to see that they were provided with arms and ammunition, concluding that "if an enemy should come upon any place, and the people should be destroyed for want of arms and ammunition, I think their blood would be much upon the officers' hands." A large stock of ammunition had been forwarded to Wells and was deposited with Storer. An embargo had also been ordered, which he was to take care should be rigidly enforced. Volunteers were called for to watch the movements of the Indians and to allay the fears of the inhabitants. These were scattered in various parts of the Province, and, strange as it may appear at the present day, rewards were offered by Massachusetts for the scalps of Indians, man, woman, or child, an offer not less repugnant to all our ideas of national rectitude than were the artful machinations of the Jesuits, to lead the natives to murder our people and burn our houses, to the spirit of Christianity.

But there was now no misunderstanding as to the duty of the government. The French were openly the foes of the English, and the provincials determined on some decided action to humble an enemy who had always been secretly at war with the peace and prosperity of the people. Louisburg was the strongest fortress on the continent. It was called the Dunkirk of America, the French regarding it as material to the maintainance of their possessions here, that it should be impregnable. The Catholic religion was viewed by New England as the leading element of the almost continual strife in which they had been involved with the natives. The priests had been constantly laboring to impress on the savage mind the duty of checking the settlements of the English, under the pretense that they were to be driven from the lands. Puritan New England was soon aroused to the great importance of an enterprise against this stronghold of Catholic France. Never since the settlement of this continent commenced has there been such a general

awakening to the necessity and importance of a public measure. All the religion of the Provinces was interested in the war against the infidels, as their enemies were regarded. Louisburg must be wrested from the enemy. This determined spirit removed all difficulties in obtaining the proper armament, and the people, with one soul, were ready for the expedition.

Four hundred men were enlisted in the county of York. Wells, having then about two hundred and fifty able bodied men, had a large share in the operations which were set on foot, and thence we feel called upon to give more fully the details of the expedition. Our statements in relation to it are founded almost entirely upon original documents. To Sir William Pepperell, as lieutenant general, was committed the whole charge of the expedition. Thirteen vessels of war, in addition to the transports, were to make up the necessary naval force, and about four thousand troops were engaged for the service. Pepperell entered upon his duties with great zeal, feeling it highly important that the whole force should be in front of the city before the people within should have any knowledge that an attempt was on foot to besiege it.

Major John Storer was ordered to enlist a company in Wells. So earnest were the people to forward the expedition, that his company was soon made up by enlistments, and we believe in a single day. Nearly all of them were of Wells. The following is the list of those who volunteered and embarked under him on board the transports:

Col. John Storer, Captain,	John Crediford,
John Fairfield, 1st Lieut.,	Joseph Webber,
Nathaniel Kimball, 2d Lieut.,	Edward Evans,
Daniel Sayer, Clerk,	Ichabod Dunham,
Enoch Davis, Sergeant,	Joseph Crediford,
Benjamin Hatch, “	James Jepson,
Ichabod Cousins, “	Edmund Welch,
John Look, “	Isaac Danforth,
Benjamin Jellison, Corporal,	Joseph Taylor,
Joshua Kimball, “	John Dean,
Pendleton Fletcher, “	Benjamin Curtis,
Jonathan Adams, “	Phillip Devotion,
Joshua Lassell,	Thomas Wheelright,
Matthew Robison,	John Burks,

William Robison,	James Gillpatrick,
Charles White,	Peter Rich,
James Littlefield,	John Bagshaw,
Ebenezer Littlefield,	John McDaniel,
Matthew Linsey,	John Eldridge,
Joseph Curtis,	James Littlefield, jr.,
Elimuel Clark,	James Read,
Caleb Kimball,	Simeon Merryfield,
Isaac Buswell, Drummer,	John Canaway,
Joshua Adams,	Benjamin Jacobs,
John Kenne,	Michael Wilson,
John Huston,	Jedediah Preble,
James Reed,	Gershom Boston,
William Curtis,	Joseph Boston,
John Sinkler,	Shebuleth Boston,
Aaron Lord,	Thomas Boston.
Ichabod Jellison,	

Pepperell was earnest for the greatest possible dispatch. He writes to Major Storer, "Kittery, Feb. 20, 1744. Your favour of y^e 19th inst. I received, and if Mr. Preble can get his sloop redly, I am nothing against his Sloop being improved, provid^d it is agreeable to y^e other Field officers, my Dear Friend y^e time of year hastens away, and His Excell^y Expects our Regiment in Boston by y^e mid^l of next week without faile. I want to know where you have Enlisted yo^r full complement of men—and a list of them. I have no Enlisting money sent me, but have advanced to my Company five pounds old tenor to Each man—the money will be sure and we shall have it when we go to Boston—I have lent considerable, and desire to goo to Portsmouth and borrow some out of their Treasury and pay them in Boston, as they will have occasion for money there; if you want and cannot borrow it at Wells, com over and I will lend you some. Pray let us make dispatch.

I am Your assured Friend & servant,

I trust that God will be with us on this Expedition and deliver our enemy into our hands. Then we shall be able to give him all y^e Hon. & Glory. Everything I hear of is Encouraging—hasten and get your men my dear Friend."

WM. PEPPERELL.

The next day, before receiving a reply from Storer, he writes again: "Kittery, Feb. 21, 1744. Dear Sir. I have some money for your Enlisted soldiers. I want to see you—much—hasten here. we must get the vessels redy to Sail with our men—for Boston—next monday—hasten my Good Friend, if cannot make up your Company take Lu^t Perkins of Arrundell your first Lu^t with y^e men he has En-listed.

I am— Your assured Friend.

WM. PEPPERELL."

The troops from Wells were speedily ready, and were transported to Boston by water. No one ever entered upon a work under a deeper sense of his responsibility than did Pepperell upon this. He was a man of unflagging energy, and of an all-controlling, sound moral principle. His soul was absorbed in the preparation for the great and difficult enterprise which had been entrusted to his charge; and by his untiring exertions, the whole armament was ready and sailed from Boston on the 24th of March, being less than two months from the time it was resolved upon by the general court.

The intense interest excited among the inhabitants of Wells by this expedition, cannot be comprehended by us. Husbands and sons had left their farms, and freely offered themselves for all the hazards of the undertaking. More than one-quarter of the population had left their homes for this service. Several of the volunteers were nearly sixty years of age, and some but sixteen. All knew and appreciated the dangers and hardships to which they must be exposed in the siege of the stronghold. To many, the parting seemed like severing the ties of life, and "tears were shed like rain." Great anxiety was felt for the issue of the terrible contest. When governor Shirley first proposed the project of capturing the city, great opposition arose from many who doubted the wisdom and expediency of such an attempt, feeling assured that success was almost impossible. The French had been engaged twenty-five years, and had expended five million dollars in endeavoring to make it impregnable to assaults from any quarter. But the men on whom Pepperell depended were enured to hardships, having experienced so much suffering from the savage wars, which they knew had been instigated, and in a great measure sustained by the French, they were ready and yearning for the proposed retaliation, at whatever cost.

The fleet arrived at Canso on the fourth of April. Two or three

of the transports, having on board the artillery, ammunition and stores, having been separated from the fleet in bad weather, did not arrive till some days afterward, which caused some delay in the operations against Louisburg. After their arrival they were further delayed by the discovery that many of the guns of the soldiers were unfit for the service, and that there was a deficiency of provisions, so that one of the transports was despatched to give Gov. Shirley notice of that fact. The men were all in high spirits and eager for the work, and Pepperell did not delay for the provisions. But in consequence of the head winds and ice, the squadron did not leave Canso till the 29th. Our readers, we think, will be interested in the following letter from Major Storer. It indicates something of the religious spirit which pervaded the public mind, and which did so much to strengthen the hands and cheer the hearts of those who were engaged in this perilous enterprise. "Canso, April 26. My Dear wife. Having an opportunity I cheerfully embrace it to let you know that I am in some measure of health, but have been subject to a cold as is frequent in the army. But at present am in as general health as may be expected. Our several friends and neighbors from Wells, with Mr. Daniel Sayer are desirous to be remembered to their several respective families and friends. Monday, Capt. Durell in a forty gun ship from Boston came into Canso Harbour, and anchored. Tuesday following, ten o'clock, morning, Commodore Warren in a sixty gun ship, and one ship of fifty guns, and one forty gun ship, came to the mouth of Canso Harbour. Then joined by Capt. Durell. Which four ships of war sailed in line of battle, being an agreeable appearance to the army. Those ships of war are guarding of the coast of Cape Breton. Our guard vessels, viz., Capt. Snelling and Fletcher & Capt. Dunahew & Capt. Swan, on the 17th & 18th inst. took two French Brigantines from Martineco bound to Cape Breton, chiefly laden with rum and molasses and brought them into Canso. We also have retaken several of our schooners and one provision schooner bound to Newfoundland, that came from Boston, Capt. Adams, Master. Capt. Dunahew has taken eight Indians more. April 8, 10 o'clock morning, there being a large French ship in sight, our guard vessels began with her. We heard the great guns, broadside and broadside, and chase guns constantly firing. In the night we saw the flash of the great guns some minutes before we heard them. Capt. Rouse, with Mr. Moody on board with him, being the last that

left the French ship, for they could not come up with her. Sabbath day, April 21st, four of Col. Willards men were getting wood some distance from the vessels, and without their guns. Two Frenchmen and one Indian fired one gun, and took and made them prisoners, and drove them away eight or ten miles; but our men took an opportunity and fell upon the Frenchmen and the Indian and made them prisoners, and brought them back near their boat. But by some misfortune the Indian suddenly started and run quite away. Major General Wolcott with eight sail of vessels, and his quota of men from Connecticut arrived here yesterday the 24th inst. and joined our troops. The reason of our being yet at Canso, the ice being yet in so great bodies and the bays so full, we could not safely proceed, but expect to now every moment, when winds and weather will permit. I now, my dear wife, tenderly and heartily remember my constant love to you and our dear children. Duty to my honored, aged parents,—best regards to Rev. Mr. Jefferds and family, Dr. Sayer and all friends. I desire, in sincerity of soul, to commit myself and each of you into the hands of a gracious God and our Saviour, who is able to keep us in all our ways, and to build us up in his most holy faith, and make us meet for his Heavenly kingdom. I ask your continued prayers for me and all our friends engaged in the expedition, that God would be pleased to vouchsafe to go with us, and grant us the desired success; and in his own due time be returned to our native land, and our dear friends in safety. And that he would prepare us to give all the praise and glory to him, if he shall so favour us, is the desire and prayer of your affectionate, sincere and loving husband till death.

JOHN STORER.

Gen. Pepperell is in good health. I have had the honor of his company with his Secretary to lodge on board in Canso harbour with me three nights. My tender love remembered to my brother Storer, their wives and children, to Deacon Barret and all friends—earnestly desiring an interest and remembrance in your prayers.”

To Mrs. Elizabeth Storer at Wells, in New England.”

This project of New England to capture Cape Breton, had not been made known to the king. Yet he had sent to Com. Warren, then on the coast of the West Indies, to co-operate with the Colonies in any of their enterprises where he could afford efficient aid. Warren at once entered into the spirit of the hour. Full of zeal and

thirsting for action, he wrote to Pepperell, "For God's sake let us do something and not waste our time in indolence." Pepperell was not the man to interpose objections to immediate action; and they at once went to work. The first object was to destroy St. Peters, a village of two or three hundred inhabitants; and a detachment was sent forward for that purpose, under Col. Moulton. As the Wells troops were under him, it is probable that they were a portion of it. They soon accomplished their errand, having destroyed the settlement, taken some plunder and some prisoners, burnt four schooners and brought off one.

On the 30th of April, the fleet arrived at the intended harbor, and all embarked to commence the siege. They were immediately attacked by a small force, who were speedily driven back, and fled to the garrison. Soon afterward, what was termed the Grand Battery was deserted, but for what reason the assailants could not conjecture. It seemed to them to have been almost impregnable. This success worked up new enthusiasm in the Provincial army. They seemed to have new assurance that the God of battles was with them, and that their highest hopes would be realized. The following letter from Storer, who appears to have been promoted to a colonelcy, shows how exhilarating was the effect of this success, and how strong was the confidence that special Divine aid would attend their exertions.

"At the Camp, Cape Breton, May 21, 1745. My Dear and tender wife. I embrace this moment of time with my heart full of love, drawn out to you and our dear children, with duty to our dear honored mother, love to the Rev. Mr. Jefferds and spouse. We are hazarding our lives in the field of battle. But we believe and trust that the Lord, the Lord God omnipotent reigneth—the ever living and true God goeth before us and fighteth for us. We have seen and beheld it with our eyes. What cause have we to admire and adore the riches of free grace. I humbly desire to mourn and grieve that I ever should offend so glorious a God and bountiful benefactor, as to provoke him to turn his face from us. But I heartily desire to seek his face and favor, hoping that good may come unto us, not our wills—knowing the whole disposition of all events is from the Lord. O I heartily wish you and yours health, especially that our souls may prosper. The Lord fit and prepare me and us all for our great

and last change. The Indians have killed 30 men that were struggling from their duty. They are strangers to me. Our people are generally in health. Mr. Sayer presents his love to his wife, with the rest of our people to theirs. We landed at Cape Breton April 30th. The French came furiously to the water side, and fired on us to annoy our landing, but through the goodness of God our enemies fled before us. Some Frenchmen were killed and some taken. The second day of May we took possession of the Grand Battery, which is an exceeding strong fortress. I have not time to enlarge but desire to commit myself into the hands of him that judgeth righteously. Desiring an interest in your prayers is what offers from your affectionate, tender, and loving husband, till God by death shall separate us.

JOHN STORER.

Pray write to me by all opportunity.

A line from Rev. Mr. Jeffers might be agreeable to me."

It would not well consist with the object of a town history to attempt here a recital of all the proceedings of Pepperell in the prosecution of the siege. Let it suffice to say, that after the surrender of the grand battery, and its possession taken by our forces, he pushed forward toward the city, his army being inspired with an ardor and intrepidity almost incredible. The labor performed, the difficulties surmounted, the hardships suffered, could only be understood by those who were the immediate actors in these operations. Every night, for fourteen days in succession, were the troops engaged in dragging their heavy artillery and necessary munitions through bogs and morasses to the spots selected for batteries. Day and night they were almost continually enveloped in fogs, exposed to all the adverse influences of this northerly climate, at this early season of the year, wet, chilled, and exhausted by their arduous labor, yet their valor was not diminished, their perseverance checked, or their enthusiasm subdued; but onward was ever the word.

Fifty days and nights were spent in this most exhausting struggle. To many of these brave men its incessant labors, carried on under intense excitement, wrought out a sad issue. But the stronghold was finally overcome. All their toils and sufferings met with full compensation in the glorious result. The city capitulated. As they entered it, they were filled with wonder at the strength of its fortifications, and still more with surprise that it should have been sur-

rendered. Pepperell said, "such ruins were never seen before. It was the goodness of God alone that brought about the result. The Almighty, of a truth, has been with us."

All their labors and struggles being now ended, Gen. Pepperell prepared a dinner for Gen. Waldo and the naval and land officers associated with him in the enterprise. That distinguished minister, the Rev. Samuel Moody, of York, went down with Capt. Rouse as chaplain of the army. Mr. Moody was generally long in his prayers and proportionally long in his supplications at the table. His friends were anxious lest Gen. Waldo and the officers should be out of patience with the expected unreasonable length of his petition for God's blessing on the bounties of the table, under the circumstances in which they now surrounded it; but none dared to suggest to him the expediency of brevity. To the gratification of all, he addressed the Almighty briefly: "Good Lord, we have so many things to thank thee for that time will be infinitely too short to do it; we must therefore leave it as the work of eternity. Bless our food and fellowship on this joyful occasion for the sake of Christ Jesus, our Lord. Amen."

Perhaps no event in the history of this nation has produced such universal joy as did the capture of Louisburg. Such long continued and wicked aggressions had been committed by the French, or through their instigation, on our territories, fisheries, and property, and also on the persons of the people, that every man felt that he had been personally injured, and thus a spirit of revenge, in some measure, came to the aid of a noble patriotism.

Prayers were put up in all our churches continually that God's blessing might attend this expedition. The ministers of this neighborhood assembled together for fasting, at York, on the day of the capitulation, and for intercession with the God of armies that his blessing might attend it. Rev. Joseph Moody, son of the chaplain, led their supplications in a prayer of two hours in length, and after having addressed many arguments to the Almighty for the reduction of the city, in the midst of his earnest devotions he exclaimed, "It is done. It is delivered into our hands." He then went on blessing God for his wonderful mercies to us in thus prospering this great undertaking of these then feeble colonies. On the return of the soldiers it appeared that this remarkable exclamation was uttered at the same hour with the completion of the capitulation. Of the facts

here stated we suppose there is no doubt. The explanation we leave to the reader.

Letters were addressed to Gen. Pepperell by distinguished men in the ministry and other professions, congratulating him on the success of the great enterprise. Dr. Chauncy said there was not a house in Boston, "in no by-lane or alley, but joy might be seen through the windows, and the night was made joyful by bonfires, and that there was not a man in the country but would heartily join in thanksgiving to God for his appearance in our behalf." The following letter of Rev. Mr. Jefferds to Colonel Storer, who had particular charge of the men from Wells, shows the belief which Christians of that day had that this wonderful victory, the result of all their labors and perils, was reached through the special interposition of the overruling Providence. The letter is long, but we think it worthy of the space which it occupies.

"Wells, Sept. 16, 1745.

DEAR SIR. I should not have delayed the congratulating you upon the reduction of Cape Breton, nor the acknowledging my receipt of your favors to me from Louisburg, dated June 22d and June 30th, unto this day, as I have done, had not a fond Expectation of seeing you here from Week to Week prevailed with me to think my writing to you there would have been fruitless. But having seen my mistake, and to amend it as well as I can, I embrace this opportunity to express my joynt Praises & Thansgivings with you unto God for the marvellous things which he has herein done by and for you and for us, whose right Hand and holy Arm hath gotten him the Victory. Here's a new song put into our Mouth, a Song of Praise to the LORD for the avenging of Israel, when the People willingly offered themselves. We Bless God for what he has done, and acknowledge he has laid us under singular Obligation of Gratitude and Thankfulness to those he has been pleased to honour by improving them as happy Instruments in this truly great and glorious work. Our hearts should be, and I trust are, carried out in Esteem & Love, especially toward the Governors or Rulers of our New English Israel that offered themselves willingly among the People. O that we may cleave to the LORD our GOD, and take good Heed to ourselves that we love him and serve him, and may he confirm his work, and satisfy our Longing Souls in your Safe and Speedy Return unto us.

I take it as special favour that in the midst of all your Triumphs you was pleased to remember me; to take so much Notice of the few Lines I sent you, and give yourself the Trouble of writing me once and again. I thank you, S^r, for the Particular Acc^t you was pleased to give me of the strong but conquered City.

Your aged holy mothers are still living and in their common State of Health, as are also the rest of your family. Your pious Consort, though heavily bowed down under the Cares and Troubles of your long Absence, and filled wth Grief and Sorrows under the unexpected continuance of it, yet she bears it all with an exemplary Patience and sweet serenity of mind. Your Eldest Son keeps our School; your second looks after your Husbandry & other affairs. Your eldest Daughter is at Boston, waiting for your arrival and to accompany you here. Your two youngest Daughters are at home, longing to see you, and little Sam^l is ready to jump and fly into your Arms. I presume you have rec^d the mournful News of the Hon^{ble} Coll. Wheelright's Decease, of your Hon^d Aunt Littlefield. Besides which, there has but one grown Person dyed among us, Samuel Littlefield's Wife of Merryland, and not so much as a Child belonging to any of our friends that are with you.

Be pleased, S^r, to present my Duty to his Excellency our Cap. General, for whose wise, just, and easie, happy administration Thanks are continually offered up unto God by a grateful Province, with their earnest Prayers for the long continuance and further Prosperity of it, and to his Hon^r our Lieu^t General, the merits of whose Valour and Conduct will not be forgotten by an obliged People, but conveyed down to late Posterity with all suitable Tokens of Respect. Please to give all proper Regards to all friends, and especially my hearty Love to those of my particular charge that are yet at Louisburg.

And now, S^r, That the happy Day may be hastened when I shall see you face to face, and hear you rehearse the Righteous Acts of the LORD, and goe in company with you to his house, and there enjoy an holy fellowship with you, is the constant earnest Desire and ferv^t Prayer of

Your faithful and affectionate Pastor
and Dutiful humble Serv^t

SAM^t JEFFERDS."

To Col. John Storer, Esq.,
at Louisburg

While the naval and land officers were so filled with joy at the sudden successful termination of all their anxieties and labors, the soldiers were thrilled to enthusiasm that their wearisome days and nights were ended by such a glorious consummation. Their hearts were buoyant with the inspirations of the grand victory, and the officers could not interfere to check the developments of their raptures in any way in which their impulses might direct. Though they were in an enemy's city, and had none of their countrywomen to join with them, yet somehow or other, we think, they extemporized a dancing assembly. Pumps, which in those days were used for no other purpose than the frolic and the dance, were purchased by many of the soldiers. The company of Capt. Perkins, of Arundel, under whom were several men from Wells, seem to have been most prominent in this pastime. They felt that this was one of the occasions on which it might be truly said, it is "a time to dance."

But the army was in a sad condition after its brilliant success. More than fifteen hundred were sick at one time. The fogs which constantly hung over the island and the continual exposures and hardships which they endured had, undoubtedly, their share in bringing about this unfortunate state of the soldiers. As is said in the letter of Mr. Jefferds, wives and friends were waiting with anxious longings for their return. But from various causes, many of them were detained there a long time; some more than a year. Sickness was, we suppose, one of the leading causes. A letter from a lady of Wells to her daughter in Boston, dated Sept. 30, 1745, says, "It is a sickly and dying time at Cape Breton. Dr. Bulman is dead and buried." Dr. Bulman, though living in York, was accustomed to practice much in the town of Wells. Hence his loss was deeply felt by many here, and therefore we cannot forbear to insert a letter from his wife, written a few months previous. It shows much of the spirit and character of the correspondence of this period, and of the views which the religious portion of community had of this enterprise.

It is addressed, "For Alexander Bulman, Esq., one of the Surgeons of his Majesties Forces at Cape Breton, Under the Hon^{ble} Will^m Pepperell Esq. & General."

"York June 5 1745. My Dear Husband. Last Sabath Day, just as I was Steping out of my Door to go up to the house of God for

the after noon Service your letter Came to hand, which gives the pleasing account of your health and preservation in the midst of sickness & Danger & that our friends & neighbors hitherto are preserved, save 2—thanks be to God for a renewed occasion to tread his Courts with joy and praise—oh may the high praises of God Dwell upon my tongue for the wonderful Displays of Divine power in providence and Grace to the children of men & to you in particular. I was in hopes Ear this time the important affair was over—but I find you are yet without the City walls.

but it is enough that the Governor of the Universe knows best when to Lead you into the Strong Holds of your Enemyes, blessed be his name for hopes of victory & success—oh may it be in such a way & manner as that God may have all the Glory.

the time of your absence Semes very Long & tedious to me and I often hope and wish for your return, but I submit that with all my concerns of life in to the Government of a Holy & wise God, who knows best how to dispose of me & mine. O may I never find my will opposed to the will of the Blessed God, who I trust through the riches of free grace is my father & my friend.

& who would not trust a friend that is infinite in wisdom & power justice Goodness & truth. O the immutability of God. He changeth not neither is weary. Here I could dwell and ever loose myself in contemplating on the Divine perfections, but must pass on & say, in the Evening I saw Letters of a later Date than yours, one of which was Jonathan Saywards which gave an account of a french fleet's coming in upon you when you were warmly engaged in attacks on the City and had just made entrance, but were obliged to turn about and face the Enemy from another quarter—what means this—but let us stand still and perhaps we may see the Glory of God as our fathers have on ancient Date. truly his ways are in the Deep, but methinks I see something of his footsteps in Giving previous notess by sending in a small vessel, which fell into your hands, which gave time for preparation to salute there Champion which here was Done in a very warm manner, which soon brought the Centel man to Good terms—and now there Goliah is slain. I fancy the rest will fall an Easy prey. Doubtless the General and all the officers will set up there banners in the name of the Lord & say hitherto the Lord helped us. O may the Captain of the Lords hosts still go before the General & Direct him in all Enterprises, and at Length Give

him a Compleat victory & return you all in safety with joy and praise. all did I say, alas! I do not Expect to se all the faces of my friends again. I hear some are allready Gone to Eternity & others sick, one of which is my Dear Brother, if he is in the Land of the Living Give my kind Love to him if I never am to se his face here I hope to meet him in the hapey regions above. But our prayers to God is that he may be raised and returned to his friends again if it is his blessed will, my Dear Mother is greatly concerned about him, sends her Love—this Evening your Letter of Mayth 21 came to hand. you tell me you have received all of my letters. there is one more I sent with Col Donnel which went in the same vessel. I greatly rejoyced to hear of your health, & it would be an addison thereto if I could hear of your coming home speedily. I hope in your next I shall hear something of that nature—we are all in pretty Good helth through Divine Goodness. Mrs. Moody Gives her service to you. She dined with me this Day. She desires youd remember her to Mr Moody. Lavitts wife Gives her Love to her husband. She has received his letter, sends much respect to you—our people begin to be much afraid of the indins whether there is any reason for it I cannot say. But to be sure we are in a Defenceless posture. Give my proper regards to your Good General & our Revd and Dear Pasture & Love and service to all friends & neighbors. I have not had oppertunity to Do any of your messages to the General's Lady for I have never seen her since the fleet left boston. your son gives his Duty But says he cannot write.

I am my Dear with much Love your

I am much concerned for faithful Spous till Death

the poor women & children MARY BULMAN.

in the City. the Lord pitey them in their Distress O that the calamitous time was over—pray give me a perticuler account as possible in your next. your son has altered his mind and is now writing.”

In the fall of this year, 1745, most of the army were brought home to the great rejoicing of the friends. But there were wounded spirits in Wells, which could find no healing balm in these happy occasions. Fathers and sons had not come back to their homes. There were many broken hearts; how many, we know not. Enoch Davis, William Curtis, Joshua Kimball, Matthew Robinson, James Littlefield and James Wilson had died at Cape Breton. John McDaniel, John

Deane, John Canaway, John Bagshaw, James Read, Benjamin Jellison, Joseph Boston, Shebuel Boston and Thomas Boston were left there. We think most of them afterward reached their homes. Col. Storer returned before winter.

The soldiers on this expedition received a proportional part of the plunder of Louisburg. Those in Wells had about twenty-eight dollars each. Jonathan Sayward of York was captain of one of the transports, and brought home some rich china ware; two very large candlesticks, also a pair of andirons, and brass tongs, which are now in a good state of preservation in the possession of his descendants, the Misses Barrell of that place.

While so many were absent at Louisburg, care was taken by the government to guard against any sudden irruption of the Indians on the seacoast towns. In August thirty soldiers were stationed at Wells, and the inhabitants made other preparations for their security. The Indians had begun their ravages on some of the eastern villages, and war was declared against them. Great pains were taken to spread among them the news of the success of the Louisburg armament. But the information did not produce the effect hoped for. The French influence from Canada was brought to bear upon them. Whether to terrify the tribes from further aggressions, or as a reward for the courage of those who would volunteer for the public service, we cannot determine; but large bounties were offered for Indian scalps, even as high as £400. Villages were attacked by them all along the coasts. Scouts were ordered from Berwick eastward through the Province. Though the population of the towns had much increased by a peace of twenty years, great fear seized upon the people. The Indians had been seen in several places. Smith in his journal says, there were continual alarms on account of them. Precautions were taken by the town for the protection of Mr. Jeffers and his family. A meeting had been held March 25, 1745, to take measures to build him a block-house, and to repair the old ministerial fort. But this action was not satisfactory; and afterward, when the war was upon them, they voted that "there be a good frame fort built, planked and finished, with two good Bockses, if needful, about the ministerial house, with all speed," so that the family would not be obliged to leave their house for safety. Great care was generally exercised for the minister. Much reliance was placed on his prayers and counsel. The fort was occupied by others fre-

quently in times of war; more especially when the larger garrisons became insufficient for the refuge of all the people.

The long interval since the Lovewell war had evidently made the people more timid. Children had grown up, and had often heard the recital from their parents, of the frightful atrocities which marked the savage incursions upon the towns. Though better prepared for defense, there seems to have been less courage among the inhabitants than in former years, when the hardships of life were more severe upon them. John Wheelright, upon whom they had relied as their bulwark of defense, had just died. Some of their best men were yet at Cape Breton. Many families were under deep affliction from the loss of husbands and sons; and there was a prospect of much suffering from a want of the necessaries of life. Prices of articles of food had rapidly advanced. In 1746, corn was twenty-five shillings a bushel; flour about twenty dollars a hundred pounds. This was indeed in the time of a depreciated currency; but many families had no means of acquiring it. In addition to these afflictions Col. Storer, in the year following, received notice from Col. Moulton that a French fleet was on the coast, and that they might land here at any moment; and all able bodied men in the military company were required to be furnished with arms and ammunition, and to be ready to march, at a moment's warning, to any place which might be attacked; that "no one must go half a mile from his house without his gun, and every man must carry his gun when he goes to public worship, and a strict watch must be kept." These orders, we suppose, added to the general panic. Men and women feared to go abroad.

An attack, though unsuccessful, having once been made on Annapolis, it was feared that this French fleet might make a second attempt to subdue it, and measures were taken to furnish for it sufficient protection. Troops were sent from the West for that purpose. Some of these were from Wells, and some from Arundel. The vessel on which the Wells and Arundel troops were being transported was cast away on Mount Desert, in a snow storm. The weather was very severe, and seventy or eighty of the passengers perished. John Wakefield, jr., Benjamin Cousens, Joseph Wormwood and Hilton Day were saved. Whether any others belonging to Wells were saved we are unable to state. The survivors underwent fearful hardship and suffering. There was no house on the island at that time, and

they had no means of transportation from it. Though almost exhausted by hardships and deprivation, hope and resolution did not fail them. They went to work and built a boat out of such material as they could get; in the meantime, by the aid of a gun and a little ammunition saved from the wreck, killing a few fowl, sufficient to preserve life, a part of their number embarked in this frail boat and arrived safely at Townsend, where aid was obtained, and a boat was sent to the island for those left behind.

Ebenezer Storer and Seth Storer, sons of the patriotic Joseph Storer, so efficient in previous wars in the defence of the people, had come from Boston as far as Kittery, for the purpose of visiting their aged mother; but the terrors which hung over the way to Wells were too appalling, and they returned to Boston. In a letter to her afterward, they say they had heard of the mischief done by the Indians at Wells the week before. What this mischief was we have been unable to ascertain. Neither have we learned of any attacks upon the inhabitants. General Pepperell had occasion to go from Kittery to Falmouth, and Col. Moulton requested Col. Storer to muster out as many horsemen as he could to guard him to Scarborough. Although the Indians were now scattered all over the Province, yet, as the population had so much increased, they were cautious in their attacks on the towns. The mischief alluded to by the Storers, is all that we know to have been done at this time.

In April, 1747, they made attacks in Brunswick, Falmouth, Scarborough and Saco, killing several and carrying away captives. An attempt was made to surprise the settlers at the village of Sergeant Larrabee, which might have been successful had it not been for the fidelity and vigilance of his dog. All the working men, fifteen in number, had met together for the purpose of ploughing his land by the road, above the house. The woods on the eastern side came out within a rod or two of the land where they were at work. They had left their guns at a distance from them. The dog ran toward the woods and began to bark. He kept up a continual rushing back and forth, barking all the while, until the Sergeant was satisfied that something unusual was on foot in the woods; and suspecting that it might be the Indians, ordered the men to leave their work and run for the garrison. On looking back they discovered a large number of Indians just appearing above the hill on the eastern side of the road, where they had been watching their opportunity to cut off

their retreat. The savages after looking at the fugitives a few moments, and seeing that they were beyond their reach, disappointed of their prey, fell back behind the hill from which they came; and not daring to tarry in the neighborhood, hastened off to the lower part of Biddeford, where, on the same day, they killed two men of the name of Elliot, and carried away captive a third, named Murch.

We have spoken before of the cowardliness of these natives. With a little courage they might have rushed from their lurking place, and before the people were aware of any danger, killed or captured at least a portion of them. Another instance, exhibiting this cowardly trait of Indian character, may here be related. Mr. John Butland, one of the dwellers at Larrabee village, and a substantial man in those days, went out at the usual hour after his cows, one of which wore a bell. Generally the cows had been found within a short distance from his house. But at this time they were not at their usual feeding place. The Indians, planning for his capture, had driven them a considerable distance from their accustomed ground. Not knowing that any of the savages were in the neighborhood, the thought did not occur to him of any stratagem in this unusual circumstance. He had his gun with him, as was the invariable rule when going out from the house. He continued his pursuit until he heard the bell. He directed his steps to the point from whence the sound seemed to come. Drawing nearer, he thought the bell gave an unusual sound; but he imagined the cow had fallen into some difficulty, and hastened onward to extricate her. But as the ringing was not constant, he passed beyond the place from whence the sound issued. Hearing it again he turned round, but saw nothing of the cows. He could not account for the mystery. He looked again and again, and though the ringing of the bell continued, he could discover no one of the cows. There was nothing to obstruct his vision, a few bushes only intervening. At last the thought suddenly came over him that the ringing was by a human hand; that the Indians had taken it from his cow, and were thus endeavoring to decoy him to the spot. They had contrived so to delude him as to get between him and his house. He had now no chance to return, and knew not how many were in ambush. The trunk of a very large tree was lying directly before him, the inside of which had so wasted away by age that an ordinary sized man, without serious inconvenience could crowd himself into it. There was no other alternative, as he thought,

but to crawl into this log, and accordingly he pressed himself into it, keeping his gun before him. In our judgment such a refuge was the last which a rational man should have sought. How he expected security in such a position we cannot comprehend. The Indians, being five in number, finding that he had settled down out of sight, were very soon by the log, where he had disappeared. Not discovering him anywhere in the vicinity, and no obstruction limiting their view, they were assured he was within the log, but which way his gun pointed they could not tell, and no one dared to look into it or go to either end. They pounded upon it with sticks of wood—tried to turn it over; walked on it from one end to the other. They might, with ease, have thrust in a pole, or fired into it. But their hands would have been exposed to his fire. So fearful were they of wounds that they had not courage, and so little ingenuity that they had not skill enough to devise any mode of killing him, or expelling him from his hiding place. They knew he could not escape from them. They were working upon the log and endeavoring to stave it in, when Mr. Butland's family, knowing that he had been gone far beyond the usual time, fired the alarm guns (three in immediate succession). Upon this the Indians immediately ran, leaving Butland unharmed. It is to this cowardice, and almost entire want of invention or contrivance, that we are to ascribe the fact that so small a portion of the inhabitants fell into the hands of the Indians. The alarm guns of which we have just spoken, were well understood all over the Province. The men were obliged to be away from their houses working in the field, or otherwise employed, and some signal was necessary to warn them of danger at home, or others of their own danger while absent. The garrisons were many and not at a great distance apart; and thus the guns fired at one place would be immediately repeated at the next; and so the news of danger would in a few minutes be spread a great distance.

Although the townsmen, during this war, lived in continual fear of Indian assaults, but very little injury is known to have been done. The wife of Richard Walker was killed April 16, 1747. She was seized by them during her husband's absence at the Great Falls, where he was at work sawing in the mill. They intended to surprise and capture him. They took his wife with them and traveled in that direction, hoping there to discover him, and so conceal themselves as to fall suddenly upon him when away from his gun. But

in this they were disappointed ; not finding him at the mill, vexed at this defeat of their calculations, they set fire to the mill, which was speedily consumed. On their route they killed three horses. They proceeded with Mrs. Walker until they reached Taylor's Hill, a little above the house of Charles Hill, in Lyman. She resolved that she would go no further with them ; choosing rather to die than to undergo the cruelties which she felt would be inflicted upon her, and which would only be followed by her murder in the end. Finding her such an obstacle to their progress, she was tied to an oak tree, murdered and scalped. The stump of this tree on the eastern side of the road, half way up the hill, remained there till within the present century.

The next year, 1748, the house of the widow Stuart was burnt. She and her child disappeared, and no doubt then existed that they had been carried away and murdered by the Indians after they had fired the house.

An attempt was once made to surprise the Larrabee garrison. So well had this been prepared, and the inmates so effectually secured, that in times of danger it had become the place of general resort. At times, nearly all the inhabitants of what is now Kennebunk were gathered within its walls. At a time when the fears of invasion were in some measure allayed, and but few were in the garrison, the Indians planned an attack upon it. The opportunity of a dark, stormy night was taken for this purpose. Wawa, the chief, was fully acquainted with every part of the garrison, and how to effect an entrance. Before approaching it, where the quick eye of the sergeant might discover them, he waited for the darkness of night. A cart had been left a few feet from the wall. The Indians, as soon as it was dark, crept up and lay down under it. Here they watched, waiting until all had retired to rest, when they hoped to gain access by climbing the walls. But Sergeant Larrabee was not the man to suffer himself and others under his care, to be entrapped by any stratagem which could be devised by these ignorant savages. Though everywhere in the vicinity quiet prevailed, and people were at comparative ease in many of their homes, he was ever on the lookout. This was a very dark night, well suited to Indian warfare, and he was therefore the more careful in his observations. As his eye rested upon the cart, very near the walls, it reported to him a darkness of different shades. He was satisfied that there was some-

thing under it not entirely atmospherical. Whatever it was, it had come with the night, and it looked like bipeds, he determined to test its character by the use of his large gun. He loaded it heavily with buck shot, stationed himself in the flanker, and taking another look to satisfy himself that his suspicions were well grounded, he discharged his faithful gun into the darkness doubly and suspiciously visible under the cart. With the flash of the gun the vision changed, and the area between the wheels was cleared. The next morning revealed the fact that the wary eye of the sergeant had not been deceived, neither was the shot without effect. Blood was found about the cart and in many places near by. When the Indians came in after the war, Wawa himself acknowledged that he received there such an effectual admonition of the danger of any attempt to surprise the garrison that he concluded it not worth while to risk it again.

Died Aug. 13, 1745, COL. JOHN WHEELRIGHT, son of Samuel. He was born of parents whose constitutions had been formed by continual contact with the hardships attendant upon frontier life, and educated under influences which trained both mind and body for any warfare. His grandfather, though a minister of the gospel, was not remarkable for his peace propensities. In his composition there was much of that muscular Christianity which the grandson inherited. He was a man of war and a host within himself, and was therefore just the man for the times, sent into the world by Providence to assist in protecting the new settlements against the assaults of the French and Indians, and before the close of his life he came to be regarded as the bulwark of Maine against the attacks of its enemies.

He was town clerk forty years, also one of the selectmen. Several years he kept a public house. He was judge of the court of common pleas, judge of probate, and one of the councilors of the Province. In early manhood he was commissioned as a lieutenant of the militia, afterward as a captain, major, and colonel. He was in the service as an officer under Major Convers; went to Pemaquid and Sheepscot, thence to Trebonit, and was afterward stationed at Fort Mary on Saco river. Government relied upon him with great confidence. He was endowed with a brave and noble spirit, awake to all the interests of the Province as well as to those of the town,

and prepared for any sacrifice which might become necessary for the common cause. Two companies, under the command of Captains Cutter and Miller, were sent into Maine for operations in the eastern part of the Province. These companies he allowed to take possession of his house and use it for all purposes. The house, though a large one, did not answer their full purposes, and it was taken down by them with the intention of rebuilding; but being called away and stationed at another place, it was left prostrate, and no attempt at its restoration was ever made by government, or remuneration offered for its destruction. The war with the Indians was renewed in 1704, and he was left to rebuild his garrison house at his own cost. This house, we think, was the same, or stood on the same site, where the late Noah M. Littlefield lived. This appropriation of his property by the government did not move him from his devotion to the public service. His patriotism was superior to all personal interests.

Being a judicious and energetic man, his aid was sought on all occasions by the people. When a young man he acquired the special friendship of Col. Church, from the confidence which he had in his fidelity to all authority which was committed to him, and when the people of Wells were shut up in the garrisons and were suffering much from the necessities of their condition, all means of obtaining supplies being cut off, Col. Church, at the request of Wheelright, obtained a contribution from all the churches in the counties of Plymouth, Barnstable, and Bristol for their benefit. These supplies were sent to Wheelright, Storer, and John Littlefield, to be appropriated as they should judge expedient.

He died Aug. 13, 1745, aged 81. In his will, dated April 11, 1739, he says, "I commend my soul to God, my Creator, hoping for pardon of all my sins and everlasting salvation through the alone merits of Jesus Christ." He gives his wife Mary four or five acres at Little river, with the saw-mill and stream owned with John Wells, his household goods, stock of cattle of all kinds, negro or mulatto servants, money, etc.; legacies to his daughters, Mary Plaistead, Elizabeth Neumarch, Mary Moody, and Sarah Jefferds; devises to his sons, John, Samuel, Jeremiah, Nathaniel; also to his "daughter Esther Wheelright, if living in Canada, whom (he says) I have not heard from these many years, and hath been absent more than thirty years."

CHAPTER XXVI.

EFFORT TO INAUGURATE A SECOND PARISH—MEETING-HOUSE BUILT AT THE LANDING—INCORPORATION OF THE "SECOND CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY IN WELLS"—INVITATION TO REV. DANIEL LITTLE—HIS REPLY—FAST APPOINTED—CHURCH CONSECRATED—THE COVENANT AND LIST OF MEMBERS SUBSCRIBING—ORDINATION OF MR. LITTLE—BAPTISMAL COVENANT—COVENANT FOR FULL COMMUNION—FEMALE MEMBERS ADMITTED—ANNUAL CONTRIBUTION FOR CHARITABLE PURPOSES—CONTRIBUTION IN AID OF BOSTON—LOCATION OF CERTAIN DWELLING HOUSES—FIRST RETAIL STORE IN KENNEBUNK—EXTRACTS FROM THE TAX LISTS OF THE NEW PARISH—TAXES—VALUATION OF WELLS—SLAVERY IN WELLS—OLD TOM.

THE settlement in the eastern part of the town had so far advanced, that the people, feeling seriously the inconvenience of attending public worship at the meeting-house, began to talk of having the gospel preached nearer home. During the winter season, most of the time, they were unable to go there with their families. All travel was on horseback. There were yet no sleighs for winter or carriages for summer. We can well understand, therefore, how irksome was the requirement that they should sustain public worship, of which they could have no direct benefit. Having this feeling, in 1743, those living in Kennebunk petitioned to the town that a portion of the money raised for the support of the ministry might be allowed to them, or that they might be set off as a distinct precinct. It was voted that thirty pounds should be allowed them, but no consent could be given to a separation. The next year they petitioned for aid in building a meeting-house and for an allowance toward the maintainance of public worship; but no heed was given to the petition. The year following, the war with the French calling away so many, no exertions were made toward the erection of a meeting-house. The town voted to allow them twenty pounds toward the support of a minister in the winter season. The next year, in November, they petitioned for a special town meeting "to see if the

town will allow them and the other inhabitants living between Kennebunk & Mousam rivers anything towards helping them support the gospel," and secondly, "to set them off to join with a part of Arundel as a parish, in order to settle the gospel among them, they being at a great distance from the public worship, the parish to begin at the mouth of Mousam river and to run northwest to the head of the town." The town would take no step toward a division, but voted to allow them twenty pounds as before. So also in 1747. In 1748, they again petitioned for aid in building a meeting-house, and if the town would contribute nothing for that object, they asked that they might have liberty to build one themselves; but all the assistance which could be obtained was the allowance of fifty pounds. Such was the depreciation of the currency, that this was but little encouragement. The next year, 1749, the town allowed them sixty pounds toward paying for preaching during the previous winter, but still would listen to no argument tending to division. Wearied with applying to the town, and outvoted on every question favorable to their object, they took the matter into their own hands, built their meeting-house with such means as they had, and then presented their petition to the great and general court. Previously to this, meetings were holden at the house of John Wakefield, just above the large Lord house. The erection of the church was a heavy burden upon them. It probably cost more than all the personal property which they had. James Hubbard was the architect. We suppose almost every one else paid his part by his personal labor or lumber. But little otherwise was required. All the nails were wrought at the anvil. Cut nails were then unknown here. The building stood on the site of the house heretofore owned by Elizabeth Kilham, next below Adam McCulloch's. It was two storied, and thirty feet long, the side of the building fronting the road, as was customary in that day. Placing the end on the street is a modification of the present century. It was then only so far completed as to shelter the worshipers from the inclement weather. It was not clapboarded, and the upper story was not glazed. There were frames for five windows above and four below, two on each side of the porch, which was erected on the front. The pulpit was not built till two years afterward, when also the deacon's seat and communion table were prepared. The whole would seem to afford very poor accommodations during the winter season, at which time only meet-

ings were holden in it. A fire in the church was then unheard of; but the fires of the spirit were continually burning within, and the self-satisfaction in having, by their own efforts, made even this poor provision for the worship of God, animated and comforted their hearts. And besides, the effeminacy of modern times had not yet become an element of the human constitution. Men, women, and children were inured to the rigors of a northern wintry climate. Children were sometimes carried to the house of God for baptism on the day on which they were born. The distance to the old church, seven miles from their homes, traveled on foot or on horseback, had helped much to invigorate the material body, while the instructions of Mr. Jefferds, that they had "a heaven or a hell to obtain," waked up all the energies of the soul to battle against any obstacles to the acquisition of the former. The inspirations of hope, and sometimes those of fear, will infuse no small degree of warmth through the system.

The town, being notified of the petition to set off the inhabitants at Kennebunk into a separate parish or precinct, voted to oppose the division, and Samuel Wheelright was chosen agent for that purpose. At the session of the legislature that year the respondents effected a delay until next year, 1750; but the excitement was in no degree allayed, and another meeting was called in May, when, it being fully understood that the measure could no longer be defeated, it was voted "that the inhabitants living between Kennebunk and Mousam rivers, with the lands and estates of every kind between said Kennebunk and Mousam, to the head of the township, be and are set off as a distinct parish, in order to settle the gospel among them." The doings of the town were confirmed by the great and general court, and on the fourteenth day of June, 1750, the people inhabiting Kennebunk were incorporated as a religious society, by the name of the "Second Congregational Society in Wells."

The following were the petitioners for the incorporation, and, we think, were all the taxable inhabitants:

John Mitchell,	Samuel Emons,	Richard Thompson,
Ichabod Cousins,	Benj. Wormwood,	John Wakefield, jr.,
Jesse Towne,	Jedediah Wakefield,	John Gillpatrick, jr.,
James Wakefield,	John Wakefield,	Samuel Shackley,
Stephen Larrabee,	Richard Boothby,	Phillip Brown,

Richard Kimball,	Nathaniel Kimball,	Samuel Littlefield,
Nathaniel Wakefield,	Thomas Kimball,	Joseph Towne,
John Gillpatrick,	John Maddox,	John Webber,
John Butland,	Thomas Cousins,	John Burke,
John Freas,	Benjamin Cousins,	Stephen Webber,
Joseph Wormwood,	Joseph Cousins,	Jonathan Webber.
Stephen Titcomb,	Thomas Towne,	

A meeting was called on the sixth day of August following, for the organization of the parish, by the choice of a clerk and a committee for calling parish meetings. John Mitchell was chosen for the former, and Nathaniel Kimball, Jesse Towne, James Wakefield, Richard Boothby, and John Gillpatrick for the latter.

At another meeting, on the twenty-fifth day of August, John Webber, Jesse Towne, and John Mitchell were chosen assessors, and Stephen Titcomb collector. It was also voted unanimously to give to Daniel Little an invitation to settle with them as minister of the society, and "for his encouragement to give him one hundred pounds for a settlement, and £53 6s. 8d. yearly for his lawful salary." John Wakefield, Richard Kimball, and John Mitchell were chosen a committee to receive Mr. Little's answer. At a subsequent meeting, in November, this committee were directed to supply the pulpit till the 10th of March. Mr. Little desired the proposals to be so far altered as that the £100 should be invested by the parish in a good tract of land, which request was acceded to. The parish also voted to supply him with firewood.

Mr. Little then gave the following answer to the call of the society:

"TO THE SECOND PARISH IN WELLS.

Brethren and Beloved.—It is some time since I received from you a call to settle in the gospel ministry, upon which I have considered and advised, and from the satisfaction I have had in observing the many signal tokens of the wise conduct and the various blessings of Divine Providence vouchsafed towards you as a people since you have attended public worship in a distinct congregation, particularly in the appearance of so happy a degree of charity and brotherly love, and especially the continuance of such a temper and disposition manifested by your late conduct and entire unanimity in an of-

fer the most serious and the most important,—from these and many other considerations, I do (with a view to the honor of Christ, humbly relying upon the conduct and assistance of the Divine Spirit), with a ready and cheerful mind, accept your call, tho' with equal fear, being sensible of my many imperfections, and great unequality to a work so sacred and important as the gospel ministry.

Now let me entreat you in your daily prayers for yourselves always to remember and commit me to the care and blessing of the great Head of the church for all assistance and success. And let me never cease bearing upon my mind with peculiar delight your best good and greatest happiness.

Thus wishing and praying, I am, with particular affection, your sincere soul friend and faithful servant in the cause of Christ.

WELLS, Jan'y 31, 1750-1.

DANIEL LITTLE."

On the receipt of this affirmative answer, a meeting was called to do what was "proper to be done as preparatory to the settlement of y^e Gospel, which we have now, through the Goodness of God, in Prospect." At this meeting Nathaniel Kimball, Stephen Larrabee, Jesse Towne, Richard Kimball and John Mitchell were chosen a committee to consult with Mr. Little as to the ordination, and as to a fast preparatory thereto, and for the embodying of a church.

By arrangement of the committee and vote of the parish, "the 14th of March following was appointed as a day of fasting and prayer previous to ordination, and withal for the candidates of a new church to be incorporated." Accordingly the churches in Wells, Arundel and Biddeford were invited. Mr. Morrill of Biddeford and Mr. Jefferds of Wells attended. Rev. Mr. Jefferds preached and prayed in the forenoon and Mr. Morrill in the afternoon. The service of consecrating a church was performed by Rev. Mr. Jefferds, the several members subscribing the following covenant :

"We whose names are hereunto subscribed, sensibly acknowledging our unworthiness to be in, and inability to keep covenant with God as we ought, yet apprehending the call of God unto us to incorporate into a new church, and to seek the settlement of the ordinances of Christ according to Gospel institution ; do, renouncing all confidence in ourselves, and relying on Jesus Christ for help, declare as followeth :

1st. That we professedly acknowledge ourselves engaged to the fear and service of the Only True God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and to the Lord Jesus Christ, the High Priest, Prophet and King of his Church ; under whose conduct we submit ourselves and on whom alone we wait for grace and glory, to whom we declare ourselves bound in an everlasting covenant, never to be broken.

2d. That we are obliged to give up ourselves to one another in the Lord, and to cleave to one another as fellow members of one body for mutual edification, and to submit ourselves to all the holy administrations appointed by him who is the Head and Lawgiver of his Church, dispensed according to the directions of God's word (which we acknowledge to be the only rule of our faith and practice, and that in general as is explained in our well-known catechisms), and to give our attendance upon all the public ordinances of Christ's institution, walking orderly as becometh saints.

3d. That we are under covenant engagements to bring up our children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, acknowledging our infants to be included with us in the Gospel covenant, and to stand in covenant relation, according to Gospel rules, blessing God for such a privilege. Furthermore, that we are under indispensable obligations at all times to procure the settlement and continuance of the ordinances of Christ and the officers of his Church, according to the appointment of Jesus Christ, chief Shephard of his Flock, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, and that we are equally obliged to be careful and faithful for their maintainance, encouragement and comfort, and to carry it towards them as becometh Saints.

4th. Finally. Solemnly and sincerely professing ourselves to be a Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, do promise, by the help of grace, to walk together as persons under such vows of God ought to do, according to all those rules in the Gospel prescribed to such a society, so far as God hath revealed or shall reveal his mind to us in this respect.

Now the good Lord be merciful to us; and as he has put it into our hearts thus to devote ourselves to him, pity and pardon our frailties and failings, humble us out of all our carnal confidences, and

keep it forever upon our hearts to be faithful to himself and one another for his praise and our eternal comfort. Amen.

Daniel Little,

Jesse Towne,	James Wakefield,	John Wakefield,
Nathaniel Kimball,	John Mitchell,	Richard Boothby,
Richard Kimball,	John Gillpatrick,	Stephen Larrabee,
Thomas Kimball,	Stephen Titcomb,	Thomas Cousins,
Joseph Wormwood,	Samuel Shackley,	Benjamin Wormwood,
Stephen Webber,	Jedediah Wakefield,	Richard Thompson,
John Wakefield, jr.,	Benjamin Cousins."	

A church having thus been established, the 27th day of March was designated as the day for the ordination of Mr. Little, and the churches at Biddeford, Falmouth, Wells, and Scarborough were invited to aid on the occasion. The church, it will be remembered, stood on the site of the Kilham house, next below Mr. McCulloch's. It was in a poor condition for an ordination, being not half finished. Still the people had great satisfaction that they had a church, poor as it was, in which thereafter they were to have regular services on the Sabbath. The services on the occasion of the ordination were as follows: Rev. Mr. Morrill, of Biddeford, made the introductory prayer. Rev. Mr. Jefferds, of Wells, preached the sermon; Rev. Mr. Thompson, of Scarborough, gave the charge; Rev. Mr. Smith, of Falmouth, the Right Hand of Fellowship; Rev. Mr. Elvins, of Scarborough, offered the concluding prayer. None of these services were printed, and therefore we have no knowledge of their character.

At a meeting of the church in May, the following was agreed upon as the Baptismal Covenant:

"You (and each of you) professing a serious belief of the Christian Religion, as contained in the sacred Scriptures, which you acknowledge to be the only rule of your faith and practice, do now sincerely and very solemnly, give up yourself unto the glorious God, who is the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and receive as your God and portion, resolving by his help to conform your life unto the rules of that holy Religion, which the sacred Scriptures teach, as long as you live.

You give up yourself unto the Lord Jesus Christ as the head of his chosen People, in the covenant of grace, and receive him as your

Prophet, Priest and King forever. You likewise acknowledge this Church to be a Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whose discipline and holy watch you give up yourself; and in the fellowship thereof, you promise by divine grace to walk as a regular and holy member. You promise also to seasonably dedicate and devote your offspring unto the Lord according to the ordinances and command of Christ, and to use your endeavors to bring them up in the paths of holy obedience. And lastly, you will labor to obtain that further preparation of the Sanctuary which emboldens your further approach to the enjoyment of God in all his ordinances. Amen."

The covenant for full communion did not materially differ from that of baptism, excepting in the last promise, which was as follows: "And you promise to attend upon all the ordinances of the Gospel as administered in this Church, while your opportunities to be edified thereby in your most holy faith shall be continued to you. Amen."

On the first Sunday in June eighteen females were admitted to the church. Why they were not admitted with the males as a part of the original body, we have not learned. We can see no reason why they should not have been kept from entering the meeting-house as well as from the Lord's supper. We believe they were all members of other churches. But we do not claim to be versed in the science of church government. Not recognizing the right of any person to interfere with another's religious opinions as to duty, we have never sought for knowledge of this character. St. Paul's injunction, that men should esteem others better than themselves, we have always thought was a good one. But Mr. Little and his ministerial brethren, we suppose, had satisfactory reasons for this exclusion of females. In their view, there was some scriptural authority for it.

From its institution, charity, both spiritual and material, has been inculcated by both church and minister as one of the elements of a live religion. The next year after its inauguration, it was voted unanimously to have an annual free contribution on Thanksgiving day, to be devoted to charitable uses; and at the first following, £15 5s. 4d., or over fifty dollars was raised. This surely was a highly commendable beginning for a church in the wilderness, when we consider how little was the property of the members, and how small their number. This commendable vote has been sometimes neglect-

ed, though the practice is yet maintained, the contribution being taken the Sunday previous.

The attempt to ordain a minister in Purpooduck in 1756, produced a good deal of excitement in the churches. There was a violent opposition to him for many reasons. A very large council was called. Mr. Little suggested to his church that he could not attend the meeting unless they established as a principle, that all votes should be by churches, and not by delegates; so that persons who had an object to accomplish should not lord it over others by the large number of delegates. This council sat three days, and refused ordination—we suppose voting by churches. Various attempts were afterward made by councils to ordain him. But they all failed. Finally, two ministers took it upon themselves to set him apart for the ministry, and thus the matter ended. But the principle adopted by this church, we suppose, was adopted by all the churches.

Mr. Little's church, though generally united, was not always free from troubles. Many of the members had not enjoyed the benefits of education. Such persons are often whimsical in their views, seldom basing their judgments on the deductions of a sound logic. Several who belonged to the church in Arundel, living near this church, took occasion sometimes to attend Mr. Little's meeting on the Sabbath, and at times united with his church in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Some of the church were highly indignant at the liberty thus taken. They looked upon it as presumptuous, and a great offense, and were unwilling to countenance such aberration from duty by communing with them. Richard Boothby and his wife, Mabel, in consequence, for a long while forebore to attend the ordinance, till a council of the church in Arundel took the matter under consideration, and advised these wanderers to return to their own fold. Upon this action, these dissatisfied disciples gave notice to the pastor, that they could now see their way clear to come back to the communion, and if there was no objection they should be pleased to do so. They were undoubtedly honest in their scruples. But to us it seems a very futile apology for neglecting the memorial of the Saviour, that other persons were uniting in the commemoration, who ought to have manifested their attachment to him somewhere else. In those days many follies of this character will be discovered in the history of the church; and future historians will mark weaknesses not less strange in the church of our time.

In the year 1760, Boston suffered very severely by fire, and this church contributed for the relief of the sufferers £65 5s. 6d., an amount almost equal to the salary of their minister. It is very manifest, notwithstanding any deficiency or errors in their religious opinions, that in matters of real importance they strove to carry their religion into practice.

When this division of the society took place, the larger proportion of the inhabitants of the new parish were dwelling between the site of the present village and the sea, and in the vicinity of the Littlefield mills. A brief summary of what had been done here may be of interest to the reader. The territory which the village now covers was almost an entire wilderness; the western side of the river had scarcely been interfered with by the hand of man. For a few years after the Sayward mill was built the axe of the millman had unrestrained liberty in its vicinity, and many of the magnificent pines, which had seen the years of a century, fell a prey to its power, till the Indian wars stayed its destructive action. A new growth had sprung up along the banks of the Mousam, so that now, apparently, the forests had been untouched by the hand of man. A small house, built by Thomas Cousins, was standing in the westerly corner of what is now the homestead of Dr. N. E. Smart; another, built by Jedediah Wakefield, on the northerly side of the old road, a short distance beyond the house of John Curtis; a third by John Wakefield, jr., where Miss Elizabeth W. Hatch now lives; and a fourth by Ichabod Cousins, son of Thomas, in the field where the old factory barn now stands. This last house was small, built of logs, and of one story, and according to the current language of the times, "bullet proof." It had no glass windows, and did not differ materially from those rude cabins which we frequently see in new clearings for the entry of civilization. Appended to it was a flanker, as a sort of watch or sentinel house in times of danger. At this house, at such periods, one soldier was stationed by government. Such a protection may seem to have afforded but a very feeble security for the inmates; but a dozen Indians would not dare to attack it. Some one of them at least would pay the forfeit, and each one would fear that the fatality would be his.

At the same time, what was in subsequent years denominated the old saw-mill was standing, six or eight rods above the bridge. The

privilege having been unoccupied nearly half a century came into the hands of John Storer, by whom it was rebuilt in 1730.

On the eastern side of the town, nearer Kennebunk river, was the house of Richard Kimball, which stood a few rods from the site of the brick house of Aaron Ricker. It was a two story building, though having but one room on the lower floor. It was finished as a garrison house, having a flanker on the eastern side, but no windows, small apertures being left there for the purposes of observing the approach of the Indians in time of war. To this house many of the neighboring inhabitants resorted for safety. One soldier was stationed here also. Kimball kept a small stock for trade in his house, and was the first retailer in Kennebunk. Next beyond this was the house of Nathaniel Kimball, which stood where Edward Haney's house now stands; and to the westward of these, where the late Isaac Peabody lived, was the house of Thomas Kimball, and to the northward of this, a few rods further on, the house of Samuel Shackley. John Gillpatrick had a house on the eastern side of the road, near that now occupied by Owen E. Burnham. On the Kennebunk river, just below the bridge, was the Littlefield saw-mill, and about three-quarters of a mile below, by a small island, near the land of the late Joseph Porter, was another, built by John Storer. These mills were then doing a large and profitable business, principally in consequence of the proximity of the growth of large and valuable timber. Storer's mill was obstructed in its operation about four hours daily, from the flux of the tide.

On the Mousam below was the Larrabæe village, consisting on one side of Larrabee's, Littlefield's, and Look's houses, the latter of which was occupied by John Butland, Look having moved to Saco. Below was the house of Thomas Wormwood, and forty rods further down, on the edge of the highland, that of John Freeze. Above, near the river, opposite the gravel bed, the house of Samuel Emons. On the western side of the river was the house of Thomas Wormwood, jr., where the late Abner Wormwood lived, and above, at the foot of the pasture of the late Geo. W. Wallingford, Esq., was the house of Edward Evans, the cellar of which is still to be seen. The houses of John Look and Thomas Wormwood were garrisoned, each of them protected by a wall, twelve feet high, made of large timber, extending to the eaves of the house, and sufficiently far from it to

leave an intervening space wide enough for all the out-door work. Below, on Great Hill, was the house built by Samuel Sawyer, since occupied by John Burks. At the eastward of the river, a little below the Wentworth house, on the opposite side of the road, was the house of John Webber, and beyond, where the Smith house now stands, was a small house of Richard Boothby.

On the road at the landing was the house of John Wakefield, on the upper corner of Titcomb's ship-yard, and that of James Wakefield, of two stories, about three rods above the large Lord house. It was afterward razed by the removal of the lower story, and then moved a few rods further up the road. Next below was the meeting-house, and then the house of Nathaniel Wakefield, a little below the site of the old school-house. Stephen Titcomb had a small house between the river and the house of George Dresser, from which he moved the next year, having built the Dresser house, which was garrisoned. Jesse Towne had a small house just above the upper falls, near the spring, and below, toward and near the sea, were the houses of John Mitchell and Stephen Harding. The old house on the hill, just below the wharves, is the same building occupied by Mitchell, though having undergone some modifications. This was also a garrison.

On the Alewife road was the house built by Joshua Kimball, a little below where Ezra Smith has heretofore lived, near the junction of the roads, which was at this time occupied by John Maddox, who married his widow; the house of Jonathan Taylor, where Thatcher Jones now lives, and the house of David Thompson, where John W. Treadwell lives.

This was Kennebunk in 1750. Some of these first settlers were enterprising and energetic men. Nathaniel Kimball is said by Judge Sayward to have been the father of Kennebunk. The two brothers were largely engaged in the lumbering business. The population had come from various directions, and all, with the single exception of John Burks, were men of some education, being able to write their names distinctly. Twenty of them were members of the Christian church, of which they appear to have cherished a sound estimate, and a proper consciousness of its effect on human life and interests. They seem to have felt it to be necessary even to material prosperity, alleging in their petition to the general court their faith in the rapid growth of this section of the town as soon as the

institutions of religion were planted among them. Men were then as much influenced by the attractive power of the meeting-house as they are at this day by the allurements of a contemplated factory. As will be seen afterward, the anticipations of these men were fully realized.

The following extracts from the tax lists of the new parish will show the relative condition as to property of the principal business men. Richard Kimball was taxed £3 14s. 9d.; Nathaniel Kimball, £3 13s. 6d.; John Mitchell, £3 10s.; John Webber, £3 7s. 3d.; Ichabod Cousins, £2 18s.; Richard Boothby, £2 16s.; John Gillpatrick, £2 15s. 9d.; Thomas Cousins, £2 13s.; Stephen Larrabee, £2 10s.; Stephen Titcomb, £2 4s.; John Wakefield, £2 1s.; Nathaniel Wakefield, £2 1s.

It is said by Sullivan, in his History of Maine, that there were, at this time, not more than a thousand inhabitants in Wells. This number cannot vary much from the truth. There were 221 polls, and probably about 200 males over twenty-one years of age, the polls being inventoried at the age of eighteen.

After the close of the war of 1745 there was a general feeling of poverty among the people. This impression was not limited to the town of Wells. The excitements of the war had led many to neglect their business, and thereby the amount of property was to that extent diminished. The inhabitants felt the necessary taxes to be burdensome, and when required to return an inventory to the State government, they were naturally inclined to undervalue their possessions to effect a diminution of their taxes. The town of Kittery, in a representation made by its inhabitants, thus speaks of Wells: "Wells has Excellent farms, and Lumber trade too, Seated in a Pleasant Bay for fish, A Wealthy and Careful People, Can well Support themselves and are as Independent as any town in the County, have about three times as much land as Kittery, and have abundance of Salt Marshes, Meadows and Cattle and Saw-mills and timber, and near as many men as Kittery has." Contrasting this town with their own, they say: "About One Quarter part of the lands in said town (Kittery) are not capable of any improvement in Husbandry. Such Mossy, Rocky Ground and boggy Swamps as bear nothing to Support any useful Creature Is not profitable for anything." "Poor fishermen and Sailors and some Labourers when there was some Trading and business Carried on in the Town Purchased Small lots here

and there amongst the rocks, built little Cottages to live in, On which lotts Some may raise a bushell of Potatoes and a hundred Cabbages, and many Cannot raise so much." "One quarter part of the town Cannot raise one bushel of Corn." "In a Great many of the houses is nothing but the Continual Cry of hunger Poverty and want." "Neither is all the Cattle raised in the town Sufficient to Supply the Town with meat." "Only one or two merchants in the Town, and their tradeing Cannot be anything of the Produce of the Town, but the Goods they bring to trade upon they trust out to the Poor, many of whom never pay." "Many are wretched and miserable." "Falmouth has fish of all Sorts (when and where they Please to Catch them)." "The place (as well as the People) is the beauty and riches and Strength of the County." "Kittery Produces nothing to trade upon unless they Should Sell one another for Slaves, as the Afrecans do." "No Person living can Show that Kittery Does produce any one Commodity to trade upon of any Sort, but poor Widows and Orphans they have in Plenty, more than any other Town in the County." "It has nothing to Show but Integrity and Honesty for its Support, and Poverty for its Defense." The Isle of Shoals was joined to Kittery, and "as Soon as they were joynd Several poor families came from thence to the town for Support, which cost more money than all the taxes the Isle of Shoals ever paid to Kittery, Exclusive of the Charges Since their being so annexed." "Scarce any one Town in the County but their traders own more Sloops and other Vessels for the Sea than is owned in Kittery." "Several Towns in this County Exceed Kittery abundantly in Shipping." "Farmers have nothing to Spare and others have nothing to live upon but what they earn in other places." The foregoing are only a few statements of their petition. They conclude the whole with a verification.

While the description here given of Wells is readily accepted, though not sustainable in all its parts, one cannot but wonder at the presumption of these men of Kittery in offering such a document to the legislature of Massachusetts. At this time the town of Wells had the following property: 117 houses, 15 mills, 60 orchards, 534 acres of tillage land, 1817 acres of mowing land, 1185 acres of pasturing, 11 slaves, 148 horses, 503 oxen, 529 cows, 237 swine, 244 sheep, 60 tons of navigation, £74 in trading stock, and 221 polls. Kittery, at the same time, had 284 houses, 8 mills, 207 orchards, 553

acres of tillage, 2420 acres of mowing ground, 4272 acres of pasturing, 944 tons of navigation, 42 slaves, 183 horses, 342 oxen, 1025 cows, 212 swine, 2391 sheep, £971 in trading stock, and 500 polls, thus showing that Kittery possessed more than Wells, double the number of men, thirteen times the amount of stock in trade, double the number of cows, ten times as many sheep, almost four times as many slaves, fifteen times as much navigation, nearly four times the extent of pasturing, more tillage, and more money. We cannot stop to comment on the comparison here made. It is sufficient to say we are not very favorably impressed with the religion of these memorialists.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the great sin of the South, for which the day of wrath, predicted by Jefferson, came upon the whole country, in the bloodshed and sorrows of the great rebellion, in some measure existed here. For almost a century it maintained its position in Wells, as an element of social life. Human beings were regarded as chattels; used and sold in the market as freely as cattle. The number was small, but only so in consequence of the inability of the people to purchase and maintain a large number. It will be seen also that slavery was not the status of the black man only. The Indian was also doomed to a like condition. Kittery returned three of that class. They may have been reduced to servitude from their character as "captives taken in just wars." A rational man with these facts before him, could surely not complain that the natives retaliated by a resort to the same disposition of the English who fell into their hands during war. God is just, and what is right in reference to one man is right in regard to another, under the same circumstances.

These slaves were generally treated with kindness by their masters. Some fell into cruel hands, and were called to endure the severe burdens and other ill treatment which inhumanity seldom fails to inflict on those who fall under its unlimited control. The free use of intoxicating liquor frequently worked up an unhappy relationship between master and slave. Passion excited on the part of one, seldom failed to provoke a like influence on the other. In the year of which we are speaking, the number of slaves in Wells was small. At some periods it was larger, sometimes less.

The old Weare house in York, which stood about three-quarters of a mile east of Freeman's tavern, and which was taken down a

few years ago, was at one period a slave factory. Here were several negro families, and many negro children were sent from it to market. How this traffic was managed we are unable to state. But we are well assured that many scenes were witnessed there, on such occasions, which would make the heart ache.

But our slaves were generally purchased in Wells. In the latter part of the slave era there were many small vessels owned on the seaboard, which were employed in the West India trade, by which they were readily transported here. Almost every vessel would return with a few, and they were purchased at very low prices. They were also sold very frequently from the necessities of life among ourselves. Joseph Hobbs had two, Zelph and Phillis. Phillis had a little daughter of the age of five years, to whom she was bound by all the ties which take hold of a mother's heart. But a distinguished Revolutionary officer, with the same heartlessness which we have been wont to attribute to those engaged in the slave trade, took this little child from its mother, and, as he would any article of produce, carried her to Saco, and there sold her. The agony of the poor mother in this cruel separation, was said to be indescribable. Yet there were no relentings and no remorse on the part of the trader, which led to any attempt to rescind the unholy contract. It does not seem that our own townsmen had any more doubt, in the judgment of conscience, as to the legitimacy of this traffic; and that a negro was a mere chattel, subject to be bought and sold at the will of the master, than they had that the right of sale in the owner, was a condition or incident of any other property. There was no special callousness of heart in this transaction. The same feeling was general in relation to the slave; and all the odious features of the institution, of which so much has been said at the present day, were exhibited everywhere in New England. In the middle of the last century no newspaper was published in Maine. The advertising community were obliged to avail themselves of the aid of the nearest paper published in a neighboring state, which was the New Hampshire Gazette, published at Portsmouth. In that we find the same notices of runaway negroes which, until recently, were seen in Southern prints, headed with the picture of a negro trudging along with a pack on his back, also notices of slaves for sale. Thus in that paper, in 1764, we find the following advertisement: "A young negro woman. To be sold for no fault" (with one exception not necessary to

state). Enquire of the Printer. April 3d, 1764." Also another, as thus stated: "To be sold at public auction on the 22d of April instant, one yoke of oxen, several steers, cow, sheep, a good horse, several calves, also a likely negro girl."

In all inventories they were generally classed with the stock on the farm, or with the animals of the homestead. So also in all wills. In the inventory of the estate of Waldo Emerson, who lived where Henry Kingsbury now does, is the following: "1 negro wench named Phillis £30 .0 .0, 1 large horse £6 .0 .0, 1 Mare £18 .0 .0." John Fernald, of Kittery, died in 1773. The following is the order of appraisal of his estate: "Bible and other books \$10.50—One Negro Man \$40.00, 2 oxen 9.60." James Scammon, of Biddeford, died in 1754. The appraisal of his estate runs thus: Horse £9 .6 .8 A mair £10 .13 .4—3 calves 32 .0—a negro boy £53 .6 .8—5 pair sheep £4—5 swine £5 .17 .4.

The will of Col. John Wheelright, of Wells, so prominent in the early part of our history, and a worthy member of the Christian church, who died in 1745, contains this item: "In consideration of the love and affection I bear to my beloved wife, I give her all my cattle, and creatures of all kinds, negro or molatto servants." In Judge Wheelright's will, allowed in 1700, is a similar item. "I do give and bequeath unto Esther, my beloved wife, all my cattle of all sorts, with one negro servant named Titus." Joseph Hill, who died in 1743, left a will with these items: "I give to my wife Sarah, my negro boy Tom. I give to my wife also the service of my negro man named Sharper. I give to my son Nathaniel Hill, my negro named Plato, and after the term is ended which my negro Sharper is to serve my wife, the said negro is to be the servant of said Nathaniel." Dr. Sawyer who died in 1774, says in his will, "I give to my daughter Eunice, one-third part of the schooner Prosperous, also my negro girl Phillis." Previously he owned two others, Scipio and Sharper. Rev. Samuel Emery owned one, named Violet. In addition to those stated in his will, Joseph Hill owned Dinah and Scipio. John Goodale owned one named Phillis. Josiah Littlefield owned one, Will Morgage. Pelatiah Littlefield owned two, Fortune and Cato, both of whom were drowned. The first Pelatiah Littlefield bought one in Boston, paying for him eighty pounds. Deacon Thomas Wells owned one by the name of Jeff, who came down as an heir-loom to several successive generations. Ebenezer Sawyer

owned one by the name of Pomp, who was decidedly in advance of the age in which he lived. He changed his name and that of his master, got or forged a counterfeit pass, and ran away Dec. 23, 1774.

John Bourne owned one by the name of Salem. He was always called Salem Bourne. He had another called Pompey. He was very kindly treated, and his soul responded affectionately to the kind feelings of the family. He was married to Elizabeth Miles in 1778. He dressed in a short jacket and trowsers made of moose-skin, a fabric of a texture somewhat more durable than would be coveted by the taste of the present age. Pompey was a bold and daring adventurer, and did not die without leaving his mark in the world. He was an excellent sailor, and much distinguished as a gunner. He was one of the kindest men in the world, and it was said that in consequence of his goodness of heart, his mistress spoiled him by over-indulgence. His master finally thought it best to dispose of him, and he was sold to Benjamin Littlefield. In an evil hour his religion failed him. He stole a sheep in Kittery, was imprisoned for his offense; and to pay prison charges, he was sold and carried off to the West Indies.

Capt. James Littlefield had several slaves; Scipio, Sharper, Dinah and Tom. Tom married Phillis, but soon after died. She then married Prime. Prime died. She then took Old Tom. Old Tom! We shall never see his like again. Many who have lived in the last half century, will remember him. Some are still living, who in olden time danced away a happy hour, enlivened by the same old tune, which for more than fifty years he was wont to grind out from that same old fiddle. They cannot forget his gentle, manly deportment, his meek and kind spirit. Who ever turned Old Tom from his door without endeavoring to meet his wants? We of Kennebunk well remember him in the house of God, separated from his fellow-men in his lone seat, though far above all the other worshipers, emblematical, perhaps, in the wisdom of God, though not so designed by the pride of man, of his more exalted seat in the mansions of the blest. As his face far outshone those of his white brethren on earth, so may it now be encircled with a more distinguished glory in Heaven. Old Tom! While his memory remains, nothing but good will ever be associated with his name.

Before the close of the last century the few slaves that remained, having been emancipated, were gathered together on Negro Hill in

front of the house of Nathaniel Bragdon. Here were three or four houses. Old Tom and Phillis occupied one. Many kind and charitable friends were wont to visit him. His conjugal relations with Phillis were of a genial and sympathetic character. Her death was a severe blow to him. At her funeral he told Mr. Fletcher, the minister, that he should never get such another. He was then about eighty years of age. He afterwards took old Pegg. But she had not the gracious, mild and courteous spirit which he needed; and he was made thereby to feel more deeply the loss of Phillis. Not long after her death—after his marriage to Pegg—some ladies of the village called to see him. Pegg told him to go and get his fiddle to amuse the young folks. But Tom said no, Phillis has been dead so little while he could not play. But Pegg insisted and commanded. He was obliged to submit; got his fiddle, played, and Pegg danced three-quarters of an hour. He died in 18—, supposed to be a hundred years old. Rev. Mr. Wells who performed the funeral services, delivered a very interesting and pathetic address on the occasion.

As was said of Old Tom, the slaves in church were seated by themselves. They were generally kept apart from the white men, in their joys, their sorrows, their sympathies and their worship. On the eastern end of the old meeting-house was a large porch two stories high. There, in the upper story, nearly all of them used to sit during service. The churches generally in those days had similar accommodations for the negroes, although some few were in the habit of sitting on the step of the pew door, the pews then being elevated above the aisles, and requiring this step for their convenient entrance.

CHAPTER XXVII.

GENERAL USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS—INTRODUCTION OF TEA AND COFFEE—COSTUME OF THE INHABITANTS—TITULAR DISTINCTIONS—CHRISTIAN NAMES—MARRIAGE CEREMONIES—FUNERALS—FIRST BELL IN KENNEBUNK—SUPERSTITIONS OF THE AGE—GEORGE JACOBS—HIS TRIAL AND EXECUTION.

ALTHOUGH at this period, the middle of the eighteenth century, there had been a very material advancement in social life, and in all the arts of civilization, yet, to the young of the present day, it will seem almost impossible that only a hundred years ago, life in Wells, in all its aspects, should have been so entirely different from its present character, as it manifestly was. Town schools had indeed been instituted, and their beneficent influence had begun to exhibit itself in the various departments of activity. But the terrible trials through which the settlers had passed in the years of war, kept the mind in ceaseless anxiety and suspense. Men knew not what to do. All attempts at improvement might at once be frustrated by the incursions of the Indian, or stayed by the imperious demands of war. Much of the time even the limited provisions for instruction could not be enjoyed. Men or children could not in safety be abroad; and while a few years of peace came to relieve the burden of their souls, and give opportunity for free out-door action, all the labors of the people were required to restore the waste places, and make provision for the support of their families. Habits had been acquired which it was not easy to change. Excitement had become a necessity of life. Intellectual culture was but little thought of. Physical, rather than moral comfort and progress, was the ruling motive. Everything tended to materialism.

It would be interesting to the reader if we should give some specimens of the literature of the age; or of the men who were the leaders in the affairs of common interest, and in the intercourse and direction of social life. But we have not space for such an indulgence. Yet, as far as we are able, we will here make such an exhibit of the mixed character of our predecessors, as that our readers may

comprehend the great change, which a century has wrought out in the whole condition of the townsmen.

Perhaps no single power in the years past has had such a controlling influence in modeling the character of society, as that of exciting or intoxicating drinks. Undoubtedly men are honest in their thoughts, when they resort to their use from entirely different and even adverse motives. One wants them to warm, another to cool him; one to excite and strengthen, another to calm the nerves, to assuage thirst and give the system a tone of action appropriate to life's work. But all concur in the opinion that the one thing is needful, and it is wonderful how universally, and how constantly this doctrine was acted upon in those days. In the time of which we are speaking, Pelatiah Littlefield was the keeper of a public house, where Samuel B. Littlefield, one of his descendants, now lives. He also kept a small store, and in trading, tavern-keeping, coasting and various other branches, did a good deal of business. Here, in this olden time, frequently gathered together the men of note, and the public officers of the town, to deliberate on matters of interest, or spend an evening in the enjoyment of conversation and anecdote, or other pastime peculiar to social life. But at all times and on all occasions the necessary beverage must be had to meet the special want of the moment. The articles most prominent for this purpose were flip and toddy. The former was prepared with beer and rum sweetened, and warmed by a hot iron; the latter was a mixture of rum and water sweetened and warmed in the same manner. Rum was a common drink. The burden of the charges on the day-book was made up of these items. We think nearly every man in town had these charges against him. Sometimes the appetite would demand toddy for many days, then it would change to flip, then to rum, then again to flip. Take a single case. Jonathan Huckin is charged:

1768. "2 breakfasts, 3 dinners, 3 glasses rum,	£1 6s. 6d.
$\frac{1}{2}$ a mug of tody,	2 6
$\frac{1}{2}$ a mug of tody,	2 6
$\frac{1}{2}$ a mug of tody,	2 6
$\frac{1}{2}$ a mug of tody,	2 6
2 mugs of flip,	10 0
1 mug of flip,	5 0
1 mug of flip,	5 0
$\frac{1}{2}$ a mug,	2 6."

These charges extend frequently from the top to the bottom of the page, with scarcely an intervening charge for any article of food or raiment. These articles were considered so far a necessity of life that the persons engaged in the duties of any public office did not hesitate to charge them to their employers. Even the selectmen, whose office was held in high regard, did not hesitate to charge these matters to the town. Thus, under the date, December, 1772, an account against the selectmen reads as follows :

"By 4 boles of todday,	£1 0s. 0d.
By 3 boles of todday,	15 0
By 1½ of flip,	7 6
By 4 mugs of flip,	1 0 0
To 4 dinners,	1 0 0
By 5 glasses of rum,	5 0
By 1½ bole of todday,	9 0
To 3 dinners,	15 0.

The whole account embraces about fifty items, mostly of the same character, all which, we suppose, were allowed by the town. Similar charges were made by referees, appraisers, and other officers. Among items charged by commissioners in dividing the estate of Josiah Littlefield, deceased, in 1733, is this charge: "To lieker at Steward's, the brick house, 3s. 8d." In looking over one hundred accounts in a day-book, we have found that they differed but very little from those which we have before copied. In an account of one hundred and twenty-seven charges against a son of one of the ministers, only six of them are for other articles than rum, flip, and toddy. Our readers will perceive that the use of these articles was in no degree restricted. Indulgence was unlimited, universal, and sustained by the public sanction. Men would talk of their poverty, and plead with the government for relief in their distress, while they were squandering what they had in thus ministering to an unnatural and vicious appetite. As before stated, the habits thus acquired grew out of the anxieties of their condition. The troubles which beset them and the consequent feverish excitements had their only remedy, as they supposed, in this resort to the poisonous cup. We have no disposition to impute to the early settlers any moral turpitude in the custom so general. The light of modern times had not beamed in upon their minds. They regarded such excitements as

material to health and to make them efficient for the labors of life. Many of the comforts and the principal beverages of more modern times had not yet come within their reach. Tea and coffee were but little known here previously to 1750, and this is an earlier date than our histories generally give to their advent in the towns of New England. In that year Dr. Sawyer kept coffee for sale at his store. In 1760, Pelatiah Littlefield kept tea for sale. In 1764, so indispensable had become the use of these articles that one of our sea captains made it a matter of complaint to the owner of his vessel that he had "no tea, coffee, or molasses." We think coffee was introduced in Kennebunk prior to 1750. Nathaniel Kimball, who lived where Edward Haney now lives, kept a public house, and when lands in that neighborhood were being located, a gentleman came for the purpose of taking a survey and examination of a tract in the vicinity, and put up at Kimball's. He brought with him a small quantity of coffee, and as he went out handed a portion to the landlady, with the request that she would make some for dinner. He was to be gone till after twelve and would like to have some hot coffee on his return. She put it in the pot to boil before ten, supposing that being so hard it would take a long while to soften it. The stranger did not return till after two, when the good wife informed him she could do nothing with it. It had been boiling ever since ten o'clock; she had tried it, and it was just as hard as ever. He then enlightened her as to the mode of preparing it for use, though obliged to submit to the loss of his cup of hot coffee for dinner.

But our forefathers generally, at the period of which we are speaking, had no knowledge of tea or coffee as articles of diet. Cider had begun to be manufactured, and was sold in 1741 at about a shilling a mug; soon after at a lower rate. The use of cold water, as a beverage, the people then thought did not fully meet their wants in the severe labors to which they were called. We can fully sympathize with them in all their struggles for life and its comforts, and have no word of condemnation for many of their frailties. In many things they manifested a wisdom exceeding that which seems to direct the action of the present age. They fitted themselves with costume appropriate to the climate and to the labors in which they were engaged. John Storer stood at the head of the aristocracy of Wells, yet he was accustomed to wear leather breeches. Rev. Mr. Deane,

minister of Portland, as late as 1770, speaks of his new buckskin breeches. A pair of these in 1750 cost about one pound. Small clothes, as they were sometimes termed, ended just below the knee, where they were drawn tight to the stocking by a row of four or five buttons, and generally were further fastened by the addition of a large silver or silver plated buckle, three or four inches long. Pants were not then much in vogue with the older classes. Some boys wore buckskin trowsers; others those made of homespun cloth. These leather garments were not very satisfactory. They lasted too long. A new pair of any material was almost hopeless to one of these youthful aspirants for a new or fashionable dress. We well recollect hearing one of the matrons of olden times tell the story of the contrivance of two of her neighbor's boys to bring about a modification of their nether garments. They had begged of their mother that they might lay aside their leather trowsers and have a pair made of domestic cloth; but all their entreaties were in vain. She would give them no other encouragement to that end than merely to say to them that when the leather was worn out they should have their desires gratified by a pair of homespun. They endured for a long time the vexation of the unyielding garments. Finally all hope failed them, and their wits came to their aid in devising a remedy. They took to the grindstone. One boy sat upon it while the other turned the crank, and thus they were in a fair way to bring about the object of their wishes without exciting suspicion of any extraordinary means for the purpose. But their cheering hopes were suddenly blasted. The father caught them in the midst of their prosperous operations, and they were doomed still longer to undergo the penance of wearing these uncongenial garments.

As a general rule, the wardrobes of the people were of the cheapest kind, most of them of home manufacture. But some, of the highest rank, were wont to overleap the boundaries of town fashions and ape the habits of metropolitan life. Pelatiah Littlefield was a gentleman of the old school, and had most of his clothes made in Boston. Jonathan Littlefield, the son, we think followed the father's example in this regard. Francis Shaw, merchant in Boston, in 1759, charged him with one pair of plush breeches, £1 6s. 5d.; pair of buff knit breeches, £1 13s. 2d.; pair of Jarman serge breeches, £1 2s. 8d. Nearly all the people then, as now, had what was called a best suit.

We suppose that Joshua Freeman, of Portland, then twenty years old, was invested with his when, as stated by Willis, "he went a courting in 1750." He said "he wore a full bottomed wig and cocked hat, scarlet coat and small clothes, white vest and stockings, shoes and buckles, and two watches, one each side." Mrs. Smith, in her History of Newburyport, says, "The gentlemen quite equaled the ladies at this period in the amount of finery and the brilliancy of colors in which they indulged. A light blue coat, with large fancy buttons, a white satin embroidered waistcoat, red velvet breeches, with silk stockings and buckled shoes, with a neckcloth or scarf of finely embroidered cambric or figured stuff, the ends hanging loose, the better to show the work, and liberal bosom and wrist ruffles (the latter usually fastened with gold or silver buckles), was considered a proper evening dress for a gentleman of any pretension to fashion." Some of the families seem to have had extensive wardrobes. Sarah, the widow of William Sawyer, in her will disposes of her wearing apparel, embracing a black calamanco suit, old and yellow under petticoat, her dark blue serge petticoat, crape suit, silk suit, striped calamanco suit, and her black silk petticoat. Sir William Pepperell, living in Kittery, almost invariably appeared in a very showy and expensive costume of "scarlet cloth trimmed with gold lace," so that there was actually as marked a distinction between the classes of society then as now. This distinction was recognized by all classes, as will be seen by the course taken in assigning pews in the new church, though only a very few were elevated in rank above the many. This diversity had been manifested from the earliest settlement of the town by the address which was appropriated to the different classes of men and women. Every one was distinguished by the title acquired by official position or by his standing in society. We have been unable to ascertain what change of circumstances in the various cases changed one's address. We have all read of the punishment of Josiah Plaistow, by the court of Assistants in Boston, for stealing from the Indians, "that he should thereafter be called by the name of Josias, and not Mr., as formerly he used to be." In the earlier periods of colonial life the appellation of Goodman was applied to various persons. Felt, in his history of Ipswich, says, "to captains and sometimes to mates of vessels, to military captains, to eminent merchants, to schoolmasters, doctors, magistrates, and clergymen, to persons who had received a degree at col-

lege, or had been made freemen. Wives of such persons had the appellation of goodwife." Though we are not fully satisfied with this statement, yet as the author had larger opportunities than ourselves for learning the use of these terms we feel bound to accept it. In this town we had Goodman Hammond, Goodman Littlefield, and others.

This designation seems to have fallen into disuse previously to the Revolutionary war; but other titular distinctions were continued. Military men of official rank were always addressed by their titles. Sergeants, Cornets, Lieutenants, Ensigns, Captains, and Colonels always supplanted the Christian name. These distinctions were sometimes of great convenience, more especially when applied to the Littlefields, who had become so numerous. Judicial officers were distinguished as Esquires, and those on the bench were addressed as the Worshipful, Most Worshipful. The wives of such, as well as of those of military eminence, and of ministers, were called Madam. In this town we had Madam Storer, wife of Col. Joseph Storer, Madam Wheelright, wife of Col. John, Madam Little, wife of Rev. Daniel.

In the early days of New England the term Mr. seems to have been applied to ministers and to men of high civil rank only; but its application was gradually extended, so that at the period of which we are speaking every man had acquired the right to that address.

But about the year 1750 an important change began to show itself in the names given to individuals. As the population increased, while the inventive powers of the people were not in progress of development, and old names did not meet the demands of life, they were obliged to resort to what are now termed double names. No such methods of distinction were known among the original emigrants from Europe. A large proportion of the names given in baptism were drawn from the Bible. Take a single instance: The children of Samuel Hatch, one of the early settlers of the town, were Bethiah, Benjamin, Jemima, Samuel, Mary, Joseph, John, Eunice, and Phillip. Very seldom is any other name found among our predecessors of the olden time in Wells than those which are mentioned in the Scriptures. But the march of intellect and the necessities of social and business life now required other designations, and men began to assume the double name. This assumption, however, was not very readily accepted. Undoubtedly there were

some who believed the Bible furnished names enough for universal humanity, and who perhaps thought it would be irreverent to look elsewhere for them, as there were some who thought the attempt to set up lightning rods was sinful, being in contravention of the designs of Heaven. Previously to 1735 the double name had not appeared among the inhabitants of Wells. The first person who broke in upon the old order of nomination was John Heard Hubbard, who walked abroad and took care to be recognized under that distinctive name previously to 1750, always writing it in full, in a bold and marked hand. But for many years he had no followers. One or two appeared between 1750 and 1760; but the double name was still uncommon till about the period of the Revolutionary war, when men began to adopt it more freely.

During the first century after the initiation of the settlement, among the females Elizabeth and Mary seem to have been the fancy names. Scarcely a family neglected to avail themselves of one or both. Where Bible names did not fully satisfy, occasionally a new one was manufactured, based on some religious element. Thus we had Benedictus Hammond, Dependence Littlefield, Charity Webb, Humility Preble. Of two hundred and seventy-two baptized during the pastorate of Mr. Emery, all but ten were invested with Scripture names.

Of the marriage ceremony, in the first century of the settlement, its attendants and immediate antecedents, we have been unable to obtain any complete information. If we never had had the light of divine revelation, we are assured that all the race would have found out that it was "not good for man to be alone." Our predecessors of that period, we know, readily fell in with that postulate; but just how the great result was brought about, neither record nor tradition unfolds to us. We are confident that scarcely a man or woman arrived at maturity without some aspirations in that direction. Thomas Wheelright, son of Rev. John, it is true, wound up his earthly being in celibacy; but, as we have stated in a former chapter, his intentions were to a different condition.

Aside from him, we know of no one among the early settlers who lived and died wifeless. But the entire preliminary and ceremonial action for the completion of the marriage, has been lost even to tradition. Though we are not apprised of the nature and extent of the preparations then made for the wedding, we are fully persuaded that

it was not regarded as a day for which the mother should afflict her soul by weeks of wearisome labor. Pains were not taken to exhaust the father's purse in the purchase of the frippery and tinsel to decorate the person, so common in more modern times. Neither did the candidates think that the light of Heaven should not be allowed to shine upon them on the interesting occasion; as though this perfecting of the union of two loving hearts was a sin not to be witnessed by men or angels; or rather, as if they chose darkness rather than light, because the deed was evil. But we know that they regarded marriage as honorable and worthy of all acceptance; and the clearer and more brilliant the sunshine, the more prophetic was it of a happy union. The personal adornment or dress for the consecration, was to a great degree a matter alien from the thoughts of the household. In some cases there were no indications that any special event was in prospect until the hour came for the consummation. One case may be stated which perhaps is somewhat exceptional. An industrious young lady was to be married; but the thought did not so occupy her attention as to induce her to relax in the least from the daily work of the house; on the contrary, she was very probably inspirited by it to ply her cards with more activity. The hour was fixed for the wedding. Still her regular daily work went on. The minister or legal officer came and found her diligently carding her rolls. He enquired of her if she was ready. O yes, was the answer. She jumped up; shook the dust and flyings from her apron, and took her position by the side of the bridegroom, and they were then made man and wife.

But though our knowledge of this matter is so defective, some of the incidents of an era so important in one's life, still linger in tradition, and perhaps I may say, have a place in record. One idea of the consequence of marriage was almost universal; that by the union the responsibility for the wife's debts was cast on the husband; and the only way of avoiding this responsibility was by the non-reception to his house or possession of any property which she might have; this exclusion being extended so far as to require the complete nudation of her person, with the exception of the garment to which belongs the closest fellowship with the wearer. This idea was not merely speculative, but in many cases had free action with the contracting parties, with the assent of the official who performed the ceremony. Feb. 5, 1774, Abraham Brooks, of York, a widower, was

married to Mary Bradley, a widow. She being in debt, the bridegroom insisted on this condition; and she was accordingly denuded to the extent before stated. The minister observing that she was shivering from the cold, threw his own coat over her. A case of similar character, the last of which we have any knowledge, occurred in Wells many years after. Such cases were not very common, as females who had just arrived at the marriage state as members of the paternal household, were not capable of legal indebtedment.

We have by us a form of proceeding used by John Storer, Esq., who had been commissioned as a magistrate, which was furnished him by his brother, Rev. Seth Storer, of Watertown, Mass., in 1738, for use in the performance of the marriage ceremony. Directing the bridegroom to take the bride by the right hand, he instructs him to say, "Do you Mr. Patrick MacMullen take Mrs. Jennet MacFuggen to be your lawful wedded wife, and promise to live with her in the married state according to God's appointment; to love her heartily; to take care of and provide for her in sickness and in health, and to be true and constant unto her and her alone, until God by death shall separate you; and so you make this marriage covenant in the presence of God and before these witnesses."

To the woman say, "Do you Mrs. Jennet MacFuggen take Mr. Patrick MacMullen, whom you now have by the hand, to be your lawful, wedded husband, to live with him according to God's appointment in the married state; to love him sincerely, to obey him and submit to him in the fear of the Lord; to take care of him and provide for him, both in sickness and in health, and to be true and constant unto him and him alone till God by death shall separate you, and do you make this marriage covenant in the presence of God and before these witnesses."

They having consented, then say, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased the Sovereign God so to order it in the course of his holy and wise Providence, that these two persons should consent together in the marriage covenant, and have now solemnly declared it, I do by virtue of the power given me by the law of this Province, declare you, Mr. Patrick MacMullen, and you Mrs. Jennet MacFuggen to be Husband and Wife; so that you are no longer to look upon yourselves as twain, but one Flesh; and to add the words of our Saviour, what God has joined together let not man put asunder."

He did not assume the prerogative of changing the name of the

bride ; neither is anything said about the prayers that the blessing of heaven might rest on the parties, though John Storer was accustomed to devotions of that character. The wedding cake was generally considered as a necessary part of the preparation for this important day ; and the wine and other liquors, after the coasters began running to Boston. Some other customs usually had a part in these inductions to connubial life. Many of the chimeras which still maintain a hold on the brain of the ignorant, had their day in the early settlement of the town. It was then a fostered idea of that class, that the female who should be successful in getting the garter of the bride, would be the first afterwards who should have the smiles and favor of Hymen ; so that the desire was general among them to secure to themselves this guaranty of a similar speedy union. An elderly lady, now many years in heaven, well remembered a case in which the zeal of a young lady would not permit her to be outdone by anybody ; and, therefore, in the midst of the crowd, while the marriage services were in progress, she contrived to get off, and secure to herself one of the garters of the bride. This feat was generally accomplished as the concluding act of the company assembled at the house.

One of the incidents of a wedding in ancient times, as every one knows, was the disposal of the happy pair for the night. This was regarded as one part of the business of the attendants. One of the venerable matrons assured the author that the custom was universal, and that the bridegroom always provided for himself a brocade silk gown for the occasion. This, one would think, in the poorer periods of the town's history, was assuming a burden which few could bear. But we feel bound to give full credit to her testimony. The bridegroom having divested himself of his wedding garments, and been invested with his brocade, the two were placed in position to rest from the excitements, cares and labors of the day. This is about all that we know or can tell about marriages more than a hundred years ago.

This covenant required of the parties in 1738, does not differ materially from that which is imposed on them at the present day, except in one clause. In the obligation to be assumed by the bride, a great relaxation has been acceded to. She was required then to love him sincerely and to obey and submit to her husband in the fear of the Lord. The appreciation of woman so much affected by the progress of education, has wonderfully modified the opinions of men

as to her personal rights. Public opinion would not now sustain any one authorized to marry, in making such demands of the bride as were implied in the covenant of one hundred and fifty years ago. Very few girls would now be willing to enter the marriage state, if they were thereby to be obligated to obey and submit to the husband in all things; and very few men could be found, having the attributes of a true manhood, who would require such an obligation.

A great change has taken place within a century, in the interest created by some of the events of life. The men of this age think but little of the funeral service, unless it speaks to them of the loss of one with whom they were closely associated, or who took an important part in the direction of public affairs. But death and the solemn duty of survivors, to commit to the place appointed for all the living one of their number, who had mingled with them in the activities of life, came home then with power to the hearts of all the people. The funeral was attended by large numbers. The farm and the workshop were forsaken. All laid by the ordinary business of life, and went to the house of mourning. The thoughts of the bereaved were absorbed in the great preparations which must be made for the occasion, while the house of sorrow was invaded by friends and companions before the day assigned for the funeral solemnities. Considering how limited was the property of even the most wealthy, it was a great burden on families to meet all the demands of custom. Liquors must be provided for the guests and for the bearers, and the table be well supplied for refreshment at the return from the graveyard. Jonathan Littlefield, son of the first Francis, jr., died in 1734. He was a man who had been active in business life, and his son, who thought much of family dignity, was not backward in making provision for the interment. The slaves were the bearers on these occasions, and each one of them must be furnished with gloves of a quality honorable to the family for whom they were to perform this last act for frail mortality. The funeral must be delayed many days to obtain the needed articles. They could only be had in Boston, which could not be reached by telegraph or railroad. The following was the bill contracted for this occasion :

“Oct. 15th, 1734. Pelatiah Littlefield Dr. to James Boyd of Boston for his father's funeral.

To 8 pair of men's gloves, black, 7s. 6d. a pair,	£2 18s. 0d.
To 8 pair of women's gloves, black, 7s. 6d. a pair,	2 18 0
To 7 pair of men's gloves,	2 5 6
To 8 pair of woman's gloves, yellow, 5s. 6d.,	2 4 0
To 24 yds. Cyprus, {	4 19 0
To 11 yds. Cyprus, }	
To 1 pair of woman's gloves, black, 7s. 6d.,	7 6
To 1 pair of woman's gloves, yellow,	5 6
To 1 yd. black ribbon,	2 0
To 2 pair of men's gloves,	13 0
To 1½ yds. of narrow black ribbon,	1 0
To 1 pound of allspice,	7 0

£30 0 6"

How much the liquor bill was for this solemnization we have not ascertained, but probably not less than three or four gallons were provided. At the funeral of Mr. Richardson, the minister, in 1758, as before stated, four gallons were obtained. Turkeys and chickens were also provided. The funeral of Richard Boothby was attended with the same expense as that of Littlefield, the bill being made up very nearly of the same items, though the family were not so well able to bear the expense.

We have not been able to learn the mode of conducting the funeral services in this vicinity in the early days of the settlement. All our explorations among the relics of antiquity and all our questionings of the aged, born before the middle of the last century, in regard to the religious exercises at funerals, have brought to us no light on this subject. We should have supposed that, as the earliest ministers of the town came from Massachusetts, they brought with them and prescribed the services in the forms to which they had there been accustomed; but it would seem that no devotional services were customary. Lechford, as quoted by Palfrey, says, "At burials nothing is read, nor any funeral sermon made; but all the neighborhood, or a good company of them, come together by the tolling of the bell, and carry the dead solemnly to the grave, and there stand by him while he is buried. The ministers are most commonly present. The dead are buried, without so much as a prayer, in some convenient enclosure by the roadside." This we assume as probably

applicable to the early days of our history, though not in its entire statement. They could not have come together at the calling of the bell. The sound of no such instrument was heard in Wells previously to the present century. The first bell was placed in the belfry of the church at Kennebunk in 1804. There was but one bell in the county previously to this time. That in York was raised and hung on the 20th day of September, 1788. In the early years of the settlement the people were called together by the drum, and every town was subjected to a penalty for not having one. We do not know the precise mode of manipulating the instrument for these occasions, but we presume a reveille, like that used for military assemblings, was played, and we trust we shall not touch harmfully the religious sensibilities of any one by adding that we have felt that the call for worship in this fashion was much more in sympathy with the feelings of the true worshiper than that of the solemn toll of the bell. David was glad when they said unto him, let us go up to the house of the Lord. Such, in our view, should be the cheerful aspirations of the Christian. God is love, and the call for his special worship should come to us in tones of joy. Gladness should be the impulse which it should awaken in all hearts.

The habit of wearing mourning was in full vogue during the whole of the last century. A man must have his mourning coat and a woman her mourning gown, and some, who were far advanced in life, were anxious that friends should carry with them this memento of them when deceased. They could not endure the thought of being forgotten. Sarah Sawyer says in her will, "I give my son, John Wells, eight pounds to procure a funeral coat after my death. Also to my son, Thomas Wells, eight pounds to procure a funeral coat after my decease."

The period of which we have been speaking was marked by much superstition. Even the most enlightened were not free from its baneful thrall. Science, though it had made such advancement, was almost powerless in its teachings to lead men to abandon the groundless fancies which so much interfered with a wise apprehension of the relation of causes and effects, or of the various agencies which act upon man or the physical world about him. Signs, wonders, and spiritual manifestations, unworthy of a thought in the guidance of life, had a very marked influence on all classes. People were led to do, or not to do, to fear or to hope, from things as little

operative on human life, action, or events, as though they had no existence whatever. That terrible delusion which came over so great a proportion of the people in the last of the preceding century, and which deprived society of so many valuable members on the plea of the guilt of witchcraft, would almost seem to have been pretended rather than real; but the many honest-hearted men, who were the subjects of this memorable superstition, forbid any such thought. There were then, it may well be presumed, as there still are, occasional manifestations which the civilization of the age could not satisfactorily explain. The ignorance of multitudes was fruitful in the statement of facts which a cultivated intellect would fail to discern. Still, we are ready to confess that in the history of the past we meet with narrations, entitled to credit, which baffle all attempts at a reasonable explanation. We believe in the honesty of men, and feel ourselves bound to give credit to the statements of members of the Christian church, whose characters at the time were beyond reproach. For example: The following declarations of a deacon of the Congregational Church, just beyond the limits of Wells, in the adjoining town of York, cannot be accounted for by the application of any principles which our philosophy suggests, though supposed to be in substance true. That in the month of March, 1758, as the beginning of his troubles, a strange distemper had seized upon his sheep, by which he lost thirty, old and young, apparently from bleeding at the nose. Soon after, all his hens and chickens were found dead, with their necks disjointed, some of them still fluttering when they went into the barn. He had also a fine calf, well in the evening; in the morning they found him lying on his back with his legs up, panting and foaming till he died. Thus far, he said he did not suspect any supernatural agency. But in April things entirely unaccountable took place in his house. He took sundry household utensils and placed them in a particular spot, just turned round and immediately back, and they were all in the fire, partly burnt; and while taking his meal at the table with his children, who were eating thickened milk, instantly all the spoons were taken from them, and were not to be found; and afterwards, when one of another family was taking coffee with them, she was admonished by him to take care of her spoon, or it would be missing as soon as she laid it down. She said she would see to that, and put it into the coffee pot. She did so and shut down the lid; but on lifting it, in a few minutes, the

spoon had disappeared. They had churned and went for the salt, but that also had fled.

These things perplexed the good man and his wife exceedingly. Other things in daily use had disappeared as suddenly. They were alarmed, and proposed fasting and prayer as the only known means of driving out the unwelcome spirit. The minister and many of the parish became much excited by these inexplicable manifestations. The report of them spread over the town, and many lived under the apprehension that the witchcraft of 1692 was to be renewed among them.

Being fully convinced that these strange things were to be attributed to the influence of sorcery, the people charged them upon a bad neighbor whom the deacon had offended. A daughter of this troublesome neighbor, well knowing the infamous character of her father, called upon him and calmly reasoned with him about the matter, exhorting him to cease these disturbing enchantments. From this time everything was quiet in the household.

Such narrations as this, coming from some persons, we should think unworthy of regard; but coming from one of substantial character, they might well be considered as ministering to and as excusing the superstition of the age. We have so little belief in any physical action of one man upon another, or upon his surroundings, when remote from personal contact, that we can assent to no inference that these strange matters about the deacon's homestead were developments of any power of witchcraft. The science of the present day, we think, would have revealed a natural cause for all the actual facts of the case.

In connection with this exhibit of the superstitions of the age, we may properly add a brief account of one of the sad consequences of the memorable delusion of 1692.

Died, in 1751, GEORGE JACOBS, aged 74. The family of the name of Jacobs have descended from one memorable in American history, being one of the number of those who were victims to the terrible delusion of 1692. George Jacobs, their ancestor, was then resident in Salem village, the scene of that awful fanaticism, which in a dark period of New England life came over the minds of many professedly religious men, and found its satisfaction only in the blood of some of the best and most useful of the land. The witchcraft which then

carried desolation to so many hearthstones, was charged to have been the development of the work of the devil. But any intelligent reader of the history of the disgraceful transactions of that hour at Salem cannot but be impelled to the conclusion, that if the evil one was in any way an efficient agent in carrying to its horrible results the frenzy which had thus seized upon so many, he had taken to himself those who were the instruments of these judicial murders, rather than those who were the subjects. George Jacobs was a worthy old man, quietly and honorably wending his way to the grave. As is said by Upham, in his valuable history of this great iniquity, "he was grey-headed and walked with two staffs." His hair was in long, thin, white locks, and as he was uncommonly tall of stature he must have had a venerable aspect. His faculties were vigorous, his bearing fearless, and his utterances strong and decided. When passing through the ordeal of his judicial trial he appealed to the court, trying to recall them to a sense of fairness: "Pray, do not accuse me. I am as clear as your worships. You must do right judgment. I am clear of the charges. I never wronged man in word or deed. I have done no harm. Burn me or hang me, I will stand in the truth of Christ." The deluded court found him guilty of witchcraft, and he was executed on the 19th of August, 1692.

For the benefit of those of our townsmen who claim lineage through this worthy ancestor, we should be gratified in laying before them the evidence on which the infatuated tribunal based their judgment, but our province in this work necessarily excludes matter so remote from its special object. Our readers will find it at length in the book before referred to.

The folly of this whole judicial action was soon perceived by the great body of the people. Men came to their senses. Some of the witnesses confessed their iniquity, and in a year or two the bewilderment passed from the public mind. Margaret Jacobs, the granddaughter of the martyr, who was a principal witness against him, was herself brought to trial for witchcraft the next year, but escaped conviction. While in prison she wrote to her father, acknowledging the falsity of her statements against her grandfather.

So deeply sensible had the public become that this whole procedure was an outrage upon civilization, that application was made to the legislature to render all compensation in its power to the families on whom the barbarous hand of its judicial tribunals had been

so heavily laid; and in 1711, the representatives of George Jacobs were awarded by the colony seventy-nine pounds for the property which had been wrested from him. Fifty pounds were also paid to the heirs of George Burroughs, of whose trial and execution we have given some account in another place. So much respect had the public for the venerable Jacobs, that the artist has put the scene of his trial upon canvas, and the picture is now hanging at the entrance to the library of the Essex Institute, at Salem.

The house where he lived is still standing, and a pilgrimage to it would be of deep interest to his descendants living in this vicinity. His remains were interred near it. With the action in reference to him after his execution, as stated in Upham, we close this sketch: "The tradition has descended through the family that the body, after having been obtained at the place of execution, was strapped by a young grandson on the back of a horse, brought home to the farm, and buried between the shade of his own trees. Two sunken and weather-worn stones marked the spot. There the remains rested until 1864, when they were exhumed. They were enclosed again and reverently re-deposited in the same place. The skull was in a state of considerable preservation. An examination of the jaw-bones showed that he was a very old man at the time of his death, and had previously lost all his teeth. The length of some parts of the skeleton showed that he was a very tall man. These circumstances corresponded with the evidence, which was that he was tall of stature; so infirm as to walk with two staffs; with long, flowing, white hair. The only article found except the bones was a metallic pin, which might have been used as a breast pin, or to hold together his aged locks. It is an observable fact that he rests in his own ground still. He had lived for a great length of time on that spot, and it remains in his family and in his name to this day, having come down by direct descent. It is a beautiful locality. The land descends with a grand and smooth declivity to the bank of the river. It is not much more than a mile from the city of Salem, and in full view from the main road."

²George Jacobs, his son, married Rebecca Frost, Feb. 19, 1674. His son, ³George, junior, was born Sept. 9, 1677, and moved from Salem to Wells about 1700, where he married Hannah Cousens, daughter of Thomas Cousens, Dec. 16, 1701. Oct. 24, 1742, he married Elizabeth Burnham. His son, ⁴George Jacobs, was married to

Mary Woodman, Dec. 10, 1741. His son, ⁵ George Jacobs, married Hepsibah Bourne, of Wells, and died in 1831, aged 79. He was an officer in the Revolutionary war, and after it was closed moved to Lyons Hill, in Sanford. From this short pedigree all the family in Wells will be able to ascertain their relation to the memorable ancestor.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

INCREASE OF INHABITANTS OF KENNEBUNK—MILLS AND HOUSES BUILT—THE GREAT FRESHET—THROAT DISTEMPER—EARTHQUAKES—FEARS ENTERTAINED OF ANOTHER INDIAN WAR—REMOVAL OF THE ACADIANS—NAMES OF THOSE LOCATED IN WELLS—WAR DECLARED AGAINST FRANCE—LIST OF VOLUNTEERS FROM WELLS—ESCAPE OF REV. MR. LITTLE FROM THE INDIANS—MORE HOUSES BUILT—FIRST PAINTED HOUSE IN KENNEBUNK—ADDITIONS TO THE KENNEBUNK MEETING-HOUSE—SCHOOLS—SAMUEL MOFFAT AND REV. MR. LITTLE, TEACHERS—INCREASE OF INHABITANTS—NEW ROAD LAID OUT FROM THE SEA TO THE LANDING—SHIP-BUILDING COMMENCED AT KENNEBUNK—FIRST SCHOOL-HOUSE IN KENNEBUNK—DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL MONEY—NAMES OF TEACHERS, AND WHERE LOCATED—FIRST FEMALE TEACHER—LIST OF AGED PERSONS.

WHEN the town was divided into two distinct parishes, there were about thirty families living in that part of it which was set off as the second parish; but from 1750 to 1760, this part of Wells had so rapidly increased, that in the latter year there were no less than eighty families which had here established a home. Before the division, with the exception of the houses of the two Wakefields, Thomas Cousins, and the Coburn house, the land where the village of Kennebunk now stands had continued in the state in which Providence had fashioned it. There was no building of any description on the western side of the river, excepting a small cabin which had been put up there by those who had been engaged in the saw-mill carried away by a freshet.

In 1752, the saw-mill was rebuilt by Joseph Storer, then living in the first parish, Nathaniel Wakefield and Stephen Larrabee. The grist-mill, standing just below the bridge, where the present one stands, was built immediately afterward. Previously to this time many of the inhabitants pounded their corn in a mortar made for that purpose. At some periods, a part of the people scattered over the town, had been obliged to travel to York, for the purpose of having it ground. Afterward they went to "Uncle David's mill," as it was

called, at Harrysicket. This mill stood on the Branch river, just below the road where there had also been a saw-mill. This year also the parish voted to enlarge the meeting-house twelve feet in length, the enlargement to be made by the pews within it. In 1754, a saw-mill was built by Thomas and James Cousins at Great Falls, on the site of the former one burnt by the Indians. A saw-mill in those days was always a nucleus for a village. It created business for men of different employments. In the year 1751, Stephen Larrabee had built a house where the late Thomas Low lived, James Hubbard, the house in which Mrs. Mary Hubbard now lives, Joseph Cousins a house at Great Falls, in 1752. The same year Rev. Daniel Little built the house now standing next above that of the late George W. Bourne, which was first occupied by him July 16th; and Benjamin Stevens, a house nearly on the same site of that now owned by Or-low Stevens. But the prospect which was just opening so brightly, very suddenly changed to a different face, and the anticipations of the settlers were crushed. They had experience of the old axiom to its full extent, that troubles seldom come singly. In the year 1755, Oct. 21, a great freshet, surpassing any which had been known before or since, carried away every mill on the Mousam river. The water rose to the height of eleven feet. By this calamity a source of large business and profit was suddenly cut off. The coasting trade, which had been rapidly increasing, was checked, and the enterprise of the people in its various directions defeated.

At the same time the throat distemper, so destructive of early life, came in upon many families. Burks, who lived on Great Hill, lost six children, being all he had. Boothby lost five. To many other families it came with distressing power. This was followed by a most frightful earthquake on the 17th of November. Smith in his journal says, "There was in the night at a quarter past four, a most amazing shock of an earthquake. It lasted two minutes, that seemed as if it would shake the house to pieces, and then threw down near one hundred bricks of our chimney, and did the same to many other chimneys in town." Within a month afterward there were several others, one of which was very severe. The men of Wells, who were boys at that time, said that the first and most terrific, lasted four minutes, and that the ground shook several days afterward. It was evidently most appalling to all classes. Educated men were not indifferent to its terrors. It was said that the minister, Mr. Richard-

son, died from the fright. Fasts were held in consequence of it. Probably this very action of the ministers, who, in that age, were revered by the multitude, added much to the terror with which all hearts were inspired. Although they had been so long harrassed by savage raids and cruelties, yet their wretched experience had strengthened them to meet all such trials with a brave and resolute face. But when they began to feel that the earth was giving away under their feet, the boldest heart quailed.

But the measure of their calamities was not yet full. Reports were coming in that the Indians were again abroad in the eastern part of the Province, on their work of destruction and death. John Storer had received the following notice: "March 14, 1754. Sir, I this day received from Sir William Pepperell, to take Cair and see that the town of York is well Proved with Ammunition in their Town Stock, and also that the men be well provided with arms and ammunition; and direct me to writ to you to See likewise that Wells and the Towns to the Eastward of Wells and Phillipstown be all likewise well provided as above.

I am Sir, your humble Servant,
JERE MOULTON."

New orders were coming almost daily to disturb the public mind. The following brought the distressing assurance that the enemy was at their door: "Kittery, March 9, 1756. Col. John Storer—Sir. You are immediately to see that every man in your town, and to the eastward of it, be well provided with arms and ammunition as the law directs, and no man to be six rods from his lodging without them.

Your faithful, humble servant,
WM. PEPPERILL."

The war with the French and Indians soon came upon them in all its terrors. Great gloom now settled down on the inhabitants. Destitution came to many families. Business of all kinds came to a standstill. None felt themselves safe from Indian vengeance. Troops had been sent off to the West. Orders were issued that all the militia should be ready to march at a moment's warning. Precaution was taken by the government to ward off a portion of the force of the enemy in the exigency of an approaching war. By the treaty of Utrecht, Acadia had been surrendered to the English; but

the Acadians would not submit peaceably to the new jurisdiction, and were continually fomenting trouble, and instilling into the minds of the ignorant and deluded savages, feelings of dissatisfaction and rebellion against the administration; so that it was felt to be absolutely necessary to adopt some decisive measures to obviate the danger of such an element in their own midst. So long as the French had it in their power to direct and control these simple natives, and at the same time were themselves ready, on the first approach of a conflict with the English, to join and make common cause with their enemies, there was no safety for the people of Nova Scotia or the Provinces. A war with the French would arouse their animosity, which could not fail to be vented on the English settlers. Every exertion had been made to reconcile them to the change of government. But the measures adopted for that purpose had been followed with no good results. They continued refractory; refused to take the oath of allegiance, and thus all hope of making them quiet and peaceable subjects died out. But it would not do to engage in a war with the French, while a dangerous enemy was almost at every man's door. After long deliberation it was determined to remove and scatter them among the various Provinces of New England and of the South. It was a hard measure, but there was no alternative. Transports were sent from New England to bring them away and scatter them through the country. We have sometimes regarded this procedure as cruel, and unbecoming a Christian nation. But an examination of all the facts has fully satisfied us that it was a measure necessary for the public safety. It was, indeed, one fraught with sorrow and tears to many hearts. No one endowed with the common feelings of humanity, who was called to take part in it, could have failed to sympathize deeply with the unfortunate men, women and children who were thus suddenly to be riven from the scenes, on which their affections had so long fastened; from the lands and homes where had been all their earthly enjoyments, and be scattered in a distant land, among an unknown people, of whose kindness they could only judge by the cruelty which they were thus inflicting upon them.

Some of the people of Wells had an active part in this memorable transaction. The sloop *Prosperous*, of which Daniel Bragdon was master, owned in Wells and York, was one of the transports in the hard service. The weeping and lamentation on board of that vessel

must have been enough to rend every heart. She carried between three and four hundred to Boston. Of these unhappy exiles, six were allotted to the town of Wells; John Mitchell and wife, with two children, Mary and Gregory; and two of Peter White's children, Margaret and Madlin. A house was built by the town for Mitchell and his family, about twenty rods from what is called the Sanford guideboard, on the road leading to the Branch. What became of the children of Peter White, we have no record or tradition to inform us. Many of these unfortunate Frenchmen thus dispersed throughout the various Provinces, north and south, became useful and influential citizens. John Mitchell, known during his life as Cooper Mitchell, was a descendant of John Mitchell, the Acadian.

Though frightful ravages had been made by the Indians on the peaceful settlers in many places, the war had not yet been formally declared against France. But in June, 1756, this annunciation was made; and many of the people of Wells voluntarily came forward and offered themselves for the service. Capt. James Littlefield, Simon Jefferds, John Frost, Nathaniel Cousins, John Butland, Richard Kimball, jr., John Emons, Moses Drown, Stephen Drown, Samuel Wakefield, Paul Shackford, William Butland, John Boothby, Abner Evans, William Evans, John Evans, Samuel Stevens, Eli Wormwood and Ebenezer Dunham enlisted. These were sent off on expeditions toward the lakes and Canada. Joseph Wells, Daniel Wheelright, Jonathan Clark, Adam Ross, Gideon Hatch, and John Harvey had previously been sent east to guard Fort Halifax. Others were scattered along the coast as rangers, or were put on board of transports.

SAMUEL STEVENS and RICHARD KIMBALL, JR., were in the service in the vicinity of Lake George in the years 1756 and 1757. Kimball was also a soldier at Fort William Henry, when it was surrendered to the French. The terrible outrages committed by the Indians after this peaceable surrender are well known to all readers of history. Great numbers of the American soldiers were massacred. Kimball was taken by two Indians and led into a swamp. By main strength he overcame them; extricated himself from their hands and made his escape. Being in a wilderness, and without guide of any kind, he wandered about three days without food or shelter, unable to find his way to a house, or any of the army. On the fourth day, reduced almost to starvation, he fortunately reached Fort Edward.

WILLIAM BUTLAND, NATHANIEL COUSINS, BENJAMIN COUSINS, JOHN BUTLAND and EBENEZER DUNHAM were soldiers under Gen. Abercrombie in his rash attack on Fort Niagara in 1758. Nathaniel Cousins was engaged at a distance in preparing a breastwork. The others were in the heat of the action. The loss of the Americans was immense. Of those from this town, Dunham was the only person whom we know to have been killed. Others of the foregoing list were in the service at Lake George the same year. But we do not know that they were in any of the battles there fought. JOHN BOOTHBY was taken sick and died.

ABNER, WILLIAM and JOHN EVANS were stationed at Fort Edward. Supplies were sent from this fort to Fort William Henry under a guard of thirty men, of which these three brothers were a part. Having reached a place called Bloody Cove, on the Lake, they were waylaid and attacked by a large body of Indians, and all but one murdered. He escaped and reached Fort William Henry, which was at a short distance, and gave information of the terrible tragedy. A detachment was immediately sent to the scene; but having completed their work of death, and taken all their baggage and supplies on board their canoes, the Indians had just escaped from the shore. Several volleys were fired, but without perceptible effect. This was one of the saddest events which mark the history of the town. These three brothers were the sons of Edward Evans, who lived near the river, back of the house of Enoch Bragdon, on land formerly George W. Wallingford's pasture. They were all young men, just in the prime of manhood.

JOHN EMONS, son of Samuel Emons, was at the capture of Louisburg in 1758. We suppose that not more than half of those who were in active service in this war, are included in the foregoing list. No less than twenty-six of the militia company of Capt. James Sawyer volunteered. There was another company under the command of Joseph Storer, and as many may have enlisted from that. The people very readily entered into the conflict. The provocations endured through so many years had aroused a determined spirit, which fitted them for any service against enemies who had been the terror and the torment of the settlements.

In 1759 the city of Quebec was taken, and thereby these French and Indian wars were brought to a close. They had cost the Provinces a large amount in money and a great number of valuable lives. This victory was the occasion of great joy and congratulation. If ever a wearied people had reason to bless God, it was when this city, from which had emanated all the horrid atrocities which had thrilled the hearts and destroyed the peace of men, women and children, not only in Wells, but throughout New England, fell a prey to the bravery of our patriotic soldiery.

The following lines written by one of these soldiers, and found among his papers, will show something of the happy feeling which the great event excited, as well as something of the poetical culture of the times :

“ Brother soldiers, did you hear the nuse,
It is peace by land and by sea,
The soldiers to be no more used ;
They all disbanded will be.”

Though the town of Wells had its full share in this last war with the Indians and the French, its territory, we think, was at no time the theatre of actual conflict. They did not think it safe to attempt any incursions where they felt that they might be exposed to danger. The settlement had been much enlarged since the preceding war, and the people were better prepared to meet and repel any assaults. No account has survived of any mischief done here, and we have no evidence of even the appearance of an Indian within its limits during the whole term of the war, except in a single instance. The Rev. Daniel Little, having built his house, as before mentioned, had purchased a quantity of furniture, which had come into the Port. He had been there to give directions about it, and was returning home on foot. As he touched Towne's bridge he heard the Indian whistle. Instantly he dropped from the bridge, and it being ebb tide and the grass high on the bank of the river, he crept along under it on his hands and knees, as fast as possible, occasionally getting a glimpse of the Indians when they reached the bridge. They searched about, and some of them got down on the bridge and were apparently trying to scent his track ; but they did not appear to have discovered what became of him. With great exertion he reached his house in safety. He would have been a great prize for them.

From the various causes which we have before stated, no material additions were made to the town or to the population for two or three years after the mills were carried away. But though many of the inhabitants were taken from their homes by the calls of the approaching war, the spirits of the people began to revive, and some of them erected houses. Near the second Mousam mill privilege William Day and John Gillpatrick built houses. In the same year, 1755, Samuel Littlefield built a house where Ebenezer Larrabee recently lived; Joseph Taylor, a house at the foot of the hill, below Thatcher Jones', though nearer the river. In 1756, a small house by Ebenezer Dunham, a few rods below the site of the late Samuel Hart's house; also a house by John and Samuel Cousens, being the one owned by the late James Cousens. In 1757, a house by Adam Ross, on the spot where that of William Ross now stands; one by James Lord, where the late William Jacobs lived; and one by Samuel Towne, near the sea, just below the house of Owen Wentworth. In 1758, Joseph Storer moved from Wells to what is now Kennebunk, building that year the house of the late William Lord, jr., now owned by Charles Parsons. This was only the front part of that which is now standing. It was the first painted house in the Kennebunk parish. Whether it was the first in the town we are unable to answer. We think it was.

At this time no house had been built on the western side of the river, within the limits of the present village of Kennebunk. In this year, 1758, the hill where Alexander G. Furnald now lives was cleared, and a house built by Ichabod Cousens, who had previously occupied the Coburn house on the eastern side of the river. In 1759, a house was built by Obadiah Littlefield, opposite that of John Gillpatrick, near the second Mousam mill lot. This year was also rebuilt the saw-mill and grist-mill by the bridge; the grist-mill a few years afterward was burnt down.

Such is nearly, we believe, an accurate account of what had been done in Kennebunk previously to 1760. The settlement had been initiated at the sea, near the Kennebunk and Mousam rivers, at the landing, the Larrabee garrison, on the Alewife road as far as the house of Jacobs, on the Alfred road as far as Great Falls, on the Cat Mousam road as far as James Cousens' house, and on the Saco road as far as the bridge, and from this road up to the Alewife road.

But the ardor of the inhabitants for other improvements seems

not to have been entirely subdued by the adversities of their condition. The people in the Kennebunk parish went on with their meeting-house, which had been left unfinished. In 1755, they voted to finish the galleries and build a porch on the side fronting the road. Richard Kimball, the first deacon of the church, James Hubbard, and John Gillpatrick were chosen a committee for this purpose, and Nathaniel Kimball, John Mitchell, and Stephen Larrabee, a committee to arrange with the old parish for a tract of land as a parsonage. The next year it was voted "to put in two windows on the backside of the meeting-house, and to raise the pulpit by mouldings;" "to underpin the meeting-house, and agreed with deacon Kimball to find the stones, and to get them worked on and finished by the last of November next, workmanlike."

But the most important and creditable part of their enterprises was in making provision for the promotion of education. The schools of the town had heretofore done but little for that object. At this time there were some among the people who duly appreciated its importance. Mr. Little's influence was always directed to the intellectual as well as moral culture of his parishioners. When he first came to Kennebunk he was employed as a school-master. This employment seems to have been, in a majority of cases, introductory to the ministry. The school for many years was kept at the house of James Wakefield. One Samuel Moffat, an Irishman, was the teacher. After Mr. Little moved into his house and for some time taught the scholars there. In 1753, the town voted to have a grammar school and also a morning school. We are not apprised of the special province of the latter. The former was kept exclusively in the old parish, though Kennebunk was to have its proportion of the school money, which was all that the people of the second parish paid. At this period the Psalter, Sternhold & Hopkins' Hymns, the Testament, and New England Primer were the only books used in school. The last furnished all the theology for the children which was then accessible outside of the Scriptures. At a meeting on the 13th of June, 1757, it was "voted to hire a schoolmaster for one year from the time we get him," and "to keep the first three months at the meeting-house, the next three months at Mousam, and then three months at Elwive Brook, and the last three months at the lower part of the parish. To board one-half at Mr. Richard Boothby's and the other half at John Mitchell's," and

"that Richard Kimball, Richard Boothby, and James Hubbard be a committee to hire a school-master." We have not ascertained the authority upon which they based these votes to raise money for schools, but as the preceding year they voted "to bye a law book for the use of the parish," we may presume that some of the leaders were well versed on the matter of jurisdiction.

The years 1757 and 1758 brought several men of energy and enterprise into the new village of Kennebunk. Joseph Storer, for the purpose of operating the mills; Waldo Emerson, for the purpose of trade at the landing; Joseph Coburn, and some others. Emerson opened a store with a small stock of goods where Henry Kingsbury now lives. The mills were rebuilt the same year by Storer. Coburn was engaged with him in their operation. Emerson's business, embracing the lumber traffic, soon became extensive, and he rapidly accumulated property and enlarged his stock, so that the people were induced, by the appearance of business, to settle down in some part of the parish. To increase the facilities for traffic, a road was laid out from John Webber's, near the sea, up to the Larrabee neighborhood, thence across Lake Brook to the Landing. Some of the people in Kennebunk and Arundel had begun to build vessels. The navigation at the Port was rapidly increasing.

There were no school-houses in Kennebunk till many years after the division of the parish; the schools were all kept at private houses. After the Storer family moved here the school was kept in a kind of hovel or sheep pen, just above the house of Storer. It may have been built expressly for this purpose, but we have no information to that effect. It was constructed of large round logs, notched at the ends so as to let into each other, in the same manner that pounds were built, or as logging houses are built at the present day. The walls were about six feet high, with a roof over the top, though the gable ends were entirely open. There was no window, the light coming in freely from the ends. The only way of entering, both for master and scholar, was by climbing up on a stile at the end and jumping down into the house. Here the school was kept a number of years by one Jasper Ellis, who was accustomed to say that the parents were bringing up their children to be "thieves and robbers," as, instead of "entering by the door into the sheepfold," they were taught to "climb up some other way." The school was also kept a little while in a shop of Edmund Currier.

The first school-house erected in Kennebunk stood near James Hubbard's, in the corner of the roads, in front of the house of the late Dr. Swett. This was the most convenient place for the townsmen. It was built in 1770, and was called the Mousam school-house. After the new meeting-house was built, the population increasing in its neighborhood, it was moved up to the country road and placed a few rods easterly from the church. Here it remained several years, when it was moved just below the grave-yard, near Daniel L. Hatch's house, where it was occupied by Mrs. Tabitha, widow of Samuel Hancock and of James Hubbard. After her death it was sold to Mrs. Mary Nichols and moved to a spot just below Mr. Hatch's house, on the opposite side of the road; afterward it was sold to William Taylor and moved to Brown street, where it is now occupied by Mr. Frank Fairfield.

In the year 1760 the parish voted to have a grammar school-master for six months. Previously no instruction in this branch had been given in the schools. A foreigner of the name of Parott was employed. This was an advance which, we suppose, was not of much avail at this period. But few of the scholars sought instruction of this kind. It could not be appreciated by the people. They did not know what it meant. If they did, they regarded it as a waste of time which, in their condition, was needed for what they regarded as more practical knowledge. The author very well remembers when the Lady's Accidence was first introduced into the school at the Landing, and he thinks this was the first time that any attempt was made in that school to instruct in grammar. What was meant by parsing, which the scholars were to do daily, he could not comprehend, and he is of the opinion that parents did not know much better than the children. He remembers asking his mother what we wanted to learn it for, and the only answer was that he would know when he grew up.

The next year, 1761, the parish raised money enough to keep the school a whole year. The town voted to keep it two years in the village of Wells, then one year at Kennebunk, then one year at Merryland, then one year at Ogunquit and the Branch. This is a remarkable vote. It does not seem that rational men could intend that different parts of the town should be without schools two or three years. The knowledge which children had acquired would be very likely, under such an arrangement, to have gone from the mind

at the close of the intermission. But the parish endeavored to guard against such consequences by raising money among themselves. They had come to regard the school as of too much importance to permit it to be thus neglected.

Before the second parish was established, the school, as before stated, was kept at the house of James Wakefield, near the meeting-house. Afterward, without any record division into districts by the town, the money raised was distributed to different parts of the settlement designated thus: From the house of Joseph Storer to Towne's bridge was one district; all below, to the sea, between the two rivers, another; Alewife village, as it was called, a third; and from Storer's to Great Falls, on both sides of the river, a fourth.

The parish appears to have had exclusive jurisdiction over the schools within its territory till the close of the century. The money raised by the town was paid over to it, and appropriated as the parish thought proper. In 1792, the lower district was divided and the inhabitants west of Lake Brook set off as a separate district. And although the town, in 1799, voted that the selectmen should divide the town into school districts, the parish, in 1803, established a district from Daniel Shackley's to Israel Kimball, jr.'s, on the Port road, and in 1795 chose Dr. Thatcher Goddard, Jonas Clark, Jedediah Gooch, Benjamin Titcomb, and Thomas Jones a committee to supply the districts with schools. In several matters, beside raising and appropriating money for schools, the parish appears to have assumed authority which was not strictly appurtenant to a religious society. It voted to set off into a separate town, voted also to buy a tract of land for a landing place; but these rights never came in question. When the town voted that the selectmen should divide the town into school districts, there were five in the limits of the parish; the lower district, lower Mousam, middle, Alewife, and upper Mousam. In 1805, the parish exercised this authority once more and divided the Alewife district into upper and lower, as they now are.

Some of the schoolmasters employed were educated men. Paul Coffin, afterward the settled minister of Buxton, and a graduate of Harvard College, taught the school near Hubbard's in 1759. Afterward, it was kept several years by Samuel Prentice, who was also a graduate of Cambridge. Next to him was Samuel Hancock, a graduate of the same institution, and who made this his permanent home.

At Alewife, the school was taught by Ebenezer P. Kingman, Robert Swainson, Master Morse, John Cluff, John Heard, and Nathaniel Adams. Heard and Adams were also educated at Cambridge. At Cat Mousam, John Dennie, Samuel Prentice, John Coffin, Daniel F. Ayer, Daniel Rogers, and Edmund Webber were teachers. Rogers was liberally educated. Nathaniel Libby, Master Haile, and Samuel Hancock taught in the lower district. Mr. Haile, Jonathan Ward, Robert Harvey, James Snow, and James Osborn were employed as teachers after the war. Osborn came here in 1785, and kept the school many years, becoming a permanent inhabitant of Kennebunk. He taught in the village, at the landing, and at Alewife, and was regarded as a worthy and efficient teacher. Swainson also kept the school in several districts, continuing here so many years as to acquire the soubriquet of "Old Master Swainson." In addition to the business of school-keeping, he was much employed as a surveyor, being skillful in that profession. John Dennie also was employed in the different districts many years. James Snow kept school in the lower Mousam district in 1794 and 1795. He was a sea captain.

The almost universal custom then was for the master to have his board in some family in the district. The established price for many years was eight shillings a week. The master received for his services from five to eight or nine dollars a month. The highest sum paid to any one was paid to Jonathan Ward in 1795. We suppose him to have been a superior teacher. He kept in the village of Kennebunk, and receiving the liberal wages of two dollars a week, was able to keep a horse. The first female teacher engaged in our schools was Polly Hovey, who taught at the Port in 1792, receiving one dollar and fifty cents a week for her services.

Of some of these instructors we have no knowledge. Those of whom we have any information appear to have been well fitted for their employment. Most of those who had had the benefit of a college education were obliged to resort to teaching as a means of support, while preparing themselves to enter upon some profession.

For many years after the schools were commenced in Kennebunk, the population was very sparse. The families being thus located far apart, children were obliged to travel three or four miles to attend school. Still parents did not regard this distance as any serious objection to their attendance. Most of the way the road led through dense forests. The Indian wars had not yet ceased, and the bears

and wolves freely roamed over the whole territory. But neither from record or tradition have we any evidence that any of them were ensnared and captured by the former, or attacked by the latter. They were enured to danger by their early surroundings. Everyday life was full of useful instruction, and they were always in the way of acquiring practical knowledge. In constant conflict with the elements, they secured to themselves soundness of body and strength of constitution; and these gave them firmness of soul in mature life. The author was well acquainted with many of those who were the scholars of this period, and some of them he knew to be active, energetic men at ninety years of age. The following are good samples of the boys and girls who went to school here at this time: Mary Brown, died in 1814, in the hundredth year of her age. Stephen Titcomb in 1814, aged 92; Catharine Kelly in 1825, aged 95; Nathaniel Cousins in 1832, aged 95; Moses Stevens in 1831, aged 91; James Kimball in 1833, aged 92; Martha Wells in 1838, aged 94; Susanna Martin in 1840, aged 96; Joel Stevens in 1842, aged 95; Dolly Littlefield in 1843, aged 93; Daniel Shackley in 18, aged ; Sally S. Wood in 1855, aged 95; William Butland in 18 aged .

Whether childhood, as now watched over and nursed by parental care and solicitude, will result in such a vigorous and healthy manhood, can only be determined by the developments of the years to come. But our faith is, that the excess of comfort, for which civilization is continually striving, will not prolong human life, expand and invigorate the intellect, or enlarge and vitalize the moral power of the race.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE OLD PARISH—CONTROVERSY IN RELATION TO BOUNDARIES OF FARMS—
AGREEMENT OF THE LANDHOLDERS ESTABLISHING LINES—PETITIONS TO
DIVIDE THE PARISH—NEW MEETING-HOUSE BUILT—APPRAISAL OF PEWS—
REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE TO ASSIGN PEWS—A GREAT DROUTH—PETI-
TION OF THE INHABITANTS TO THE LEGISLATURE FOR AID.

WE now return to the history of the old parish. After the close of the French war a new subject of excitement occupied the attention of the people. The original allotments of land from the main highway between the Ogunquit river and the Gore, extended back into the country on a west northwest course; and those northeast of the Gore on a northwest course. These locations were very ill proportioned, being about forty rods wide and two and a half miles long. A very small variation of the compass, in the running of these long distances, must necessarily lead the surveyor very much out of the way. Farms thus shaped must have been very inconvenient, and expensive to the occupants. Probably none of them were fenced to the full extent of their lines; and their several boundaries were not at once discoverable. Some of these lots had been laid out about a century, and all more than fifty years. The people then had but very imperfect knowledge of law, more especially of that relating to land titles. James Boston had purchased one of these lots, next adjoining that of John Stevens, and tracing his line as described in his deed on a west northwest course, he ran on Stevens' land so far, that at the end of the line he embraced the whole width of his lot. They built their houses on their several lots, and occupied and improved their farms as originally located. The result of this survey was fruitful in much contention and strife. The line which had always been recognized by the owners ran $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees further west. Stevens would not yield to Boston the land which his survey included, and Boston brought his action against him to recover it. The question was submitted to referees, who decided the case in favor of Bos-

ton. Town meetings were called to consider the matter, and after great excitement it was voted that a petition be sent to the Legislature to establish the old lines. It was then understood that the general court was omnipotent, having power to control, limit, extend or even annul existing rights. It is remarkable that intelligent men should not have learned that the compass was subject to variation; and that lines were not to be continually changing from one course to another by its inconstancy; and it is stranger still that men, selected as referees on account of their intelligence and sound judgment, in a matter of so much importance, wherein they were to determine what land was originally allotted to these occupants, should have been led to a decision so baseless as that set out in their report. But the court, on motion, stayed judgment on it, and the petitioners endeavored to have the Legislature confirm the old lines. Some of the people remonstrated against the prayer of this petition. Pelatiah Littlefield took an active part in the opposition. The reasons on which his objections were based we are unable to state. No less than forty-seven different owners were to be crowded off a portion of their lands by this false judgment of these referees, which he wished to sustain. This whole excitement, disturbing the equanimity and peace of the people for a long time, evidently grew out of ignorance of the first principles of law, of which every man ought to be apprised. Nothing is more dangerous to the well-being of a community, than this want of knowledge of one's rights. The excitement, however, was finally stayed without legislative interference, which could not in any way have affected titles. All the land holders, with the exception of Littlefield, Boston, and perhaps one or two others, signed an agreement in 1760, that the lines "from the country road shall stand according to the running from Ogunquit river to the Gore, west northwest, 2 degrees and a half west, nearer westerly, and from the Gore to Little river, northwest two degrees and a half west nearest westerly, agreeable to a vote of said town at a legal meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants thereof on the tenth day of March, 1760." But Boston, notwithstanding he had been the actual cause of all this turmoil throughout the town, had the assurance to come into the meeting and petition that the people would pay the expense of his lawsuit. As may well be supposed, he "took nothing by his motion."

In the year 1761, most of the people deemed it necessary, and at

a regular meeting voted that a new meeting-house should be built at or near the site of the one then standing. But some did not think the location the most convenient for the society, and being dissatisfied with the proceedings, requested that a new meeting should be called for the selection of a spot which would afford better accommodation; or if such a site could not be agreed upon, that they might agree to build two meeting-houses or divide the parish. Such was now the state of feeling that for a long time nothing was done toward building a new house. But the old house was daily growing more unsuitable for a worshipping assembly, and in 1764 a new meeting was called, at which it was then voted simply to repair it.

The people had now become restive. The excitement growing out of the former action of the Parish had not been entirely allayed by the lapse of three or four years. The dwellers in Merryland began to feel that they ought not to be obliged to travel five or six miles, and pay as much for the church as those who lived almost at the door. Accordingly, in 1766, petitions were got up in that part of the town to divide the parish, and set off Merryland as a distinct society. But the people in the old society were too strong for them, and voted to dismiss their petition. This vote, however, gave a new impetus to the excitement, and a new petition was prepared, a fortnight afterward, praying that another meeting might be called to see if the people would not divide the parish, by a line drawn from the sea, between north and west to Phillipston, or Sanford, as it was afterward called, and also make an equal division of the parsonage. At a meeting called, pursuant to this petition, on the 17th of February, it was voted "not to divide the parish and to dissolve the meeting."

But the people living in the northern part of the parish were not disposed to yield to the dominant party. The religious impulses of men do not always accord with the plain principles of religion. Men professedly Christian, frequently will do what is hardly consonant with Christian action; and having determined upon a particular course, no amount of reasoning or appeals to their sense of right, will induce them to abandon their position. Will, with them, is law. At the next annual meeting in March they renewed their exertions by a different process. Several people of the Kennebunk parish were persuaded to petition for an enlargement of that society, so that it might include the disaffected in the old parish. But this scheme was

unsuccessful. The old standards were persistent in the resolution that there should be no division, and it was voted, "there shall be a new meeting-house built, to stand between the old meeting-house and the highway, and that Mr. John Bourne, Capt. John Winn, Mr. John Littlefield, jr., Joseph Sayer, Esq., John Storer, Esq., Mr. Pelatiah Littlefield, Nathaniel Wells, Esq., Capt. James Littlefield, Mr. Daniel Chaney, Mr. Benjamin Hatch, jr., John Wheelright, Esq., and Mr. Samuel Jefferds be a committee to obtain subscriptions for the purpose. The spot where, during the perilous days of the century past, their predecessors, fathers and mothers of most of them, had come up to worship was dear to their hearts, and they felt that it would be sacrilege to give over the sacred soil to other purposes. Still they would not compel others, who had no such reverence for the place, to contribute to carry out an object against which they had entered their honest protest. We, indeed, have not much faith in these secession movements. When contention and strife have found their way into the household of faith, the Christian graces of charity, forbearance and kindness are soon driven out. Sin and righteousness have no fellowship. The majority were determined to carry out their own wishes and rebuild on the old foundation.

It was voted that the meeting-house should be sixty-five feet long and forty-six wide, and that "James Littlefield, John Storer, John Winn, and John Bourne be a committee to build it." But, as it had been voted to build it by subscription, the work could not commence until a portion of the necessary funds was secured. In this respect the aspect of things was very far from encouraging. Subscriptions came in very slowly, so that at an adjourned meeting it was not deemed expedient to proceed in the work, and the meeting was further adjourned, from time to time, until November, when, the subscription being short of £700, and the prospect of accomplishing their object in this way appearing hopeless, it was determined that the house should be built at the cost of the whole parish, and the committee were directed to proceed in the work. The spirit of the former meeting had, in no degree, abated, excepting that it had parted with somewhat of its charity, and now, whether willing or unwilling, all were to be compelled to aid in the erection of the house. Men had taken advantage of the previous forbearance to save themselves from the burden, and the parish, in the spirit of the law as then existing, determined to make them come up to their duty.

The meeting was then adjourned, from time to time, until June, 1767, when the parish again voted that the committee should go on with their work. But the spirit of the opposition was not yet quelled, and the dissentients of Merryland, together with some of the Kennebunk parish, petitioned to enlarge that parish so as to include Joshua Wells, Adam Clark, and others, making Little river the dividing line. The society, not disposed to yield, refused to enlarge that parish, and dissolved the meeting. The committee proceeded in framing the house, but the money came in very slowly, even those who had subscribed not being ready to pay in their tax or contribution as previously agreed. Of course the progress of the committee was slow; but in five or six weeks the frame was finished and ready for erection, and on the 27th day of July, 1767, the various parts were placed in position and the frame raised on the old spot, to the great joy and exultation of those whose will had overcome all obstacles. Their aspirations had been realized and the triumph won. John Storer thus makes memorandum of the interesting event:

“July 27, 1767, Monday. Then Raised The New Meeting House in The First Parish in The Town of Wells.

In The Seventh Year of the

Reign

of Our Sovereign Lord,

George,

The Third,

Of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland, King and

Defender

of the Faith, &c.

And Framed by Mr. Eleazer

Kimball, of Narraganset, in the

County of York.”

There was, probably, much glorification among them during the labor of framing. Their muscles were excited and strained even to the utmost tension. During the little time while thus employed, the workmen drank thirty gallons of rum. Master Kimball, we suppose, did not fellowship with ardent spirits, as he was supplied with wine. The work went on slowly. However, in 1769, such progress had been made that an appraisal was taken of the pews, the highest

on the lower floor being valued at £24, and the lowest at £10; the highest in the gallery at £6 8s., the lowest at five pounds. A very different judgment was manifested in regard to the eligibility of their location from that which now prevails. The pew valued the highest was that on the right hand, immediately on the entrance to the house, and that on the left the next highest. The same rule prevailed in the valuation of the pews in the Kennebunk church.

At the meeting in June, 1769, it was "voted to divide the pews into a number of ranks." A committee was chosen to make such division, and report what persons they think ought to have a pew in each rank. This committee consisted of Joseph Sayer, Esq., Capt. James Littlefield, Capt. John Bourne, Messrs. John Goodale, John Littlefield, and Nathaniel Wells, jr. They were also ordered to report "what pew each person belonging to each rank shall have."

This, to us, seems not to have been a very reasonable mode of assigning pews; but a century ago classes in society were much more distinctly marked and acknowledged than at the present day. Many persons, from the extent of their business, their pecuniary acquisitions, or some acquired dignity, were brevetted by the people to a higher rank, and thence more deference was accorded to them than to others not less worthy of public regard. There was much aristocracy in colonial and provincial life, and the people generally submitted to its claims. Every town had its great men, its ruling spirits. Much of this caste came over with our forefathers from the mother country, but it has evidently been gradually dying out. Republicanism has been constantly leavening social and civil life. The Christian requirement that each should esteem others better than himself finds a more general response in all hearts. All must give way to the doctrine that all men are born free and equal. But as matter of history, as well as of interest to the present generation, we present the report of this committee, that the people may learn how their ancestors stood in their social relations. It was as follows: "The committee for dividing the pews in the new meeting-house into a number of ranks reported that it was their opinion, with due submission to the judgment of the parish, that the following persons ought to be of the first rank for pews on the floor of said new meeting house, viz.: Joseph Sayer, Esq., Joseph Storer, Esq., Nathaniel Wells, Esq., Capt. James Littlefield, Mr. Pelatiah Littlefield, Capt. John Winn, Capt. John Bourne, John Wheelright, Esq.

Messrs. John Goodale, John Littlefield, Ebenezer Sayer, Joseph Wheelright, Benjamin Littlefield, and Joseph Hill; and that Joseph Sayer, Esq., ought to have that pew that is of the highest price, being No. 32; and that Joseph Storer, Esq., ought to have that pew that is of the next highest price, being No. 1; and that the others belonging to the first rank may have their choice of all the pews in said new meeting-house on the floor, in the following manner, viz.: That person of said rank that draws, or for whom is drawn, a lower number in said rank, if he is present and thinks proper so to do, shall choose before him who is of a higher number in said rank. The committee further report that the following persons ought to be of the second rank for pews on the floor of said new meeting-house: Jeremiah Littlefield, jr., Peter Littlefield, John Jacobs, Jonathan Littlefield, Barak Maxwell, Joseph Winn, Benjamin Kimball, John Cousens, Noah M. Littlefield, Nehemiah Littlefield, Daniel Sayer, William Sayer, Jeremiah Littlefield, Benjamin Hill, Daniel Chaney, Isaac Littlefield, Daniel Morrison, Warwick Hubbard, Nathaniel Gould, Lemuel Hatch, Benjamin Hatch, jr., Hanse Patten, Jeremiah Stevens, Nathaniel Donnel, Esq., Adam Clark, and may have their choice of the pews in said new meeting-house after those of the first rank may have made their choice, in the following manner, viz.: That person of the said second rank that draws, or for whom is drawn, a lower number in said second rank, if he is present and thinks proper so to do, shall choose before him who draws a higher number.

That the following persons ought to be of the third and last rank for pews on the floor of said new meeting-house, viz.: Mary Hill, wife of Jonathan Hill, Esq., Thomas Goodwin, Samuel Stewart, Joshua Getchell, Samuel Morrison, Eliab Littlefield, James Davis, Jonathan Littlefield, jr., William Cousens, Jonathan Hatch, and Aaron Clark; said person in said third rank to choose his pew in manner as presented for the second rank aforesaid, after the said second rank may have had their choice.

In the gallery the following persons ought to be of the first rank: Samuel Curtis, David Maxwell, John Winn, jr., Joshua Bragdon, John Staples, Joseph Stevens, Joshua Littlefield, John Goodale, jr., Samuel Treadwell, John Heard Hubbard, John Maxwell. The following persons ought to have the second and last rank, viz.: Ger-shom Maxwell, Samuel Stuart, jr., John Hatch, Joseph Littlefield,

Nathaniel Winn, and Joshua Gray." This report was accepted and affirmed by the parish.

In looking through this report, one cannot but admire the modesty, humility, and liberality of this committee. They declare themselves, with certain others, to be of the first rank, and entitled to the most eligible seats in the house of God. They assumed this precedence; but what merit was peculiar to them they do not disclose. They did not base their right surely on the amount which they paid, or were bound to pay, toward the structure. In the tax list, in that case, every man's right would have been determined; there could have been no number of ranks. It must have been on some assumed prominence of position; but it is very difficult to determine on what elements of individual manhood this pre-eminence was based. One of this committee was the ancestor of the author, with whom he is pretty well acquainted. There was nothing in his personality, that we have ever discovered, that could have justified such a pretension. He was a worthy and honest man, a ship-builder; but there were as worthy and honest men in the ranks below. In our day, such an assumption would have been regarded with contempt; but such was not the feeling then. The parish conceded this pre-eminence, as stated by the committee, and accepted their report. An acknowledged merit in some over others is manifested in the appointment of the committee; but we find nowhere any explanation of this plainly declared public sentiment. Very soon afterward it was declared, in words never to be forgotten by the people of the United States, that all men are born free and equal. This must ever be the language of a growing Christian civilization. All men of respectable standing are entitled to an absolute deference to their rights as citizens of the Commonwealth, and any usurpation of supremacy, especially in the house of God, can receive no countenance from the rational and considerate. Dignity is only to be predicated on true philanthropy of soul. In our view, this aristocratical disposition of pews does not indicate a just and sound appreciation of the principles of religion. It is very unlike the spirit which, a few years afterward, was manifested in the great struggle for their rights as freemen.

As may well be supposed, this enterprise of building a Christian church, through all the stages of advancement, was very far from being an auxiliary to the growth of the Christian virtues. The whole town, exclusive of the Kennebunk parish, were to be taxed

for its cost and support, and yet to only sixty-five persons was any right in it allowed. There were as many more who were thus virtually shut out from its privileges. No one can wonder that peace could not long abide within its borders. The parish voted to build the house in 1761, and from that time down to 1775 the people were called together forty-seven different times to act on matters connected with the work. The voters would not attend the meetings, and the few gathered together were unwilling to take the responsibilities of action. Subscribers would not furnish materials agreeably to contract, and a general apathy prevailed as to the progress of the building. How much had been done in 1769, two years after the frame had been erected, we cannot judge. But until December of that year the meeting was holden in the old house. Although the pews, or their location, were definitely fixed, they were not in condition to be occupied. Warwick Hubbard and others now offered to pull down the old house,—we suppose for the materials,—and it was voted July 31st that they might do so, provided no expense should come upon the parish. Thus this ancient church, where the people for nearly seventy years had come to worship, and under whose roof the wearied spirits of the townsmen had oft been refreshed by the kindly and gentle dews of the gospel, was to be abandoned and razed to the ground.

From the first of November and while the demolition was going on, the meetings were holden at the house of Abraham Barrows; after that, in the month of December, at the new meeting house. But it was many years after this time before the people were able to finish it. In 1770, the parish voted to build a steeple to the church by subscription. Nathaniel Wells, jr., was appointed agent for obtaining the money and doing the work. If he could not succeed in obtaining the necessary funds, he was directed to build a porch. In July, they voted again to proceed immediately in building a steeple; but the subscriptions were insufficient, and the steeple was not attempted. In 1771, it was voted "to finish the meeting-house this year;" and the next year, again, "to proceed in finishing the house, and to sell the pews which had not been paid for;" and again, in 1775, Nathaniel Wells, jr., Samuel Emery, and Warwick Hubbard were chosen a committee to finish the meeting-house, and were directed to use all lawful means to obtain pay for the pews; and still, thirteen years afterward, the parish voted again "to finish the meet-

ing-house," and chose a committee to settle the accounts for building.

Thus in twenty-seven years from the resolution to build, the temple of God may be regarded as finished. Probably, with a little more forbearance, and somewhat more of Christian liberality, the work might have been accomplished in a reasonable time, and the union of the whole parish been maintained.

That nothing should have been done during the Revolutionary war, in which the people were soon involved, toward finishing the meeting-house, will not appear strange to any one familiar with the history of that memorable struggle. But the ante-revolutionary period of twenty years was very unfavorable to pecuniary prosperity in the older part of the town. The newer, or second parish, received some impetus from the accession of enterprising and energetic men. Waldo Emerson came to Kennebunk in 1757; Joseph Storer in 1758; Theodore Lyman and others, some four or five years before the war. Business of all kinds was quickened by the increase of capital, which these men brought with them; and by the enterprising spirit with which they entered into milling, trade, and coasting. Still, from various causes, the town had become hard pressed. The settlers, for the most part, were farmers, dependent on the success of their agricultural labors; and in these they had not the philosophy to aid them which has grown out of the experience and scientific learning of the age in which we live. So that the yield of their lands was very limited. But in 1761, a terrible drought came upon the whole Province, filling all with serious apprehensions, and, at once, destroying all the hopes of the husbandman. It continued from April to August. No such drought had ever been known before. The ground was parched. On the other side of the river in Arundel a fire raged two months, destroying everything in its way. Dr. Coffin says, "houses and all things must have become a prey to it, had it not been for a great rain which came on the 17th day of August." The failure of their crops embarrassed the people. Many of them, we suppose, necessarily became involved in debt and could not pay their taxes. Some were four or five years in arrear. Suits were brought against the town, and the town sued the collector. In 1765, the people endeavored to get help from the Legislature. They with Kittery, York and Berwick, petitioned for the grant of a township of land, six miles square, to aid them in supporting their schools,

representing that other towns had been thus encouraged, and that the population here was so scattered that all the children could not attend one school, and that what they had done heretofore entitled them to the bounty of the Province; that from the first settlement these towns had been a barrier for all the towns; that they had built garrisons, maintained watches, and suffered more than most of the towns in the Province. These and other good reasons were presented for their application, but it was ineffectual.

Died Oct. 3, 1768, JOHN STORER. We have spoken of him so frequently in the various departments of life, especially in affairs involving the public welfare, that our readers must well understand his character. It is sufficient to say that he had the entire confidence of the government, and was employed in carrying forward all objects which were deemed necessary for the public welfare, both at home and in distant parts of the Provinces, especially in building and repairing the forts, and in the care of the public stores. He was the right-hand man of Sir William Pepperell in the expedition against Louisburg; was commissary and commander of the company from Wells. He was also one of the judges of the inferior court of common pleas, and representative to the general court.

After the successful result of the Louisburg expedition he gave himself more closely to matters at home, or of more local concern. He was a sincerely religious man, and was deeply impressed with the conviction that a better house of worship was needed by the people than that which was then standing; and his heart was fixed on the erection of a new one. He was permitted to live long enough to see the desire of his heart in the progress of completion. He owned largely in the lands of the town; especially in its mill privileges. He was diligent in all business in which he engaged, and faithful in all his relations.

The character and influence of John Storer need here no more particular delineation. His agency and usefulness in all matters interesting to the public will be discovered in all the town history, from the period of his maturity to the day of his decease. He was the son of Joseph Storer, and was born Sept. 5, 1694, in the midst of the most bloody of the Indian wars, while all the people were shut up in the garrisons. And we may add, that during his whole minority, he could hardly know that the world into which he was cast, was other

than a place for the exercise of all those passions which ally the race to the beasts of the forests. War and the barbarities of war must have been continually on the tongues of the company in whose intercourse he grew up. Yet he became a true and earnest member of the Christian church, trusting always in God for the best issue of all the complications incident to life.

CHAPTER XXX.

TAXATION OF COLONIES—OPPOSITION OF THE PEOPLE OF WELLS AND YORK—RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE TOWN OF WELLS—JONATHAN SAYWARD—TEA PARTY AT YORK—THE BOSTON PORT BILL—CONTRIBUTION OF SECOND PARISH IN WELLS IN AID OF THE POOR OF BOSTON—"YORK COUNTY CONGRESS" HOLDEN AT WELLS—RESOLVES—JOHN SULLIVAN'S HARANGUE—COURT BROKEN UP—ADAM McCULLOCH—DR. ABIATHER ALDEN—DR. EBENEZER RICE—JOSEPH CHURCHILL—BULLETIN OF YORK COUNTY CONGRESS—DELEGATE CHOSEN TO THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS AT CAMBRIDGE—INSTRUCTIONS TO HIM—ACTION OF THE TOWN OF WELLS IN RELATION TO WAR MEASURES—ROLL OF CAPT. JAMES HUBBARD'S COMPANY—CAPT. JESSE DORMAN'S COMPANY—INTENSE EXCITEMENT OF THE PEOPLE—LIST OF SOLDIERS WHO RE-ENLISTED IN CAPT. SAWYER'S COMPANY—GATHERING OF MINISTERS AT YORK—COMMITTEE OF SAFETY APPOINTED—INSTRUCTIONS OF THE TOWN TO THE REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS TO VOTE FOR INDEPENDENCE—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE READ IN THE CHURCHES AT WELLS AND KENNEBUNK—JOSEPH SAYER—EBENEZER SAYER—WALDO EMERSON—SAMUEL HITCHCOCK—THEODORE LYMAN—JOSEPH MOODY—DR. OLIVER KEATING—THEODORE AND HONESTUS PLUMMER.

At the present day when almost every fireside is gladdened by the fruits of the largest liberty, enjoyed so many years, we are in no condition rightly to estimate the extent of our indebtedness to the labors and sacrifices of the noble men of the latter half of the last century. They were the determined foes of arbitrary power, and watched with the utmost vigilance every motion toward its exercise over these Provinces which had grown up out of the struggles of invincible and determined hearts; and they were ready to rush to the breach in whatever quarter it was attempted. They had not been nursed under those mild and generous auspices which responded to every wish of their souls. Whatever they had, came to them through the agency of personal and unfaltering activity. Labor was their life and their reward. It was inwrought in their very being that they were to obtain their bread by the sweat of their brows; and they rejoiced in this devotion of their physical powers to the acquisition of

the means of life. There was fruition in labor as well as in its results. Hardships, either in sacrifice, deprivation or exhausting physical exertion, were strangers to very few inhabitants of the smaller towns of New England. In the larger towns there were men peculiarly independent, though probably millionaires were exceedingly scarce. The town of Wells did not then afford a sample of what would now be regarded as a competency. The people, with few exceptions, were occupied in agricultural pursuits. Their commercial business was carried on in vessels of a very small burden. Boston, Nova Scotia, Canada, and the Southern and West India ports, limited the marts of their marine intercourse.

The first minor troubles which kindled excitement in the larger commercial towns would have been to the people of Wells of very little moment, not reaching their material interests. It cannot be supposed that, at any time, the imports very seriously affected their personal comforts. They were not great consumers of foreign productions. Their own hands produced nearly all their food and raiment. Sugar and molasses might have been advanced a little in price by the duty upon them; but the sweets of life were scarcely within their jurisdiction. The Stamp Act was still less a source of discomfort. It worked no great diminution of the ordinary enjoyments of life. There was not then this grasping after everything which would gratify the appetite. Men contented themselves with the plainest and most simple means of support. The fever for speculation is seldom engendered among a people settled in agricultural life. When all around are alike employed in regular labor for a merely substantial livelihood, there is nothing to awaken a thirst or mania for sudden riches, to be acquired by some enterprise *alivunde*. The allotments of their condition are accepted without any longings for a change.

Notwithstanding the assumption by the English parliament of a right to tax these colonies did not come home to the pecuniary interests of the inhabitants of Wells, the fires of liberty were always kept burning in the hearts of the people, and the first symptoms of the exercise of this prerogative over them awakened a spirit of resistance at all hazards. It was no selfish impulse which, in a moment, called off their thoughts from their familiar labors to this threatened attack on their civil and political rights. Though liberty had been so much dishonored in the house of its friends, though

Puritanism in its action had disregarded and set at nought the very principles in which it had its origin, almost every man, even to the lowest of the peasantry, had his spirit stirred within him at the first suggestion of any encroachment upon his rights. The fathers and grandfathers had often told them it was for liberty that their predecessors had crossed the waters and taken possession of this wilderness, subjecting themselves to all its perils and privations. They were thence taught to prize liberty as the pearl of too great price to be left at the least hazard.

From the first monition of the intention of the parent government to extend the power of taxation to this country, this spirit of freedom never slumbered. The people were awake to every emergency in which liberty was involved. We cannot say that the feeling of which we speak was universal. There were men of an assumed higher caste, to whose avarice loyalty administered, and who preferred to cling to the profits of their position and business, rather than to the principles of a noble and Christian manhood. Such were the officials, the tenor of whose political status was dependent on unhesitating fidelity to the British crown. Doubtful men were not wanting in Wells nor in the adjoining towns. Riches and honors, everywhere, are not the peculiar friends of a genuine, true civilization. Patriotism is never a prominent attribute of a community who rely on foreign intercourse for pecuniary prosperity. Such men were exceptions to the general character of our population. The poorest, those who had neither silver nor gold, were ready to pledge their lives for the maintainance of what they believed to be their indisputable rights.

The towns in the county of York partook of a common feeling in relation to the tendency of parliamentary proceedings, though we do not find that all of them immediately took corporate action in relation to them. In the adjoining town of York there were men, bold and fearless, of deep thought and forecast, who watched every step in the march of the home government toward the subjection of the Provinces. They were, perhaps, more jealous of its action than any development hitherto would justify. When this people came over from England it is apparent that they came with the understanding that they were still to be regarded as subjects of the British crown. The idea of building up an independent nation was far from their thoughts, and when the opposition to parliamentary action was first

excited the people, in their resistance to the measures inaugurated, never contemplated a secession from the authority of the English government. It is difficult to understand now the status which the noble patriots of the Revolution regarded these Provinces as holding. If the government of England had any authority over them, and was bound for their protection, surely some return must have been rightly expected from the connection. Taxation and representation have no more connection than have protection and taxation. They have never been here regarded as inseparable. Numbers of men and women are taxed, and always have been from the inception of the various governments of the States, who have not had the right of suffrage, and of course not the right of representation. But such was the position assumed by those patriotic and noble men. York numbered among its citizens, at this time, many of this character, and in 1768, at the first manifestation of the coming usurpation, a public meeting was called in that town to adopt such measures as the posture of affairs might suggest. The relations of the Massachusetts government with that of England had become matter of the deepest interest, in consequence of a requirement of the latter, issued to the legislature of the former, to rescind what is termed the circular letter. The general court had prepared and sent abroad to the other colonies an address, setting forth distinctly their views of the powers of the home government over the colonies, which were repugnant to the principles assumed by parliament, and asking the concurrence of the different legislatures and the appropriate action for the maintenance of these views. This address Massachusetts was required to rescind; but the general court, with great unanimity, refused to do so, ninety-two being opposed and sixteen only in favor. In this minority was Jonathan Sayward, representative from York. This action of their delegate worked up great excitement in that village, and at the meeting it was "voted that this town highly approve of the proceedings of the late honorable house of representatives who were not for rescinding." Sayward, who, but a few months before, had the support of the people in his election, was thus severely rebuked, and till after the close of the war never recovered his standing. He was a popular, influential, and useful man; but this unfortunate step, among a people highly excited on the matter in issue, produced a strong revulsion of feeling which it took years to subdue.

John Wheelright was at the same time representative from Wells. When the question was taken he was absent from the house. So were the other representatives from this vicinity: James Gowen, of Kittery, Thomas Perkins, of Arundel, and Benjamin Chadbourne, of Berwick. Two months after this vote was taken, these men addressed letters to the speaker, in which they stated "It was their misfortune to be absent from the general court when the great and important question was put for rescinding a vote of a former house, relative to the well-known circular letter, and had they been present they should have thought it their duty, for many reasons, to have voted against rescinding, and made an addition to the memorable number, ninety-two." As a general postulate it is well to let the dead rest in peace; but all history is designed for instruction in righteousness, and it does not consist with the duty of the living to forego the benefit which God designed should come from the action and its consequences of preceding generations. These men, we think, if animated with the spirit of a fearless patriotism, would have been present on this important occasion. If endowed with the animus of John Adams, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and other worthies of that day, instead of delaying two months to explain their neglect to vote, they would have made immediate haste to remove the stigma which, by their absence at such a crisis, had fallen upon their characters. But the public sentiment of the towns which they represented was too manifest to be disregarded, and at this late hour they endeavored to screen themselves from censure by this declaration of what their duty would have been. Many know very well what duty is, but have not the resolution to do it. They should have been in their seats. It certainly is a marvellous fact in the history of this little cluster of towns, that all their representatives should have had demands on their presence elsewhere at this moment, which precluded them from the discharge of the important duty which they thus acknowledge they owed to liberty and their country. Sayward's vote, though for rescinding and in subserviency to the demands of the English government, was far more meritorious.

The results of the meeting in York, we are authorized to believe, found acceptance in this and the neighboring towns. No public meeting was called in Wells, but the same spirit was maintained; the same resolute opposition to every parliamentary manifestation

which looked to an encroachment on what they believed to be their rights. From this time forward our relations with England and the possibility of a contest which should come home to every soul seldom escaped from the thoughts of the people. The loyalists, embracing many who were in office under the king and those who were largely interested in commerce, endeavored to allay the excitement; but all attempts in that direction were powerless. The hearts of the people were moved, and the gathering clouds awakened in them no dismay. When the great conflict was at hand all the towns came up immediately to the demands of the occasion.

Such was the indignation on account of the Stamp Act, and the opposition which it engendered, that the British government found it expedient to repeal it. But the right of taxing the colonies was not yielded. A majority of parliament were fully grounded in the doctrine that they had the right to exercise that power in all cases whatsoever; but the opposite view prevailed all through the Provinces. The people, feeling that they could not be represented, drew therefrom the inference that they could not be justly taxed, and there were noble and intrepid men all over the country, who buckled on their armor, determined to maintain this position at whatever cost. The unceasing labors of these men nurtured in the bosoms of the people generally a spirit akin to their own, though it was not difficult, as it is not now, to awaken opposition, when the matter of taxation is addressed to the thoughts of men. Any measure looking to an encroachment on the purse tends to arouse men to resistance.

The act imposing a duty on glass, tea, paper, and other articles produced great excitement. It was regarded as a direct attack upon the liberties of the people. Commissioners of the customs had been appointed and sent over from England to collect these duties; but the opposition was so strong that all their exertions to this end were ineffectual. The result was that in a conflict with the soldiery, stationed in Boston for the enforcement of law and the maintenance of order, several citizens were killed. Although the obnoxious law was in the main repealed, the duty on tea was still continued, and the excitement created by the collision was never entirely allayed. The people all over the country formed associations, the basis of which was the non-importation and entire disuse of tea and of all articles on which a duty had been imposed, and every man who would not enrol himself as a member was regarded as an enemy to

his country. It mattered not what had been his standing in life; whether rich or poor, whether high in authority or the most abject and humble, he must deny all countenance and support of every governmental measure which the multitude pronounced unconstitutional or subversive of their rights. It was dangerous for one to differ from the mass of the people. The feeling of unyielding opposition was deep-seated, and would well up at the least indication of any disposition to succumb. Total abstinence was the doctrine of the hour.

These associations, which were so numerous, were very easily formed; they required of the members no great sacrifice. Three-quarters of the people, we suppose, had never yet used a pound of tea; and the other articles prescribed, if used at all, had been used very sparingly. They had been obliged hitherto to live on homely fare, and these agreements did not, therefore, essentially diminish the comforts of life. Ministers of the gospel, perhaps, were the gainers by these combinations, for the feeling seems to have been manifest that they must not suffer by the privations which the occasion demanded. The people frequently gathered together at the houses of their pastors, carrying with them whatever their own limited supplies could furnish, so that sometimes their houses were filled with good store of comforts for many months to come. Berwick was very forward in such donation parties. What was done for Dr. Hemmenway or Mr. Little we have not learned.

The arbitrary measures of the British administration had reached to such an extent as to fill the minds of the people of Boston with the apprehension that the controversy might lead to more decisive action on the part of that government. They accordingly chose a committee of correspondence to communicate with all the towns and state to them their views of the proceedings of the home government, and to solicit in return their opinions on the great matters involved. Accordingly, on the 24th of May, 1773, a communication from Boston having been received at Wells, a town meeting was holden, and Joseph Storer, Nathaniel Wells, jr., John Wheelright, Ebenezer Rice, John Littlefield, Samuel Emery, and James Hubbard were appointed "a committee of correspondence," and were "directed to consider what is proper for the town to do in relation to said intelligence and report to the town at the adjourned meeting."

During all the conflict which ensued, Wells was never very hasty

in its action, but on all matters of importance was sure to take due time for deliberation. The inhabitants seemed to feel that their judgment on matters concerning the Provinces was entitled to, and carried with it, great weight, and therefore any opinions which they might enunciate should be first well considered. One would suppose that here was the occasion for a speedy response to the authorities of Boston; but instead of giving the needed reply without delay, they instructed their committee to make their report at an adjourned meeting, six weeks afterward. Boston wished to be enlightened on the question whether they were to have the concurrence and support of the other towns on this truly momentous occasion. The exigency might have passed over entirely, either for the weal or woe of the people, before this town had made up its opinion. But the fifth of July was assigned for determining the answer which should be given. On that day the committee made report that, "as the legislature had been twice in session since the intelligence was received, it was unnecessary to pass any resolutions, but they would observe, that it appears to us that no person on earth, other than the General Assembly of this Province, has a right to tax us in any form whatever, or impose any duty on us with the purpose of raising a revenue, taxation and representation being, in our opinion, inseparable. It further appears to us that the attempt of the Parliament of Great Britain to tax us, and the duties they have imposed on us, with a design to raise a revenue, are the foundation of most, if not all, the grievances which we labor under. Every attempt of Great Britain to tax us is not only an infringement of our rights and privileges, but is incompatible with the true interests of Great Britain. If the right is once admitted, Great Britain would overburden us with taxes to such a degree as to ruin us.

We do not mean this as a reflection on the wisdom and justice of Parliament; but considering the corruption and depravity of human nature, in nothing perhaps more evident than in the prevalence of self-love, which often operates insensibly, we have abundant reason to think that the more largely we are taxed the less taxes will be necessary in Great Britain, we shall inevitably be oppressed with taxes. We are ever ready to join in any prudent and constitutional method in our power to procure a repeal of the revenue Acts aforesaid; and we hope we shall be enabled so to conduct and behave

amongst ourselves, and in respect to Great Britain, as that those persons who are our greatest enemies, may not have the least foundation, or even shadow of a foundation for finding fault with or censuring us, being disposed to submit to all legal authority, not only for wrath but for conscience sake."

This answer does not seem to overflow with patriotism, or reflect any great honor on the townsmen. It is altogether non-committal; and about as encouraging to the suffering and anxious citizens of Boston, as if they had returned no answer. There were in Wells at this time, as before stated, some who had great fears of a conflict with the home government. These men, in fact, controlled the proceedings of the town during the whole war. Profit and place were very efficient elements in making the character of many persons at that period. True nobility of soul was not always the ruling power in the action of the people. Riches and honors, peace and safety, could not be kept out of sight. The balance of intellect on this committee was not very hearty in the cause of freedom; but as the contest progressed the necessities of the hour, in some instances, waked up a more patriotic spirit in the hearts of some of them. Joseph Storer, John Littlefield and James Hubbard who were on this committee, when the terrors of actual war came over the land, were brave men in the public service.

The report was accepted by the town, and a copy ordered to be sent to the committee of correspondence in Boston. But subsequent intelligence received from that place indicated complications still more portentous; and a new meeting of the inhabitants of Wells was called on the 21st day of March, 1774, to take into consideration the posture of our relations with England. Joseph Storer, John Littlefield, Capt. Noah M. Littlefield, James Hubbard, Deacon Benjamin Hatch, Ebenezer Sayer and Joshua Bragdon were chosen a committee, to whom the subject was referred, and who were directed to report their conclusions in one week. This committee was constituted of firm and energetic men. The first four were afterward active officers in the great struggle. Storer and Hubbard sealed their devotion to their country with their blood. They were men fearless in the expression of their opinions, and ready for any fate which might await them, in opposing the arbitrary measures attempted to be enforced on the people.

This committee on the 28th of March made their report, recommending the following resolutions, as becoming the town in this important crisis :

“Resolved, that freedom is essential to the happiness of a State, which no nation can give up without violating the laws of nature, reason and religion, ruining millions, and entailing the deepest misery on posterity.

Resolved, that the late Act of the British Parliament, empowering the East India Company to export their teas to Boston, subject to a duty, is a daring infringement upon our individual rights and privileges ; is a measure replete with every evil, political and commercial. Therefore it is incumbent on every man who values his birthright and would support the constitution, to oppose every such attempt in all lawful and constitutional ways.

Resolved, that we will not receive any teas whereon an unconstitutional duty may be laid, whether shipped by the East India Company or private merchants, and will esteem every person who shall or may receive any such teas, unfriendly to the government, and inimical to the country and constitution ; and will treat them with that contempt which such conduct deserves.

Resolved, that we will bear faithful and true allegiance to our Sovereign Lord, George the Third, and are ready at all times to support his crown and dignity, at the expense of our lives and fortunes ; but by no means support the oppressive measures of Parliament, which have and still continues to threaten the total destruction of the liberties of all America.

Resolved, that the thanks of the town be given to our worthy brethren, the patriotic inhabitants of the town of Boston, for their early intelligences, and steady perseverance in the common cause. Posterity, we doubt not, will applaud their conduct, and their children will rise up and call them blessed.

Resolved, that an attested copy of these proceedings be transmitted to the committee of correspondence in Boston.”

These resolutions, we think, were prepared by Mr. Hemmenway. They are in accordance with the true spirit of the hour, and speak

the language of the great body of the Wells townsmen. The people were determined to submit to no oppression; to yield none of the rights which they claimed to belong to them as men. On no question of political interest were a people ever more generally united. Fearful, undecided spirits were few; though they were generally those who had been of high standing, or who had been engaged in the largest commercial business. They feared more consequences which were personal, than those which were public. Jonathan Sayward, of York, affords a good illustration of the spirit of these loyalists; of those whose hearts did not sympathize with the measures which the people were pursuing to defeat the purposes of government. He was judge of the Court of Probate, and a special justice of the court of Common Pleas, and was largely engaged in navigation. For more than twenty years he was connected with Dr. Sawyer, of Wells, in the ownership of vessels. He was a leader in the church, and always regarded as a man of sound moral principle. But the condition of affairs now foreboded great evil. Whether his pecuniary interests, or his official position so dimmed his vision that he could not judge truly, we will not assume to determine. But his spirit was exceedingly troubled at the aspect of our affairs with the mother country. In relation to the memorable act of the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor, he says, "The men of Belial arose in Boston and took possession of two ships of tea; hoisted it all out and turned it into the dock." "The public affairs of the government look very dark; and it is probable to me some measures, coercive and disagreeable, will be enforced from the Parliament of Great Britain on this government in consequence of the destruction of these ships of tea belonging to the India Company."

"We had town meetings (Jan. 20 and 21) in order to approve of the conduct of Boston in destroying the tea of the Hon. East India Company, and after a most severe opposition by Samuel Clark and myself, got our resolves so far moderated as to thank only for what they had constitutionally done. The opposition to Parliament will undo us."

"My own opinion is that the tea should be paid for by Boston." Soon afterward he says, "Threatened the whole of last week by the mob, and in danger but not yet destroyed;" and again, "in danger of being mobbed by the influence of Paul D. Woodbridge;" and

again, "Provincial Congress resolutions are looked on as equal to the laws of a kingdom and superior to our own. When and where these things will end God only knows."

Judge Sayward escaped the fury of the mob only by concealment. It was a time of severe trial to all persons who sustained his views of the differences with England. Some in Wells, the posture of whose business was like his, were not only mistrusted, but incurred the great displeasure of the people. But in no instance did they become the subjects of mob law.

This state of public feeling continued until the indications became unmistakable that a complete rupture between the home government and the Provincials must inevitably ensue. The people of New England, as well as the southern Provinces, could not be induced by any impending peril to yield one tittle of their assumed rights. On the contrary, the excitement growing out of the collisions of the principles of the two governments continued to increase, until the English government were compelled to come to the conclusion that their diplomacy could be of no further avail, and they determined to coerce the stubborn Provinces into submission—and to compel the people to receive the teas and other articles which might be sent to their ports. But the Provinces would take no backward step, and the spirit of the country could not be made to quail. Fired by the continued encroachments on what they deemed their chartered rights, and the persevering determination of the home government to impose these dutiable or taxed articles upon them, a company gathered together on the wharf in Boston, where the ships lay, Dec. 16, 1773, and threw all the tea overboard.

This memorable act was not done under the authority or advice of any public convention, but was the outbreak of individual indignation which could no longer be repressed. Still, there was not general condemnation of it. On the contrary, we suppose that it met with an approving response in nearly all hearts. The same spirit was manifested in this vicinity. Determined resistance to taxation was the rule among the citizens generally. A lot of tea was brought into York, in a vessel under the command of Capt. James Donnel. But the people would not brook this plain insult or daring of the public sentiment. A town meeting was immediately called, and a committee chosen to have the tea taken out of the vessel and kept

to await further developments. It was put into the store of Capt. Grove. But the townsmen could not be satisfied in treating such an affront in this tender, cautious way. Pusillanimity was not the character of the hour. In the following evening a number of Pickwaket Indians came into the village, broke open the store, and carried off the tea, so that no duty on it was paid by the people.

It would not do for the home government to relax its measures in consequence of what they could not but regard as an outrage, and a rash defiance of their authority. The Boston Port bill, as it was called, was passed. This was equivalent to a blockade. No vessels could come in or go out. This was, perhaps, as effectual a measure as could have been devised for the purposes of the government. Still it was entirely inoperative for any salutary results. It was a terrible blow not only to the citizens of Boston, but to those of all the neighboring towns. But the hearts of the people did not fail at the prospect. They were ready to submit to deprivation and suffering, rather than to yield any of the rights, for the maintainance of which they had been so long struggling. As Boston depended so much on its commercial intercourse, it was very evident that great affliction must come to the poorer class, from this sudden termination of all its commercial business, and much sympathy was awakened for them all over New England.

The town of Wells, though it could do but little in the way of charity, was not backward in coming to their relief. The church of the Second Congregational Parish voted in December that "the usual contribution for the poor among themselves, should be given to the poor of Boston, who are sufferers by reason of the stoppage of their port;" and they also recommended to the congregation, "that they should make a generous collection for said poor." There was but little money among the people, and they sent in its place to these poor sufferers, what they deemed would as well meet their necessities. The following correspondence in relation to this subject will be interesting to the reader: "Wells, January 16, 1775. Gentlemen. Previous to the recommendation of the Provincial congress a number of the inhabitants in the Second Parish in Wells made a small collection which they send in wood (by the care of Capt. Ebenezer Hovey), judging that may be an article as acceptable and useful as any other at this season of the year, for the comfort of the needy and afflicted under your care.

The above we only mention as a small token of that deep affection we feel for our capitol, in their present distressed condition, on whose former open and friendly commerce, we, on this eastern shore, more absolutely depended for support, than any other part of the Province. For your sake, and for our own, we prayerfully wait the kind interposition of Divine Providence, and the smiles of our gracious king for the redress of our general grievances; and in particular for the removal of the present obstruction to our trade with the town of Boston.

To the Committee of Donations for
the Poor of the town of Boston.

STEPHEN LARRABEE,
JOHN MITCHELL."

To this communication the following reply was received :

Boston, Feb. 8, 1775.

Gentlemen. I am directed by the Committee of Donations to acknowledge the receipt of your affectionate letter and generous donation of 26 3-4 cords of wood, by Capt. Eben^r Hovey, a necessary article and very acceptable at the season of the year; more especially as the call for it seems to be daily increasing amongst us. We esteem it a great smile of Providence, and desire thankfully to acknowledge it as such, that our friends and brethren in this and the neighboring Provinces have shown such a ready disposition to help us under our difficulties; and we are much obliged to the inhabitants of the Second Parish in Wells in particular, and return them our sincere and most hearty thanks, and rejoice to see that they are not only ready to sympathize with, but also to afford us such relief for the comfort of the needy and afflicted under our care.

The cause is common and it gives us great pleasure to hear that you are prayerfully waiting for the kind interposition of Divine Providence for your and our relief. We desire heartily to join with you herein, and hope that in due time we shall happily reap the fruits thereof.

To Messrs. Stephen Larrabee
and John Mitchell at Wells.

JOHN LOLLEY, Per order."

This is not the only time in which the people of Kennebunk came to the aid of the inhabitants of Boston. As we have before stated, when in March, 1760, a great fire destroyed nearly two hundred buildings in that place, the church of the Second Parish made a do-

nation to the sufferers of sixty-six pounds five shillings and sixpence, or over two hundred dollars.

The year 1774, was one of absorbing interest to the people in this vicinity. They had enjoyed a long time the benefit of marine intercourse with Boston, and they felt that their own interests were intimately connected with those of that town. This constant intercourse nourished a unity of opinion on all questions to which the crisis had given rise. To sustain the action of the people of Boston, enunciate their own views and strengthen the patriotism and resolution of the inhabitants of Maine, a congress was notified to be holden at Wells; and on the 15th and 16th days of November, 1774, the delegates of the several towns in the county of York assembled at this place. The following resolves were passed by the convention, then denominated "York County Congress."

"His Majesty's loyal subjects, the delegates of the several towns of the County of York, deputed to meet in County Congress, held at Wells the 16th day of Nov., 1774, truly professing ourselves liege subjects of His Majesty, King George the 3d, and sincere friends to all our fellow subjects in Brittain and the Colonies, for the necessary defense of our liberties and privileges, come unto the following resolutions.

Resolved, that the people have the right to tax themselves, and no other persons, assemblies or Parliaments have, and the English acts to tax them are unconstitutional.

Resolved, that all civil officers in this County ought to exercise their powers as though these acts had not been passed; that venires for jurors ought to issue and be obeyed as before.

Resolved, that this Congress recommend to every individual to use their influence for peace.

Whereas William Pepperell, Baronet, in his lifetime honestly acquired a large estate, and gave the highest evidence, not only of being a sincere friend to the rights of man in general, but having a fraternal love to this country in particular, and whereas his son William, to whom his estate was devised, hath, with purpose to carry into effect acts of the Brittish Parliament made with the design to enslave the free and loyal people of this continent, accepted

and now holds a seat at the pretended Board of Councilors in this Province, and therefore forfeited confidence, it is recommended to the people and his lessees to withdraw all connexion, commerce, and dealings with him, and take no leases of his farms or mills; and if anybody does deal with him, we recommend the people to have no dealings or intercourse with such an one.

Resolved, that thanks of this County are due to the worthy and patriotic members of the Continental Congress for their noble and faithful exertions in the cause of their country.

WILLIAM LAUGHTON, Clerk."

This Congress, it may well be presumed, was composed of the men of the highest standing. During the sessions they were accommodated at the Littlefield tavern, of which we have before spoken. We have been unable to find the name of a single member. The following account of the stimulus which they took to nerve them for the responsible work which they had in hand, will be read with interest, while at the same time it will show something of the habits of society, of which we have spoken in another place.

"Nov. 16, 1774. Congress expenses.

To 2 boles of Todday at 5 per	£0	1	4
3 boles of Brandy Punch at 10	0	4	0
2 boles of Brandy Punch at 10	0	2	8
1 bole of Punch at 10	0	1	4
2 boles of todday at 5	0	1	4
2 boles of Brandy Punch at 10	0	1	4
2 boles of todday at 5	0	1	4
1 bole of punch at 10	0	1	4
6 boles of Brandy Punch at 10	0	8	0
1 bole of todday at 5	0	0	8
26 men's dinners at 11 3	1	19	0
23 mens dinners at 11 3	1	14	6
15 horses at 10	1	0	0
To suppers and breakfast	0	10	0."

This convention was sufficiently radical to satisfy the most eager for rebellion. At the present time, we might be disposed to attribute somewhat of their spirit to the inspirations of the public house;

but our impression is, that the "bole of brandy punch," though exhilarating, did not so interfere with the functions of the brain as to bias it to any extravagance or extreme action. At no period during the Revolutionary war was the popular excitement more intense than at this time. Men were denounced and proscribed, not as comprehended under a general class, but individually, as persons with whom there should be no intercourse. One of the first pages of Edes & Gill's North American Almanack for 1770 has "A list of the names of those who audaciously continue to counteract the united sentiments of the body of Merchants throughout North America, by importing Brittish goods contrary to agreement." In this list are the names of eleven men, with their residences and places of business. There was no charity for dissenters, for the weak or irresolute, much less for those who were holding office under the king, or were engaged in commerce, whereby patriotism was subdued or in a great measure stunted, or for any who were trembling amidst the general commotion which had been waked up all over the Provinces. They could not brook even the presence of such men among them.

In the first week in January, 1775, the court was holden at York. Such was the condition of the public mind, so much had passion been aroused by the bitter contentions which prevailed, that no reasonable man could look for a righteous verdict in any case. Neither could entire confidence be reposed in the court. But the people gathered at the court house; some interested in the pending business, others coming as witnesses of the exhibition, whatever it might be. John Sullivan was accustomed to attend the terms in this place. He was full of the spirit of rebellion against the arbitrary measures of government, and was ready to meet any emergency to which the expression might lead. He was a member of the Continental Congress, which had just been holden, and freely gave vent to his feelings there, as on all other occasions. He had no special respect for the court, on account of any high judicial standing of its members, and therefore was under no restraint when he came into their presence. The judges were evidently afraid of the jurors. It was most probable that, when impannelled, they would be found of one mind, so that no loyalist would be likely to receive favor or justice. But the jurors had presented themselves agreeably to summons. Some of the court were inclined, in view of the perplexities and confusion which must embarrass their proceedings, not to pro-

ceed with the session; but this suggestion so enraged the multitude that several persons threatened to pull the judges from their seats. Sullivan harangued the people with great power, telling them that their rights and privileges were to be wrested from them; that they were to be the mere slaves of arbitrary power; that the court were ready to be the willing instruments of putting the yoke upon them, and that this refusal to impanel the jury was in subserviency and yielding to the acts of Parliament. Sullivan had expressed himself very freely in Congress, uttering sentiments which would have been denounced as treasonable, and he thence felt the necessity of stirring up the people to the support of himself and of the opinions which he had enunciated. His own safety might depend on their support; although, animated with a noble patriotism as he was, the thought of self-protection may never have entered his mind. At the same time, Capt. Daniel Bragdon, who had also attended the Congress though not elected for that purpose, gathered a large multitude around him, outside of the court house, and addressed them with all the eloquence of which he was master, calling upon them to rouse themselves in opposition to the acts of Parliament, and denouncing all as enemies to their country who would not come up to the work of rebellion. The people were excited, and the judges felt that they were in continual jeopardy and might at any moment be dragged from the court house.

The jury was finally impanelled, though no business was done. In consequence of the excitement no trial could have proceeded. Judge Sayward declared he would not sit to hear an action to judgment. Judge Moulton sympathized with the great body of the people. As the only possible course, the court broke up without further action, the judges separating and quietly returning to their homes.

The lawyers did not all accord with the spirit and utterances of Sullivan and Bragdon. Some of them were anxious to preserve the peace, and endeavored, as far as possible, to repress the ardor of the more impulsive. James Sullivan, then in the practice of law at Biddeford, and afterward governor of Massachusetts, manifested somewhat more equanimity than his brother John, and being disposed to avoid all collisions and political controversies in court, whereby its character might be compromised, did what he could to maintain order and subdue excitement. Wyer, also, who was then a lawyer of influence at the York bar, exerted himself in the same

way, and endeavored to relieve the judges by demurring cases pending. The day was a memorable one in our judicial history, and its doings were not without influence in fanning the flame of a rebellion which was to sweep every vestige of monarchy from the land.

Though the court was quietly adjourned without day, the judges returning to their homes in peace, Sayward felt himself, from the spirit here excited, to be in continual peril. The threats of the people daily reached his ears. From this time to nearly the close of the war he was almost constantly watched, and, as we have said, escaped the fury of the mob only by concealment. Every man who did not come out openly in opposition to the English government was regarded with suspicion. In the town of Wells these loyalists probably suffered less persecution than those of any other town, from the fact that they were the only persons who had previously taken the lead in public affairs and been accustomed to address the multitude. Still some of them were under the ban of popular odium and distrust. They were men of worthy intentions and honest hearts; but their relations were such as to lead them to withhold any support to the rebellion, which they believed was not justified by any aggressions yet made on the liberties of the people. Nathaniel Wells and Joseph Sawyer, two of the most valuable citizens, and well understanding the merits of the pending controversy, were, we think, of this opinion. Adam McCulloch, who was a Scotchman, came to this country a few years before, and at this time was a trader in Wells. His attachments to his native land were strong, and he felt that the struggle for freedom would be that of the child against the parent, and could only end in disappointment; but so irresistible was the public enthusiasm for complete separation that he was compelled to recede from his position. The resentment of the people against all indifference and all opposition to their will was such that personal safety could only be secured by yielding to it. He accordingly published the following card :

“Whereas I, the subscriber, have, by some inadvertences, been so unhappy as to fall under the displeasure of the good people of this place, and many things have been laid to my charge of an inimical nature to the just rights and liberties of the good people of this country, some of which I am not guilty of, I do now publicly declare that so far as I have been guilty in words or actions of offend-

ing the same in matters of a civil nature (more especially in regard to the unhappy contest now prevailing between Great Britain and these Colonies) that I am heartily sorry, and do now humbly ask the forgiveness of all the friends of America for the same, and do promise that I will not offend in like manner again, but will do all that lays in my power for the defense of the rights and privileges of this country, and shall ever esteem it my greatest happiness of a temporal nature to enjoy the favor and friendship of the people with whom I now dwell, and will, for the future, pay due obedience to the lawful authority and advice of this Province, and determine to stand or fall with the fate of the same, heartily wishing that every resolution and determination for the good of the public may have its desired effect.

ARUNDEL, July 10, 1775.

ADAM McCULLOCH."

One more instance to show the state of public sentiment at this time, and how unsafe it was for any man to attempt to disregard or to countervail it by any overt act, may illustrate more fully the feeling of the masses in this neighborhood. Dr. Alden, of Biddeford, was strongly suspected, not only of cherishing unpatriotic sentiments, but as actually aiding the government by furnishing materials for barracks, which he had sent to Boston, or some other place, by Capt. John Stackpole, for the troops sent here to enforce the arbitrary and unjustifiable acts against the people of America. On a day appointed, a multitude gathered together from all the neighboring towns, at Saco, to examine into the matter and to adopt such measures as they thought such treason demanded. A committee was appointed to wait on Dr. Alden and Captain Stackpole and require their attendance before the assembly. They accordingly appeared before them, but denied that they had furnished any materials for such a purpose. They were then compelled to promise that they never would be guilty of any such treachery to the public welfare. But the multitude were not satisfied with this naked promise of fidelity on the part of Alden, and he was required to make confession of his treasonable declarations, to make manifest his repentance for the wrong he had done to the people, and to promise thenceforth never to utter any such treasonable sentiments, and to confirm his promises by solemn oath before a justice of the peace. This requisition he obeyed, subscribing the following declaration :

“Whereas I have uttered many words, out of town and in, countenancing arbitrary acts of Parliament, which has given offense to the body now assembled, I do hereby express my sincere penitence therefor, and promise, on oath, not to be guilty of anything of that kind for the future. And whereas I asked sundry persons to sign a paper to the Board of Commissioners, therein insinuating myself to be a tory, I hereby declare I am sorry therefor, and that I never will be guilty of anything of that kind for the future, nor do anything against the just rights of my country.

Oct. 18, 1774.

ABIATHER ALDEN.”

After having made oath to this before the magistrate, he was required to get down on his knees and ask pardon of the assembly for his offense in expressing a favorable opinion of the acts of Parliament. The whole proceeding was conducted in a peaceable, courteous manner. Having thus accomplished the object for which they had come together, the convention dispersed. This action was not of a mob, but was highly approved of by the whole people. It was not without a salutary influence on others whose sympathies accorded with those of Alden. The calm and quiet manner in which it was carried out, shows the resolute and determined spirit by which the people were actuated in putting down all opposition to the rebellion which was now being inaugurated.

It is probable that many of those who kept aloof from, or did not partake of, the enthusiasm for resistance of the acts of Parliament were fully as patriotic as those who were even the leaders in the excitement which had been kindled. Men are and always have been of widely different moral endowments, induced by widely different training. Some, all through life, are in bondage to fear. Dr. Ebenezer Rice, who lived where William Lord now lives, was one whose temperament was of this cast. In the time of the last Indian war he was but a child, and the fears which then came over the mother, in view of the terrible atrocities to which all were exposed in conflict with the savages, were daily manifested in open expression before him. Fear may thus have become a predominant element of his constitution. He was called a great coward. He was as strong and earnest in his opposition to the arbitrary measures of Parliament as any other man. He did not then anticipate an open rupture with the government. But when the relations of the colony to the home

government began to wear a more serious aspect, and the storm appeared to be gathering, he trembled at the thought that these few people were to be involved in a war with the most powerful nation on earth. His heart quailed in the prospect of the awful fate which must necessarily come to them in such a conflict. "Certain it is," he said, "the colonies will be subdued, and every officer in our service will be hung." So completely did his fears overcome him that he could find no peace while staying here, and he left the town and went somewhere into the far interior of Massachusetts, where he hoped the terrors of the contest would not reach him. There was no charity for any one who was fearful, much less for any who were not ready at once to make sacrifices for liberty. Surely there was nothing wrong in selling tea which one had on hand when the excitement against taxation began. But the wrath of the public seemed now to be vented against the articles taxed, as well as against the authors of the alleged unconstitutional duties imposed upon them. In many cases this furore seemed to be blind to that which was reasonable and ever consistent with a true patriotism. Joseph Churchill, who was afterward a lieutenant in the service, kept a store where George Wise now lives. He knew the public feeling, and that no favor would be shown to any one who had the proscribed articles on hand. Reason was no weapon to protect himself from the charge of cringing to the administration. He had a quantity of tea in his store; but he was compelled to screen it from observation as carefully as the unlicensed dealer in intoxicating liquors now does his "stock in trade." For a long time he kept it covered up in his corn pen. Occasionally, when some considerate man, or some traitorous soul, who he was satisfied would conceal the act from the public knowledge, whispered in his ear that he wished to make a purchase, he would raise it from its hiding place and supply his wants. But the traffic in it was a very unsafe business. The eyes of the people were always open to the least appearance of disloyalty to their opinion. Every man was watched.

The public mind had become so sensitive that even the slightest appearance of indifference to its will would wake up this jealous spirit. Those who held offices under the government, whatever their protestations, were always regarded with suspicion. Holding the office was enough to create distrust. The fact that any such officials were among them kept alive the excitement, so that the County

Congress, of which we have before spoken, to allay the fears of the multitude, deemed it necessary to issue the following bulletin : " To ease the mind of the good people of this county, this Congress doth assure them that, on examining, we do not find that any civil officers or other persons therein have made any attempt to put the acts of Parliament into execution, and trust that none will attempt it."

Such a degree of excitement, kept alive and intensified by the continued obstinacy of Parliament, it was well considered, must lead to collision between the parties, and the people and their representatives began to make preparation for the crisis. This Congress, as well as the General Assembly of the Province and the General Congress, advised that the militia should be immediately regulated and disciplined to meet the emergency to which their relations with Great Britain were rapidly tending. The resolute spirit of the multitude was not to be cowed by any threats or apprehensions of the great power of the mother country. A Provincial Congress was ordered to be held at Cambridge on the first day of February, 1775, Ebenezer Sayer, Esq., being chosen a delegate from Wells. A town meeting was holden on the 23d of January, and John Littlefield, John Mitchell, Samuel Hancock, Nathaniel Kimball, and Benjamin Hatch were appointed a committee to prepare instructions to guide the actions of the delegate in Congress. This committee reported the following as expressive of their views, which was adopted by the town :

"To Mr. Ebenezer Sayer. Sir. You being chosen by the inhabitants of the town of Wells to represent said town in a Provincial Congress, to be holden in the town of Cambridge, or elsewhere, on the first day of February next, your instructions are to attend said Congress, and to adjourn and transact such matters and business as shall be judged by said Congress to be most for the peace, order, and safety of the Province, and to hold said Congress by adjournment or otherwise until the last Wednesday in May next, and if we should not at that time have government restored agreeable to the charter of the Province, and it should be judged necessary to declare the seat of government vacant and to assume government, you are hereby authorized to join with said Congress therein.

SAMUEL HANCOCK, Chairman."

This Congress, fully impressed with the exigency which they had

reached, and inspired with the patriotism which would not permit their constituents to suffer any wrong from the violation of their chartered rights by Great Britain, took all necessary measures to meet the great struggle. They recommended to the towns to furnish themselves with all the armaments which were accessible, and to have the militia suitably instructed in the art military to meet the demands of impending war. The people everywhere seconded these firm and resolute purposes of their representatives. None dared openly to talk of receding from the high stand which they had taken. Measures of defense were adopted. The militia were gathered together for instruction. The officers in Wells and all the adjoining towns resigned their commissions under the existing government, excepting those of the town of York who chanced to be among the number, whose souls quailed at the prospect before them, or who ventured to hold on to the honors of their position from some, perhaps, less disparaging reasons. On the 15th day of March these men who had thus thrown up their commissions assembled at Wells, and new officers were chosen. York officers, it is believed, were soon impelled to follow the example of those who had thus renounced their offices under the government. That town was not behind the neighboring towns in its zeal for the great principles which had aroused the energies of the people at this momentous period. The organization and drill were soon brought into exercise. The crisis was upon them. The British judged that the aspect of affairs was such that military stores in the Province should be seized wherever found. The contest at Lexington soon followed. News of this collision was expressed in every direction, and the people of all the towns were ready to rush to the strife. The inhabitants of Wells hastened to the rendezvous, and in a few hours many of them were on their way to Portsmouth; but having reached that town, they were met by another express, notifying the people that the British had withdrawn, and they returned home. All hope of a peaceful solution of the existing difficulties had now ceased, and immediate preparations must be made for defense of the Province.

A town meeting was held on the 24th of April, when it was voted that ninety minute men be enlisted, to be divided into three companies, and that "no consideration be allowed to them." Such a resolution does not, on its face, indicate quite so much of a spirit of self-sacrifice and true magnanimity of soul, as we might reasonably have

expected of public-spirited men; but it is about on a par with another memorable act at the same period, when in answer to the advice of the Provincial Congress to the several towns, to pay in to Henry Gardner, Esq., of Stow, the money raised for protection and defense, the town excused themselves from compliance by saying, that "though such a step would be of great utility to the inhabitants of the Province in general, yet our situation from the place where a public magazine would be erected, would render it very difficult for this part of the Province to reap any benefit thereby, as our settlements are very much scattered and the inhabitants very poor. If we should pay in our public monies to said Receiver General, it would deprive us of the necessary means of defense. This sole reason and a long extended seacoast, corroborated with the opinion of our brethren in the County of York, we hope will be satisfactory to the Hon. Congress in this matter; at the same time giving our assurance that we heartily join with our brethren in wishing well to our country, and shall endeavor to exert ourselves to the utmost in support of the common cause."

Another vote passed at the same time is similarly suggestive: "Voted that Joseph Wheelright, Treasurer, be authorized to borrow money of those who shall be disposed to lend the same, payable with or without interest, as shall be required by the lender, not exceeding £200. And it is hoped and expected in this time of distress, that no person under good circumstances will demand interest for money so lent."

The vote to pay nothing to the minute men who should enlist, was reconsidered at a subsequent meeting, and it was then voted to pay them twenty-eight shillings a month. It was also voted to purchase arms, ammunition and provisions; so that the town was now fully committed to forcible resistance to the obnoxious acts of Parliament and of any attempts which might be made to enforce them. It was also voted that all necessary watches should be kept; and June 13th, orders for that purpose were issued by Major John Littlefield to Lieutenant Daniel Littlefield, afterward a valiant officer in the service. His limits were "from the house of William Patten to the river." Two persons, an old man and a young man, were to keep the watch. The old man, it is presumed, was required for his experience and counsel, and the young man for such active exercises as the occasion might render necessary. Companies also were enlisted to guard the

beach from Kittery to Falmouth. One company was under the command of Noah M. Littlefield; another under Capt. Sawyer, and the third in Kennebunk, under Capt. James Hubbard. Four hundred and seventy-six soldiers were required from this county; so that other towns in the vicinage were also awakened to the requirements of the hour. There was great excitement over the Province. Men of doubtful loyalty to the new order of things looked on with astonishment. Judge Sayward says: "Hot men and fiery counsels are the only men and measures approved."

Notwithstanding the votes of which we have just spoken, the town appears to have been in earnest in its preparations for the struggle. Ebenezer Sayer was again elected to the Provincial Congress; another session of which was to be holden on the 31st of May at Wattertown. He was directed to vote that the Province should establish its own government in all departments, thereby ousting all officials who were subservient to English authority.

The spirit with which the people entered into the contest will be manifest from the great number who voluntarily enrolled themselves for the service. No great inducement presented itself in the offered compensation. The impulses of patriotism alone hurried them into the ranks. The multitude were resolute and determined, at all hazards, to maintain what they believed to be their rights and liberties. We think we should fail in the duty which we owe to the memory of these men, did we omit here to record their names. Genealogic science also, which has absorbed the attention of so many at the present day, requires it of us. The descendants of these brave men must find satisfaction in tracing their lineage through such a worthy and patriotic ancestry; while at the same time, the inspirations of such a descent will arouse in their souls emotions urging to imitation of their magnanimous spirit, and awaken within them a patriotism worthy the blood which they inherit.

Capt. James Hubbard lived in that part of the town since called Kennebunk. His company was enlisted for eight months service, and consisted of the following officers and soldiers:

James Hubbard, Captain,	Samuel Chadbourne,
Joseph Churchill, Lieut.,	Bartholomew Goodwin,
Nathaniel Cousens, Lieut.,	Joseph Littlefield,
Stephen Larrabee, Sergeant,	Jotham Littlefield,

Samuel Burnham, Do.,	Abraham Littlefield,
John Butland, Do.,	Henry Maddox,
Thomas Wormwood, Corporal,	John Magner,
Stephen Fairfield, Do.,	John Ross,
Remick Cole, Do.,	Abner Wormwood,
Richard Gillpatrick, Do.,	Samuel Waterhouse,
Jacob Blaisdell, Fifer,	John Kimball,
John Webber, Drummer,	John Webber, jr.,
Joseph Cousens,	Benjamin Wormwood,
Rowlins Colburn,	Amos Storer,
John Denny, jr.,	Jedediah Goodale,
Joseph Dagget,	John Wormwood,
Job Emery,	Ezekiel Webber,
Obediah Emons,	Jonathan Banks,
Jedediah Gooch,	John Campbell,
Dimon Hubbard,	John Penny,
James Gillpatrick,	Isaac Storer,
Joshua Gillpatrick,	Benjamin Webber,
Edmund Currier,	John Boothby, jr.

A few belonging to other towns were also in this company.

The following was the company of Capt. Samuel Sawyer :

Samuel Sawyer, Captain,	Nason Lord,
Jedediah Littlefield, Lieut.,	Ebenezer Littlefield,
Samuel Stevens, Ensign,	Josiah Morrison,
Samuel Goodale, Sergeant,	Benjamin Morrison,
George Jacobs, Do.,	John Mitchell,
John Littlefield, Do.,	William Dealing,
Joel Stevens, Corporal,	John Meldrum,
Jonathan Low, Do.,	Allen Penny,
Nathan Kimball, Do.,	Joseph Stevens,
Stephen Johnson, Do.,	Reuben Stuart,
Joshua Taylor, Drummer,	Ebenezer Storer,
Joseph Kilgore, Fifer,	Abraham Storer,
Abraham Barnes,	Ebenezer Tibbets,
Jonathan Banks,	Eliphalet Taylor,
Timothy Boston,	Seth Taylor,
Jonathan Boston,	John Trow,

Daniel Chaney,	James Wormwood,
John Cram,	Eli Wormwood,
Robert Day,	Francis Winn,
Nathaniel Day,	Joseph Wilkins,
William Jellison,	Edmund Welch,
Paul Goodwin,	Joseph Welch,
Zachariah Getchell,	Samuel Williams,
Abner Fish,	Thomas Gould,
Gideon Hatch,	Pelatiah Penny,
Abraham Hatch,	Simon Chase,
Francis Hatch,	Stephen Annis,
Joseph Horn,	William Goodwin,
Jonathan Jacobs,	Joseph Crediford,
Hezekiah Kimball,	Stephen Andros,
Eleazer Howard,	Scipio.

The following persons, belonging to Wells, enlisted in the company of Capt. Jesse Dorman, of Arundel: Ezekiel Wakefield, Sergeant, John Fisk, John Hubbard, James Smith, Abijah Wormwood, Daniel Meader, Moses Drown, Edmund Littlefield, Moses Blaisdell.

There was also a company under the command of Capt. Noah M. Littlefield, which was enlisted to guard the beach from Kittery to Portland, and was at the latter place immediately after it was burnt, afterward at Kittery, employed in building the fort, and another company under the command of Capt. Joshua Bragdon, many of whom were inhabitants of Wells.

Capt. Hubbard's and Capt. Sawyer's companies marched to Cambridge, and were in the service there eight months.

So far as we have been able to learn the facts in regard to this first enlistment for the revolution, we are led to believe that more than half of the able-bodied men of the town entered the service. The enthusiasm was such that few felt themselves in the way of duty, who kept aloof from it.

CAPT. HUBBARD died in the service at Cambridge. He was a worthy citizen, firm and resolute in his adhesion to the principles which were the moving cause of the Revolution, and ready to offer himself on the altar of liberty. He was one of the selectmen of the town; was also one of the committee of correspondence chosen to

consult with the friends of liberty as to the appropriate means of resisting the encroachments of the government on the rights and liberties of the people. It was to the best minds that the people looked for counsel and direction in this perilous hour. Questions of fearful magnitude were now waiting solution. The people had gone too far to admit of retreat. Liberty or slavery was involved in the contest. Successful resistance was the only hope of the country. But the Provincial authorities were up to the exigencies of the hour. There were men in York county, recently installed in important stations, too strongly suspected of loyalty to the enemy to be permitted to exercise their official functions. They were accordingly removed, and patriotic and energetic men appointed in their places. Massachusetts, with a courage which blinked not at the threats of British tyranny; and whose people were determined to brook all the terrors with which the power of the enemy could invest the rebellion, boldly made declaration of her independence of the authority of King George; pronouncing many of the civil and military officers as unfriendly to the liberties of the American Colonists. As it was difficult to discriminate between the trustful and those of doubtful patriotism, all incumbents were removed from office on the 19th day of September, and new and reliable men appointed to fill the vacancies. Commissions were issued as before in the name of the king, though by the *coup de etat*, he was virtually shorn of his power, the officers thus appointed being the most inflexible opponents of all measures of Parliament, designed to bring the people into subjection. Thus John Bradbury was appointed and commissioned judge of probate of this county in the place of Jonathan Sayward, and Daniel Sewall, register. Their commissions had been made out after the old formula; but were confirmed by the Council with the following qualification: "Dele, George the 3d by the grace of God, &c.," and also, "the 15th year of His Majesty's reign," and insert, "Year of our Lord;" also, "The Governor and People of Massachusetts Bay." This was a bold step toward freedom and independence, and we think it has never been duly appreciated by the historian. Though that State has frequently been charged with a grasping monopoly of all the honors growing out of the improvements and advancement of modern civilization, it does not appear in this case to have claimed or boasted, as it properly might, of the bravery, decision and firmness manifest in this memorable act. It was surely valorous and

noble in the highest degree, thus to dare the power of the greatest nation on earth. The Congress of the Confederation in enunciating the independence of the United States, had the mutual support of the various Colonies. But in this proceeding Massachusetts was alone. Her's is the renown of being the first, single handed, to proclaim to the world independence of the English government.

This year may well be regarded as the most exciting of any in the annals of the State. The agitation was universal. The multitude were earnest and determined in their resistance to oppression. The few were fearful and selfish, trembling at the thunderings of England, and casting about them for the preservation of their official positions, or for the security of their property. Perhaps, in closing the history of this period, the reader will better understand the feelings of the people by the record of the trials of an individual, than by any remarks which we can make. Judge Sayward says:

"Dec. 31, 1775. I am now arrived at the close of the year, through the forbearance of God. It hath been a year of extraordinary trials. Aside from the death of my wife (the greatest of all), I have lost a new sloop, cast away this month, and suffered the loss of one or more cargoes in the West Indies, and largely by the death of one and another. But this is but small compared with the hazards I have had, and am still in, on account of my political sentiments and conduct. I have been confined upon honor not to absent myself from the town, and a bondsman, Jotham Moulton, Esq. Often threatened; afraid to go abroad; have not been out of town for nine months, through fear, though my business greatly required it. The loss of trade; the scorn of the abjects; slight of friends; continually on my guard; all my offices, judge of probate, judge of the court of common pleas, justice of the quorum, justice of the peace, taken from me. Constant danger of being driven from my habitation; so much that I have constantly kept £200 lawful in gold and paper currency in my pocket from fear of being suddenly removed from my abode. I have been examined before committees and obliged to lay open my letters from Governor Hutchinson; to swear to my private correspondence. All the above I have suffered from principle."

Sayward had been popular with the people. He was confided in

as a man of sterling integrity, and held an influential position in the church. Yet all his worthy qualities were insufficient to shield him from the distrust of the great body of citizens. So it was with others who were backward in giving in their adhesion to the cause of revolution. Many friendships were broken up. There was no charity for the faint hearted. He that was not for resistance was the enemy of his country, so that much ill-will existed in every neighborhood toward those who could not pass muster as true to the great cause of freedom. We have stated before that there was less exasperation in Wells against these men who stood aloof from any action in the nature of rebellion than in any of the adjoining towns. There were none who would openly avow themselves as loyalists, though there were some who gave no utterances for freedom. A timorous spirit kept them from any overt acts against the home government. In York the people were more demonstrative. Though Sayward did no act at this time on which any disaffection to the new order of things could be predicated, his reticence satisfied most people of his opposition to the general sentiment, and the record of a town meeting April 21, 1775, says, the "town having been somewhat uneasy and disaffected with the conduct of Jonathan Sayward, Esq., supposing him to be not hearty and free for the support and defense of our rights, liberties, and privileges, in this dark and difficult day, but rather favored the contrary, he came into the meeting and made a speech upon the subject. Whereupon the town voted it was satisfactory and adjourned to May 16th, when the committee, who were appointed to view such letter or letters as Jonathan Sayward, Esq., has received from the late Gov. Hutchinson or others, and make such reports upon them as they think proper, made report that their examination was satisfactory, which report was accepted; but the people were just as uneasy as before, and Sayward was constantly watched and harrassed all the time afterward. What his explanation, with which the town was satisfied, was, is unknown; but that he never had any sympathy with the movements which were tending to revolution, is as certain as any fact of our history.

One other fact, indicative of the excitement which had been awakened against all of doubtful loyalty to the cause of freedom, may be added. Paul Woodbridge kept a public house, and he would allow no one whose impulses did not harmonize with the spirit

of the hour to have accommodations under his roof, so that he took down his sign and raised it anew with the inscription, "Entertainment for the Sons of Liberty."

Having occupied so much space in endeavoring to exhibit the feeling which prevailed in Wells and the adjoining towns in relation to Parliamentary measures and the impending conflict, we think it unnecessary to give anything more than a concise account of the subsequent action of the town. The same spirit ruled to the close of the war. Sometimes, indeed, the people faltered a little; but their hearts were in the work of redemption from the grievances of which there was such general complaint, and they came up to the work when required.

When the eight months' service at Cambridge had expired, many of the soldiers of Capt. Sawyer's company re-enlisted for one year. Others also enrolled themselves in his company; these were principally from Wells. The following were members of it, and were in active service twelve months, viz.: Jedediah Littlefield, lieutenant; Samuel Stevens, ensign; James Gillpatrick, Isaac Storer, John Bourne, Elijah Boston, Nathaniel Butland, Paul Goodwin, Benjamin Kimball, William Perkins, Stephen Ricker, Daniel Stuart.

This service was one of great hardship and exposure. They marched to New York, thence to Albany, Lake Champlain, St. Johns, Montreal; thence up to the Cedars, sixty miles; thence back to St. Johns, where most of them had the small-pox; thence to Ticonderoga and Albany, Newton and Trenton, where they captured the Hessians; then again to Newton and Trenton, where they were discharged.

Many were in the service at the same time in other directions, and in consequence, a large proportion of the able-bodied men of the town being in the army, their farms were neglected, and thereby great suffering and deprivation came upon families. It was a day of severe trial to all the people; so had been the year previous. On the 21st of June, the ministers of the neighboring towns gathered together at York to implore the divine interposition. Rev. Daniel Little, of Kennebunk, preached from Lamentations iii. 6, "He hath set me in dark places, as they that be dead of old." Even to the most courageous the aspect of public affairs must have been far from promising; but the work of revolution had been initiated, and the people were determined to carry it on. On the 18th day of March,

1776, a committee of correspondence and safety, consisting of Nathaniel Kimball, John Mitchell, Joseph Wheelright, Benjamin Hatch, and Daniel Clark, were chosen to keep the town informed of the position of affairs, and to give the earliest notice of what the exigencies of the hour might require of the people. On the eighth of May a town meeting was holden to determine what instruction should be given to their representative to guide his action in relation to the important matters which should come up for the determination of the legislature, when it was voted, "that the representative of this town in the general court be instructed that if the Hon. Congress of the United Colonies should declare themselves independent of Great Britain, the people will solemnly engage with their lives and fortunes to sustain them in that measure."

Joseph Storer was then the Representative of the town, and in accordance with this vote the following instruction was given to him: "To Joseph Storer, Esq. Sir. As we have been repeatedly called upon by the General Assembly to advise you in regard to the important question of declaring the United Colonies in America independent of the Kingdom of Great Brittain, we now inform you that if it should be necessary for the safety and happiness of said Colonies to be declared independent of Great Brittain, that we are ready and willing to support such a measure with our lives and fortunes and every other measure tending to promote the happiness and welfare of said Colonies."

Though this vote and the instructions were subsequent to the date of the Declaration of Independence, they lose none of their force or value from this fact, as the news of the Declaration had not then reached Wells. Ten or twelve days elapsed before the people here were apprised of this great act of their representatives. There were then no railroads, steamboats or telegraphs to transmit, as on the wings of the wind, the knowledge of what was taking place in different parts of the country. To some few persons the report came like a thunderbolt. One of them in a memorandum of the fact says, "It is beyond my depth! I am lost in wonder!" But many of the people received the news with joy, though probably trembling somewhat at the boldness of the procedure, and in the anticipation of the fearful consequences which must inevitably ensue. It has been, as then predicted by the noble spirits under whose names it went forth to the American people and the world, the most memorable day in the

history of this continent. Though party strife and contention have frequently prevailed to such a degree as to awaken in many patriotic hearts the deepest solicitude; and though civil war has thereby come over the nation with its demoralizing influences, yet shielded by a gracious Providence, and strengthened by the sound morality of a large proportion of the people, the national confederation has been maintained, and the United States have grown to be almost the leading nation of the earth; respected as a power adequate to any exigencies of national existence. As American citizens, we must ever remember with gratitude the brave men who thus initiated this people into this unexampled career of development and progressive civilization, while beside them will stand the faithful and true men of our own day, who left their shops and the plow, buckled on their armor and periled life, and all dear to them, to support and carry out this programme of national independence and glory. Though not educated to a wise and large statesmanship, these men of the revolution were gifted with that true nobility of soul which was ready to hazard life, rather than to see this land of their affections subjected to the sway of an unfeeling tyranny. They recognized no stronger obligations than those which bound them to God and duty; and needed not the spur of ambition or pecuniary reward to prompt them to commit themselves to the cause of freedom. "Sink or swim, live or die," was not in the mouth of those only who were then politically great, but also welled up from the hearts of many who had theretofore contented themselves in the humble walks of life. Many such magnanimous spirits were found among the townsmen of Wells. No other town can boast of more patriotism than was manifested by the ancestry from which a large proportion of the citizens of Wells trace their descent.

The Declaration of Independence was read in both the churches, agreeably to an order of the State council. Having thus the sanction of the pulpit, it was felt to be a Divine command to the people to come up to the help of the Lord and maintain it.

Died March 2, 1774, JOSEPH SAYER, aged 68. He was the son of Francis Sayer, and was born Dec. 8, 1706. He was educated as a physician, and pursued the practice of medicine several years. He was regarded as well versed and skillful in his profession, and found a favorable acceptance with the people. But like a great many pro-

professional men, he soon wearied of this employment. It did not fully satisfy his aspirations. He was a man of an active, energetic temperament, and needed more independence, a freedom to pursue whatever other business might commend itself to his sympathies. He moved from his house on Great Hill into the village of Wells, and went into trade, navigation and farming; engaging in any enterprise which would employ his time and bring in reasonable profits. He was careful and cautious in his affairs, quick in discernment, and generally sound in his judgments. For the day in which he lived, he went largely into commerce, built many small vessels. In most of these he was a partner with Judge Sayward, of York, and being thus connected with him, much common feeling existed between them. The anticipated rupture with Great Britain disturbed his mind exceedingly. Sayward during the whole conflict, from the beginning to the close of the war, could not look on the rebellion or any of its developments with composure. His pecuniary interests and his civil position were too deeply involved in its issues. Sayer, his partner, naturally, in some measure, partook of his feelings. His property would be exposed to the ravages of war on the seas, or perish at the wharves. It was not strange that he should look forward to the impending conflict with some misgivings as to its expediency. It requires a very sound patriotism to be ready to sacrifice all a man has to a mere political principle. He was naturally of a timorous disposition and looked with trembling where some men would be undismayed. But though somewhat excited at the political portents, he endeavored to maintain a Christian fortitude. For four or five years previous to his death his health was very infirm. He regarded his personal condition as very unfavorable for continued life, and being reduced in physical strength, trembled at the approach of death. But he pursued his business with interest and attention. He was instrumental in getting up the salt works to meet any public exigencies. He had much to do in the direction of municipal affairs, and was also appointed to various offices of trust and responsibility—was judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and manager of the lottery authorized by the Legislature to build bridges over the Saco and Presumpscot rivers. Being regarded as a faithful man, his services were sought for many important purposes. He was long a member of the Congregational church, and in all his intercourse manifested the true Christian spirit. Charity was a prominent element of his

moral constitution. He guarded his heart against all unkind feelings, and his tongue against all rash speeches; never speaking ill of any one, and endeavoring to treat all as brethren. The house of God was dear to him, and he was always in his seat when it was opened for worship. In his social relations he manifested to all about him that his daily life was the issue of a Christian heart.

Though the apprehension of death, while able to pursue the business of life, somewhat disturbed his thoughts, his fears were gradually subdued as he drew near the close of his days, and the bright prospects which faith presents to the honest Christian heart, counteracted all fearful apprehensions. His life was one of active usefulness, his death a great public loss.

In his will he gave to his daughter Eunice the part of the Great Hill farm owned by him, also his part of the schooner Prosperous. To his daughter Sarah he gave five-eighths of sloop Elizabeth. He made provision also for his son Ebenezer, whom he had educated at Harvard University, and also for Elizabeth Hilton, who had always been one of his family. His wife was Melitabel Littlefield, daughter of Francis Littlefield, third. She died Oct. 23, 1750, aged 27.

A few years after the death of Dr. Sayer, March 30, 1778, died his son, EBENEZER SAYER, aged 28. We have but little knowledge of this young man. His father had taken great pains and incurred much expense in his education, having sent him to Harvard College, from which he graduated in 1768. In 1775, when only about twenty-five years of age, he was chosen to represent the town in the Provincial Congress at Cambridge, and again for the Congress at Watertown. He was also colonel of the regiment of militia. From all the facts which we have been able to glean of his life, we cannot but infer that he was a man of much promise. Though his father at first was of doubtful loyalty to the growing spirit of the Provinces, the son must have shared in the common sentiment of the people, that the government of the parent country was oppressive in its administration, and that its action must be resisted, otherwise he would not have been invested with these important offices. By his father's will he was made independent, having about ten thousand dollars. His library (unless exceeded by that of Dr. Hemmenway, of which we have been unable to obtain any knowledge) was the largest in Wells. That our readers may understand the character of

the literature of the day, and the extent to which the desire for books was gratified, we subjoin a catalogue of this library: Ward's Arithmetic, Greenleaf's Abridgement of Burns' Justice, Great Bible, Ward's Oratory, 2 vols., Telemachus, Rollins' Method, 4 vols., French Dictionary, Johnson's Dictionary, Hutchinson's History, 2 vols., Watts' Astronomy, Bland's Discipline, Greek Lexicon, Virgil, 2 vols., three small Bibles, Cato's Tragedy, Young's Dictionary, Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, Horace, 2 vols., Scott's Christian Life, Cicero's Orations, Pope's Works, Spectator, 5 vols., Milton, French Grammar, Gil Blas, Ladie's Calling, Hemmenway's Essay.

In 1774 he was married to Elizabeth Checkley, of Boston. They left no children. In September, 1780, his widow was married to Rev. John Lothrop, of Boston.

On the first day of April, 1774, died WALDO EMERSON. He was the son of Rev. Joseph Emerson, of Malden. He came to Wells in 1757, and settled in that part of the town now Kennebunk. He built a house at the Landing, where Henry Kingsbury now lives, and became a successful trader, occupying a store which stood in the same place as the present one. He was a man of much enterprise, and did an extensive business, entering into navigation and all the pursuits usually incident to it. He soon acquired property to a considerable amount, and was deemed a rich man. Possessed of the kindest and most generous feelings, he made many friends. He was benevolent, doing good to the widow and the fatherless, and extending his beneficence wherever he was satisfied it was needed. He was many years a member of the Christian church, and in all his intercourse honored his profession. No calls of business prevented him from daily commending his family to the care of the Infinite Providence. He was an honest man and a useful citizen, and invested with important trusts, among which was that of collector of the excise revenue. In 1759 he was married to Olive Hill, only daughter of Rev. Samuel Hill, of Rochester. He rose from his bed on the morning of April 1, 1774, dressed himself, and sat down in his chair and expired. Paralysis had come over him a fortnight previously, though he had apparently recovered from it. He died at the age of thirty-eight. He had three children: Samuel, born April 25, 1760; Sarah, born May 18, 1762, and Waldo, born March 20, 1764. Samuel and Waldo died in infancy. His widow survived

him but a short time, dying the 23d of June following, at the age of thirty-two, leaving thus only daughter Sarah, who was married to Theodore Lyman Nov. 21, 1776. Mrs. Emerson was a valuable woman, distinguished for all those virtues which make up the Christian character. Educated under the care of faithful parents, she was imbued with those principles indispensable to a useful and happy life. She felt her close relationship to all about her, and cherished those kind and benevolent sympathies which attached her to the poor as well as to the rich. She languished a long time under the power of disease, the death of her husband intervening to add to her severe trials; but she maintained her serenity, feeling that she was in the hands of a kind Providence, and closed her days in the cheering hopes which brighten up the prospects of the faithful disciple in the last hours of time.

In 1776, died SAMUEL HANCOCK. He came to Kennebunk in 1772, having graduated at Harvard College in 1767. We have not learned whether or not he studied any one of the professions. Most of the graduates for a while engaged in teaching, one of the most effectual means of impressing on the memory the knowledge acquired in college life. He began life here by teaching school at the Landing, being, as we suppose, a relative of Emerson. He was also accustomed occasionally to preach on the Sabbath, and generally occupied the pulpit while Mr. Little was absent on his missions. After the death of Emerson he purchased the stock of goods which he left and traded a little while; began and partly finished a small vessel, and then ended his earthly labors, dying at the close of 1775. He was married in 1774 to Tabitha Champney, of Cambridge, whom he left as his widow. She was again married to John Hubbard Aug. 18, 1797, by whom she had one son. She was again left a widow, and her first husband dying insolvent, and the second leaving nothing but a small house, she engaged in teaching, being a lady of good education. From this employment she derived the name of Marm Hubbard, by which she was known during the remainder of her life. She died Dec. 19, 1816, aged seventy-seven. Her son, John H. Hubbard, grew to manhood. He was a young man of bright prospects and sterling character. While a boy he was a clerk in the store of Daniel Wise. In 1799 he went to sea, and died Dec. 12th, aged twenty.

It may be apposite here to add the remaining history of the occupation of this shipbuilding and trading establishment.

THEODORE LYMAN came to Kennebunk from York, and was a clerk in the store of Waldo Emerson. After he became of age, he built a store where Mrs. Nicholas E. Smart now lives, and on the 25th day of April, 1775, when the memorable battle of Lexington took place, set out the great elms now standing in front of her house. This store remained on this site several years, and was then moved and converted into a dwelling house, and is the same now owned and occupied by Mrs. Charlotte Hillard. Mr. Lyman's position in Emerson's store and his necessary association with the family led to an intimate connection between him and the daughter, Sarah, to whom he was married Nov. 21, 1776, and whereby he became afterward a man of great wealth, having come into the possession of all the property of his father-in-law. On this basis he went largely into business, building and employing many vessels, which then found profitable employment in the West India trade. He rapidly accumulated property, not having the liberal and generous spirit for which Emerson was distinguished. His wife died Jan. 21, 1784, at the age of twenty-one. They had had two children, one of whom died aged two years and nine months, and the other in infancy, so that the title of all the real estate was perfected in him. He was thus left alone in the world. But he did not suffer himself to be so depressed by these adversities, as to halt in his exertions to magnify himself among the people. He soon felt the need of restoration to family enjoyments, and set about making such improvements in his home establishment as might aid in captivating the affections of some worthy one who would give new dignity to his household. Having this important end in view, and under the influence of that ambition which so frequently takes possession of those who find no satisfaction in cheering the hearts of others by their liberality, he conceived the thought of erecting, at great expense, a lordly mansion, which might outvie any at that time in Maine. He accordingly built the house now occupied by Mr. Kingsbury, which was then regarded as one of surpassing magnificence. People came from abroad to see it. One distinguished visitor in his diary, under date July 27, 1785, says, "My wife and I went to Kennebunk to visit Mr. Theodore Lyman and his sister Lucy and to see his seat.



THE LYMAN HOUSE.

It is fit for a nobleman, and I have seen nothing like it in this country, and scarcely anywhere."

Having thus fitted up a residence which he supposed would commend itself to the tastes of aristocratic life, he was united in marriage to Miss Lydia Williams, of Salem, Mass., and introduced her to their elegant home on the 7th day of February, 1786. But a change from the social life of Salem to that of Kennebunk did not find, we suppose, its full compensation in the joys of wedded life, and some longings came over her spirit to renew an intercourse like that to which she had been accustomed. This splendid mansion did not long make him contented with his situation. Riches had increased and raised within him new aspirations. He resolved to place himself in circumstances where he might enjoy a more wealthy companionship and move in the circle of a higher life. In 1790 he went to Boston and to Waltham, where he provided for himself a residence of more enlarged magnificence, and where he remained till the close of life. There he largely increased his navigation, entering into the East India trade. Many vessels were built for him by John Bourne. As his habitation in Wells ended by his removal, it does not come within our province to follow him after that time. It is believed that, though the foundation of his large property was laid here, he never afterward visited Kennebunk.

Other persons, who were influential in the town's progression, were brought here by the business which he set on foot and was pursuing with success.

JOSEPH MOODY came from York, and was clerk in his store. He remained with him a few years, and then began trade for himself in a store opposite his house, now occupied by James M. Stone. The store was moved subsequently from this site, and is the present post-office. He soon became interested in navigation, and raised himself to independence. Honest in all his business relations, and manly and courteous in all his intercourse, he won the esteem of the people, and was chosen one of the representatives of the town in 1802 and at various times afterward. He was also president of the Kennebunk bank during the whole term of its existence, and town treasurer many years. He was a man of peace, a lover of order, and a friend of all benevolent institutions. He married Maria,

daughter of Nathaniel Barrell, of York, and had four children: Eliza, who married William T. Vaughan, of Portland, Joseph Green, George Barrell, and Theodore Lyman. Joseph and Theodore he educated at Bowdoin College, and George at Harvard University. He died July 20, 1839, aged seventy-six; his widow Oct. 23, 1869, aged about ninety.

OLIVER KEATING, of York, also came to Kennebunk under the auspices of Mr. Lyman. He was educated as a physician, and is known in the memory of some of the ancients as Dr. Keating. But the population was not sufficiently numerous to furnish him with a profitable business in his profession, and he soon turned his attention in other directions. He built two or three vessels for Mr. Lyman and in various ways aided him in his business. He was an enterprising man, qualified for any employment. There were attractions about Mr. Lyman's household which did not fail of effect on his susceptible spirit. Animal magnetism, though not so well understood in those days as at present, was just as powerful in its action as under the more complete developments of the science in modern times. Miss Lucy, the sister of his patron, had waked up in the soul of Dr. Keating some emotions which he found it impossible to subdue, and she, at the same time, pined for a higher blessedness than mere brotherhood could give. Their mutual disclosures soon wrought out a very satisfactory exchange of their several conditions. She went to the old home in York, and on the 8th of October, 1785, Dr. Oliver Keating and Miss Lucy Lyman were united in wedlock and returned to Kennebunk. Soon after this he went to sea as master of one of Mr. Lyman's vessels; but after Mr. Lyman moved from the town he carried on the establishment at the Landing. Neither Lyman nor Keating took much interest in town affairs.

After his removal the establishment was carried on by THEODORE and HONESTUS PLUMMER, who traded there but a short time. Theodore was an active, enterprising man, and well fitted for business; but Honestus, unfortunately, was not sound in his temperance principles. His appetite seized the reins of government, and he was reduced to that state of slavery under which one's manhood soon withers away, and in consequence all prospects of the success of the

partnership vanished, and they left the town. We have no knowledge of their subsequent life. Mr. Lyman, in 1806, sold the whole stand to JOHN BOURNE, who occupied it during life, dying in 1837. It then came into the hands of GEORGE W. BOURNE and HENRY KINGSBURY, who there built many vessels for Mr. Lyman and others.

CHAPTER XXXI.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR—BOUNTIES RAISED FOR SOLDIERS—VOTE OF THE TOWN OF WELLS ON THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION—AGENTS CHOSEN TO PROSECUTE TORIES—ABRAHAM CLARK—LIST OF WELLS MEN KILLED NEAR TICONDEROGA AND CROWN POINT—TARIFF OF PRICES ESTABLISHED BY THE SELECTMEN—MANUFACTURE OF SALT—IRON WORKS AT KENNEBUNK—SHIPPING—CELEBRATION OF THE SURRENDER OF BURGoyNE—VOTE OF WELLS ON THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, ETC.—ADDITIONAL BOUNTIES VOTED—OPPOSITION OF WELLS TO THE STATE CONSTITUTION—CONTRIBUTIONS OF CLOTHING FOR THE ARMY—INCREASE OF BOUNTIES—PENOBSCOT EXPEDITION—POVERTY OF THE PEOPLE—COMMITTEE ON CORRESPONDENCE—THE DARK DAY—OBJECTION OF THE TOWN TO THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND THE CONSTITUTION—ANOTHER QUOTA OF SOLDIERS REQUIRED—HIGH BOUNTIES VOTED—EFFORTS TO ENLIST MEN—REJOICING AT THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS—PEACE.

WE are fully assured that the foregoing account of the general temperament of the inhabitants of Wells, has a reliable foundation in the characters of the men of that trying hour, the war for independence, although occasionally in the history of the town, we are confronted by facts which may seem to indicate a less worthy state of feeling. The expedition to Canada required a large number of soldiers, and Wells was required to furnish its proportion. At the request of some of the inhabitants, a meeting was called on the 29th day of July, 1776, to see if the town would raise money to encourage enlistments. A majority voted in the negative; thus at first sight seeming to exhibit a feeling very far from patriotic devotion to the great interests of freedom. But the people with few exceptions were poor. Money was not easily raised by the masses. Some were abundantly able to contribute liberally for these pressing objects. They could easily dispense with their superfluities without encroaching on the comforts of life. But the poor man found it hard to raise his dollar. He had nothing but his lands, which the perils of the rebellion could not reach; while the few who were possessed of

other property had a much deeper interest in the issue of the contest. Most of those who had nothing else were ready, if required, to yield their personal services, and they chose to compel those who were better enabled to advance whatever might be needed, or subject themselves to the alternative of a draft.

But, before the close of the year, soldiers were called for in far greater numbers. These demands were very heavy on the people. One quarter part of the entire militia were called into the service, to be ready to march at a moment's warning. The quota thus asked was too large to rely on the richer part of the people to supply it; and a town meeting was called on the fourth day of December, 1776, to take measures for doing the part of Wells for the reinforcement of the army, and it was then voted to allow three pounds to each man who should enlist as a private soldier, and two pounds to each non-commissioned officer, and it was further voted to raise two hundred pounds, to be assessed on the polls and estates, for the purpose of paying these bounties. The Declaration of Independence having been read in all the churches after the close of religious services, all entered into its spirit, duly appreciating the requirements of the crisis. Personal hardships and dangers in the military service were not the only impending trials. The year had not been crowned with the usual harvest. The corn crop had been an almost entire failure in Wells and vicinity. Most of the people had nothing but their hands and their farms, on which they could rely for the maintenance of their families. The men and women of the present day would be astonished at the little of earthly goods on which the inhabitants of that time were wont to wend their way onward, even cheerfully, through the journey of life. But bread must be had at whatever cost. This could now be obtained only by such commercial intercourse as the perils of the war would admit. Mr. Lyman was almost the only person who could supply the pressing demands of the people. Dr. Sawyer, who had owned two vessels, which were engaged in the West India and coasting trade, had deceased, and we are not informed whether they left the Port after the war commenced. Mr. Lyman had two small coasters which had been employed in bringing corn from Salem and some of the southern ports, and at this time he had on hand a large quantity. Like most men, with whom the accumulation of property is the ruling object of life, he took advantage of the necessities of the public, and demanded an

exorbitant price,—two dollars a bushel. Few persons were able to pay that sum. But there was no alternative. It must be bought. So great was the demand and such the rush for it, that he was obliged to close his door, and permit but one person to enter at a time, it being impossible to deal it out in the pressure of the multitude. The Indian bannock provided, life was sustained. We do not mean to assert that farmers and the people generally, did not in those days live comfortably. They were able to furnish themselves with the substantials of life; the bounties which their own hands had secured. But this year the annual blessings had been withheld—by the overruling Providence, and in the aspect of public affairs, they looked not beyond such a supply as would meet the absolute wants of their families. The great work of the moment was the maintenance of freedom, without which all felt life to be of but little value.

At this time, other work beside fighting the enemy was demanded by the exigencies of the hour. It was necessary to consolidate the energies of the republic; to establish a government which could more wisely and speedily bring together and appropriate the forces of the new nation to the purposes of defense against the assaults of the enemy; and at a meeting on the seventh of October, it was “voted that this town consents that the present House of Representatives with the Council, if they think proper, may draw up a Constitution and form of Government, and if the inhabitants of the State approve of it, it shall be adopted.” We suppose that this vote was taken at the request of the government, to ascertain the public feeling on that subject.

The year 1777 was marked by an excitement not less intense than that of the year which had just closed. There was now little prospect of any adjustment with the parent country. Those who had adhered to the king and had lost thereby much of the respect of their fellow-townsmen, and who thence felt that their popularity and influence had been daily waning, began to be fully sensible of the difficulties of their position. With no hope of a peaceable return of the people to their allegiance, and subjected to the reproach and scorn of every patriotic citizen, their situation was rendered still more trying by the continual fear of personal injury from the developments of the mob spirit. It was with difficulty that this spirit was repressed toward the traitors. Judge Sayward says, “the spirit

of disaffection and resentment to England in this vicinity, was higher than ever before." Still the people of Wells had thus far refrained from any violence toward these unfortunate men; though they regarded their residence among them as fraught with danger, either from the effect of their disloyalty on the townsmen, or their ministration to the aid of the enemy. At a town meeting on the 30th day of June, Capt. Stephen Titcomb was chosen agent, "to prosecute such of the inhabitants of the town as are so inimically disposed towards this State or the United States in America, that their residence therein is dangerous to said States."

Whether the agent in any case exercised the authority committed to him by this vote, does not appear on the records. If any attempt of that kind was made, it was abandoned before proceeding to extremity. One's position as a loyalist at this time was most embarrassing. A law was enacted that "no one in preaching or praying should justify England." So that if one's reason satisfied him that the rebellion was without justifiable cause, in his communion with the Almighty he had to be exceedingly careful not to suggest to Him his true feelings in regard to that matter. It would have been perilous to have prayed with the understanding and the heart. This restraint upon the freedom of prayer and opinion, and the danger to which those were exposed who did not agree with the multitude upon the questions involved in the impending contest, led many to abandon the country and flee to Halifax, or some other part of the king's Provinces. We have no knowledge of more than one from Wells who thus expatriated himself. Abraham Clark had no sympathy with the rebellion, considering it as unjustifiable, and that its results would be nothing less than the ruin of the country. He could not abide the pending storm, and fled to St. John, in New Brunswick, taking with him his family. How he reached that place we have not been informed. But he went there a full loyalist, and was appointed an overseer of the king's army, receiving a salary during his lifetime. Two of his sons were in the British army against us in the war of 1812—one holding the office of a Brig. General, the other that of a Colonel. As it is, even at the present day, treason to party or country is almost always the way to acceptance and promotion with those to whom the traitor has fled.

The important fortress of Ticonderoga was this year captured by the enemy, in consequence of which the State of Massachusetts was

roused to the utmost exertion to reinforce the Northern army, and thereby recover the lost ground, and "through the favor of heaven to drive the enemy to an ignominious retreat." Accordingly it was ordered that "one-sixth part of the able-bodied men in the training band and alarm list should be called into and remain in the service till the last of November, and that every person drafted should within twenty-four hours be ready to march to the place of destination." The previous draft in many places had not been fully responded to, and to this failure the Legislature attributed the loss of Ticonderoga. The orders in regard to this draft were therefore much more rigid than the former. Many, probably not less than fifty men, were thus, as in a moment, taken from their families and their labors for the battle-field. The service was to be principally in New York. Although the term was short, still it was long enough to bring great affliction to the inhabitants. Many who went into this and other services for their country during the year 1777, never returned. In the battles near Ticonderoga and Crown Point seven or eight were killed. Hammonds Treadwell, on the 8th of July; Joshua Hatch, John Webber, Jonathan Webber, Stephen Drown, William Leonard, and one Stevens, on the 7th. Ebenezer Stuart dropped dead on the march, July 11th.

It being manifest to all that this separation of so many from their families, and the loss thereby to agricultural labor, must result in much suffering to the inhabitants, great exertion was made to provide for the necessities of the poor and unfortunate. The families made destitute were supplied by the town. And to counteract as much as possible the propensity of grasping men to avail themselves of every opportunity of adding to their wealth at the expense of want and sorrow to others, the selectmen, under the authority of the statute, established the prices of the principal necessities of life. The following are the prices of a few of the articles named in the schedule:

"Tow cloth, a yard wide, 2s. 8d.

Cotton and linen homespun cloth a yard wide, of the best home-made sort, four shillings a yard.

A pine coffin for a grown person, nine shillings.

Dinner at taverns of boiled and roasted meat, and other things equivalent, exclusive of wine, one shilling and sixpence.

Flip made of the best West India rum at one shilling a mug; if of New England, tenpence.

Imported salt at ten shillings.

Home-made, of the best sort, twelve shillings.

Tailors for making a whole suit of clothes, twenty shillings."

With nations as with individuals, deprivations, difficulties, and trials are not to be regarded in the light of judgments or punitive inflictions. They are in most cases plainly of the opposite character, ministering to the best interests of the subject of them. The war in which the people were now involved put their patriotism to the test, and by its exercise imparted new strength to that noble element where it existed, and perhaps by its compulsory measures, established it in bosoms where before it had no hold. Iron and salt had hitherto been obtained from abroad. But now the faculties of men must be called into exercise in the production of both of these articles, and accordingly in the beginning of the war some of the people conceived the idea of supplying the country with salt. Theodore Lyman set up an establishment for this purpose; James Kimball, Jedediah Gooch, and George Perkins another; and Richard Kimball and his son a third. Two of these were located between the house of Thomas Boothby and the sea, and the third on the point known as the Two Acres. Some were built by Nathaniel Wells and others further west. One of these produced about thirty bushels a week. It was much better than that which was imported. The best sold for two dollars a bushel, so that the owners were well paid for their enterprise. These works were continued several years until after the close of the war, when the price of salt had fallen so low that the manufacture became unprofitable, and the works were abandoned. But the people had learned by this experiment their complete independence of all other nations for its supply, when circumstances rendered its importation impossible.

Iron was not less material for the business of life, and the capabilities of the country for its production were called into exercise. Before the war had commenced, and while the fears of the people were excited by the anticipation of the conflict, the thought occurring to some considerate minds that there might be a demand for this article which commerce could not supply, they resolved on the experiment of its manufacture here. In 1774, a factory was erected on

the Mousam river, at the island below the present village dams. The river did not then, as now, divide so as to make the present island, this at that time being a part of the eastern shore. The shop was a large one story building. Two forges only were used. It was built by Joseph Hobbs, Ebenezer Rice, Benjamin Day, John Maddox, Jacob Blaisdell, Moses Blaisdell, and David Hutchings. The material or iron ore was obtained at different places, at Saco, Maryland Ridge, Sanford, Arundel, and some on the western side of the road between Wells and Kennebunk. Richard Gillpatrick afterward built a factory on the western end of the present lower dam. The iron here manufactured was said to have been very good for some purposes, for axes, plows, chains, etc. Many relics of it are yet found in the town. The most profitable part of the work was the manufacture of salt pans, with which they supplied many towns in different parts of the Province, salt being then made in various places. The iron was made into bars weighing twenty-five pounds and upwards, and was sold at five and six cents a pound. Some of the ore mines were owned by the mill proprietors. Other owners of ore dug and hauled it on their own account, receiving for it from two to four dollars a ton. These factories were continued in operation nearly twenty years. But commerce then became so extensive that iron from abroad, and probably of a better quality, could be had at a less price than was required to make a fair profit to the operators. But, now, when the cost of iron is so high, and when science has so wonderfully developed the latent capabilities of matter for meeting the wants of man, and skill has been so educated as to do and perfect things hardly dreamed of in the philosophy of the last century, the inquiry may well suggest itself to the enterprising mind whether this work may not here be profitably revived. We claim no special knowledge of this department of human activity, and therefore do not pretend to have formed an opinion on the subject. We merely make the suggestion. But it may be well to add for the benefit of any one who may examine the question, whether the enterprise now might not be a paying one, that the labor required for the manufacture must have been by no means arduous, as only about three-fourths of a cent a pound were paid for it. A day's labor was about two shillings and eightpence. For charcoal, from three to five cents a bushel were paid. The necessities of life did not differ materially in price from the rates which are now current.

On the first of December of this year, 1777, a meeting was holden for the adoption of measures to supply the families of those who were in the Continental service, and it was voted that it be recommended to the several companies to provide necessaries for the families of those who had been taken from their ranks. Having nothing but this record, it is difficult to explain the procedure of the town. To say the least of this recommendation, it is wonderfully cool. One might infer that it was considered a high honor or benefit to the companies thus to have supplied the ranks of the army, and that this was a sufficient consideration for the assumption of the burden of taking care of these families. But as we know that no such niggardly spirit ruled in the hearts of the townsmen, we think it wise to forego any attempt at an explanation.

Notwithstanding the uncertainties of the future, the people were not disposed to suffer their energies to become torpid or idle. They persevered in whatever work they had been engaged. It would seem that there was but little prospect at this time of any profitable employment for navigation. Waldo Emerson had commenced a brig, which was in process of building when he died. Mr. Lyman took the vessel to himself and finished her. He also built three other small ones. These were intended for the West India trade. Three of these vessels were captured by the enemy on the first voyage. The fourth, from some cause, was very unsuccessful. After the war had actually begun, commercial marine intercourse must have been exceedingly dangerous. A large business had previously been carried on with the South and the West Indies by men in Wells and York, the inhabitants of these towns owning navigation in partnership. Judge Sayward, who had five or six vessels, was at the close of the first year of the war bereft of nearly all, and also of several cargoes which he had in the West Indies. Dr. Joseph Sawyer, John Wheelright, and some others in Wells were owners of navigation at the same time. Sawyer dying in 1774, his vessels were in the hands of his children; but they shared the common fate of the others early in the war. The sources of business abroad, if not dried up, were virtually cut off from our commerce. But every precaution was taken to guard against the effects of this failure. Most people in their domestic arrangements were obliged to put themselves on a war footing. Income failing, they had prudence

and consideration enough to lead them to adapt themselves to their circumstances.

The developments of the struggle this year were highly favorable to the Provincials. Burgoyne with his army was compelled to surrender to the American forces. This capitulation sent a thrill of joy throughout the country and inspired the people with new courage to press on in the conflict. There was great rejoicing in Wells when the news reached here. The inhabitants gathered together and congratulated each other on the auspicious event, indulging in free libations of punch and other stimulants. They also found further enjoyment and sport in trying their skill at a mark, which was a common amusement in those days. In the evening, the house of Samuel Hancock, a part of that now occupied by Henry Kingsbury, was brilliantly illuminated. This, we suppose, was the first attempt at such a manifestation of rejoicing in Wells.

Some of the measures adopted by the government during the war may appear to those whose patriotic impulses are weak, as partaking of too much severity, and inconsistent with that liberty for which they claimed to be fighting. But it must be remembered that the nation was yet in its infancy; that the population of the United States was small; and that being engaged in a contest with a powerful and heartless enemy, the full strength of the country must be brought into the contest. The crisis was of such a character that everything depended on a united front. All over the country there were men who seized every opportunity to discourage accessions to our military strength, and whose traitorous spirits led them to oppose the noble and patriotic impulses of the people by appeals to their fears, and by all the ignominious arts which an evil mind could suggest. Here and there was a minister of the gospel who did not hesitate to exercise his official influence for the same unholy purpose, and the General Court of Massachusetts found it necessary, as a war measure, to impose the restrictions on preaching and praying which we have before mentioned, for a violation of which a penalty of fifty pounds was prescribed. It was also enacted that all military officers and all attorneys at law should take the oath of fealty and fidelity to the State of Massachusetts and of opposition to any measures of George the Third to bring the State back to subjection.

These acts were then denounced by these sticklers for entire liberty as arbitrary and oppressive, and as depriving men of their rights;

but they had the approbation of all who were true to their country. There were other acts which were far more arbitrary than these. General Washington, in 1778, ordered every man to thresh his grain. To such as are not accustomed to look beyond their own interests, this order would seem to be an assumption of authority which was not warranted by any jurisdiction which he had, whether civil or military. But all interests were involved in the struggle. The property, lives, and liberties of all the people were in jeopardy. Every one was bound to make the necessary sacrifice. The immediate occasions for bread and forage must be responded to.

There was not much fear of any forcible seizure of the products of the farms in this vicinity; but in some other parts of the country such confiscations were of absolute necessity. Men were taken from their agricultural labors, and in some sections the earth had withholden its ordinary benefactions in return for human industry. The obligations of men to their country are imperative; yet how small the number who duly appreciate them.

In January, 1778, the "Articles of Confederation and perpetual union between the States, assuming the title of United States of America," were adopted, and the various towns of the country were called on to express their views in relation to the action of the General Congress. Wells instructed its representative to vote for a ratification. No hope of adjustment of the matters in controversy with England now remained, and very few desired any. The strength of the people must be concentrated for the most speedy establishment of independence. All other questions were swallowed up in this great object, and the town was awake to the demands of it.

At a meeting, March 16th, called to answer the requisition for more soldiers, it was voted to pay £20 to each man who should enlist for the term of three years. This may seem to be a very liberal bounty when compared with the previous benevolence of the town; but money had very much depreciated, and the £20 does not truly express the amount awarded to these patriotic men. This remuneration was but a slight inducement to this long service. Some of the people loved the excitement of the conflict, and were ready to give themselves to it when required; others wished for employment, and it mattered little what it was.

At this same meeting Joshua Bragdon was chosen to prosecute

traitors to the confederation. Notwithstanding the war had been in progress about three years, and the people were so deeply involved in the rebellion that they could not take any retrograde steps, there were still to be found indifferent and obstinate men who would give no countenance or support to the great cause of freedom, and who availed themselves of every opportunity secretly to aid the enemy in subduing the country to the power of the king. Probably no one was willing to take this office of prosecutor of these men more than one term. Mr. Titcomb, who held the office the preceding year, we suppose, declined to accept it a second time. Bragdon was a man of courage and resolution, and went into active service in the army; but whether he carried out toward any person his official obligations as prosecutor, does not appear on the records.

Delegates had been elected for the purpose of forming a State constitution or form of government, which duty had been fulfilled, and the result of their proceedings was laid before the several towns for their approval. Wells took a decided stand against the constitution, as thus framed, having at a full meeting, on the 18th day of May, 1788, voted unanimously against it. The objections to its acceptance are not found in any written evidence of the proceedings of the meeting. But it seems somewhat singular that an important instrument, which received the support of a convention of intelligent citizens, should not have found a single friend among the inhabitants. The party spirit of the present day had not then entered into the counsels of the town. Men were actuated rather by a sense of the public interests than by any personal or party ambitions. Able men, having definite and decided views of any matter, would gain the ear of the whole people, and, without any great exertion, inspire all present with their views in relation to it. We are of the opinion that this vote was the mere expression of the judgment of one man.

The town was satisfied with the old government as it existed previously to the war, and at this meeting it was voted to direct their representative "to join with other members of the General Court, if it should be thought proper, in choosing a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Secretary, and also in adopting and confirming all parts of the Constitution and form of Government that they were under before the commencement of the war with Great Britain, excepting such parts of it as are repugnant to and inconsistent with a state of

independence, to continue and remain during the present war, and until a new Constitution shall be agreed upon by the inhabitants of said State."

At this period there was great suffering in the army from the want of suitable clothing, and the Legislature called on the people to do what they could in the way of contribution. There were many of the townsmen in the army, and one would have supposed that this fact, conspiring with the deep interest in the great cause so near the hearts of the people, would have called forth a generous response, more especially when the articles needed were the product of domestic industry, and easily furnished by almost every family. We insert here the result in one district of the town. It does not do much credit to our ancestors. The people indeed were needy. The dearth of employment, failure of crops, and the harrassing fears of what might await them, had a depressing influence on their hearts; yet we must confess that it can hardly be looked upon as an exhibition of a patriotic devotion to their country. The following is the memorandum of the generosity of the persons named.

"An account of the number of shirts and pairs of stockings and shoes delivered to Stephen Titcomb, by the inhabitants of the Second Parish in Wells, as a present for the Continental army, agreeable to a request of the General Court of the State of Massachusetts Bay, began to be collected the 9th of April, 1778:

Shirts, Stockings, Shoes.

Richard Boothby,	1		
Capt. Samuel Waterhouse,		1	
Joel Larrabee,		1 & 12s. 4d. cash,	
John Cousens,	1		
Jesse Larrabee,		1	
Adam Ross,	1		
James Ross,	1		
John Gillpatrick, jr.,		1	
John Shackley,		1	
Dea. Richard Kimball,	1	1	
Israel Kimball,	1		
William Wormwood,		1	
John Mitchell,		1	1
Obadiah Hatch,		1	

	Shirts, Stockings, Shoes.		
John Maddox,	2		
Richard Thompson,	2		
Samuel Kimball,	1		
Israel Kimball,	1	1	
Daniel Little,	1		
Eliphalet Walker,	1	Returned.	
James Kimball,		1	2
Jabez Emery,		1	
Obadiah Littlefield,		1	1
Widow Miriam Littlefield,		1	1
Ebenezer Coburn,		1	1
Capt. Nathaniel Kimball,	2	1	
Edmund Currier,			2
Stephen Titcomb,		2	2
Samuel Littlefield, jr.,		2	
Jotham Littlefield,	1		
Stephen Larrabee, jr.,	1		
Theodore Lyman,			1
Joseph Storer,	1	1	1
James Lord,	1		

The names of those who would give nothing we omit, although, when the object of history is considered, such omission is of doubtful propriety. A great many of the neighbors of these men were now in the service. No less than thirty-one of Nathaniel Cousins' company, all living in Kennebunk, were on the battle-field this year. The impulses of common neighborly kindness, one would think, would have led them to a hearty contribution.

The representations made by the proper authorities of the sufferings of the army, from the want of suitable clothing or from the failure of other necessary supplies, must have had its effect in retarding enlistments. Men were as ready to run the risks of battle as to meet the certain discomforts of the service. Gen. Washington complained much of the neglect of the States to forward their quotas ; but it is not strange that the other complaints of the inadequacy of supplies should have thus hindered recruiting. Wells had not been able to furnish its proportion of soldiers with the bounty offered in March, and now, in the month of May, when called upon

for a draft, the town increased the sum, voting that each man who should be drafted to serve in the Continental army nine months, as a part of the quota assigned to the town, and actually serving, should receive £30. It was also voted that the commissioned officers, with the consent of the selectmen, may give such bounty as they think proper to any who should enlist for three years, and anybody who had advanced money since March toward paying soldiers to serve three years, should be repaid. This certainly was liberal enough, though it will also be remembered that current money had, at this time, very much depreciated, and was daily becoming of less value, so that the amount expressed in figures gives but a very indefinite idea of its true worth to the soldiers. Still, the contribution was as generous as the circumstances of the people would allow.

Though the pecuniary demands of the war were heavy, the effects of the conflict were not of such a distressing character as might at first thought be supposed. The wars with the Indians had accustomed them to deprivations, hardships and severe suffering. The far more severe affliction of continual exposure to the awful cruelties of savage vengeance, which they had borne for many years, rendered the present trials comparatively light to those who were old enough to have gone through that experience, and they were ready to meet these new trials with a bold front. In the neighborhood of West Point, our troops had met with some encouraging success. Many of the Wells men were there; and very favorable letters were received from Col. Noah M. Littlefield and others. These successes kept alive a hopeful and earnest spirit, which was strengthened by favorable news from abroad. Congress also inspired the people by assurances that independence would be secured. The general aspect in the southern States was far from favorable. To men disposed to fix their eyes on the dark side, there was nothing discoverable in that direction which indicated a successful issue of the war. But the people generally looked only at the state of affairs nearer home.

The subject of adopting a new State Constitution came again before the annual town meeting. But the people were not disposed to take any action upon it now; three-fourths of them voting against its consideration. They were content that the representatives should choose a Governor and Lieut. Governor for one year; but in the midst of the other depressing demands of the time, they thought it not best to trouble themselves with the work of forming a constitution.

At a meeting July 5, 1779, John Wheelright, Nathaniel Wells, John Maxwell, James Kimball and John Storer were chosen a committee to prepare instructions for the representatives, and also a memorial to the General Court, representing the distressed condition of the inhabitants of the town, and requesting the Legislature to afford them such relief as the public interests would justify. As was represented in the year 1770, the town was now much embarrassed, and unable to pay the claims against it. The hearts of the people were also depressed by the loss of so many valuable citizens. Col. Joseph Storer, Capt. Daniel Wheelright and many others, influential in the management of their municipal affairs, had fallen in the strife. There were now but few to whom the people looked for counsel in this hour of trouble.

A new expedition was set on foot. A large fleet of the enemy had entered the Penobscot, and the government had made the speediest arrangement to take them by surprise. Wells was called upon to contribute largely to the expedition. Its most careful and energetic men were called to take part in the enterprise, Major Daniel Littlefield, Capt. Samuel Sawyer, Nathaniel Cousens, Samuel Treadwell, Joel Littlefield, Capt. John Winn.

From the necessity of the case, these were all required immediately to leave their homes and hasten to the transports. The fleet was well armed and the soldiery well equipped for battle. Seventeen vessels, mounting from sixteen to thirty-two guns each, and a large number of transports and subsidiary vessels, containing three or four thousand men, constituted a fleet which might well justify the hope of the capture of the enemy's ships. The English commander had no information of the intended assault until three or four days before the arrival of the fleet on the 21st of July. Gen. Lovell, as soon as he was able to land his army, commenced preparations for attacking the enemy's fort. A cannonade was soon begun. But before any material advantage had been gained, a large addition to the enemy's vessels arrived in the bay. This new force, with the failure of our own government to furnish the required number of soldiers, portended to our officers a sure defeat, and all the works were abandoned. The vessels were run on shore; some of them burnt, some captured, and the army made their escape in the best manner they could through the wilderness, destitute of provisions, toward their homes, which they finally reached through great suffering. A con-

siderable number never returned. The expedition was a sad one for Wells. Two of its most valuable citizens, Major Daniel Littlefield and Capt. Samuel Sawyer, men whose services the country needed at this crisis, lost their lives in the contest.

Major Littlefield had been in the service in 1776 and 1777, and Capt. Sawyer from the beginning of the Revolution; being stationed with his company eight months at Medford in 1775, and at various places in New York through the year 1776. Both were brave men and useful members of society. Their loss was deeply felt throughout the town.

The depreciation of the currency was now a great obstacle to an energetic prosecution of the war. A dollar in specie was equivalent to thirty of the only money in circulation. This circulating medium was made a legal tender. But little inducement to enlistments was now held out by the proffer of any amount of it, so that it was with great difficulty that the quotas of soldiers called for could be supplied. Money was of little benefit. Even though wood was very abundant, in some places, even Cape Neddock, a hundred dollars a cord were paid for it. It was very much from this cause that the Penobscot expedition failed. The troops necessary for it could not be obtained. Men were not willing to leave their families in want.

The troubles arising from this cause were much aggravated by the petulance and bickerings of the few who never heartily entered into the struggle for independence. Judge Sayward says of the Act providing that the money in circulation should be a legal tender, "a sin which deserves severe punishment in our rulers. To think that men who used to be esteemed virtuous shall see the widows of our formerly most valuable merchants that had their livelihood by money at interest reduced to beggary, and their children paid off by their guardians with a thirtieth part of their dues, is a sin with which I do not perceive that they are affected, but like the whore in the Proverbs, wipe their mouths and say, what have I done?" This depreciation he speaks of as "the effects of civil war and all unrighteousness." "For several yoke of oxen sold before the war I must now take only the keeping of two nights for a horse, or for each yoke." Such crimination of the government, and such murmurings in the intercourse of life, could not fail in the paralyzing effects on the spirits of the people. The facts stated by Judge Sayward were a part of the bitter experience of many. His own losses were great.

Having before the war eight or ten thousand dollars invested in personal securities, on the income of which he had enjoyed a satisfactory and honorable independence, and being now in his advanced years, driven to accept for this sum two or three hundred, it is not strange that his heart should have become embittered against somebody for this unwelcome change of his circumstances. His was surely a trying position. But in this regard he did not stand alone. Others, and in fact almost all around him, were called to sacrifices not less depressing. Being a follower of Christ, and having long maintained an honorable standing in his church, he should quietly have submitted to the common fate.

The government had done everything possible to prevent the people from suffering, and many of the towns adopted resolutions condemnatory of traffic in gold and silver, and by their votes determined to uphold the currency, and declared that no produce should be sold within their limits at higher prices than ruled before the war. The Legislature had also prohibited the exportation of all grains, beef, pork, live stock, and other provisions, from any seaport. These were necessary war measures, and all patriotic men cheerfully submitted to them.

Perhaps the year 1779 is the most memorable of our periods of scarcity and distress. The corn raised in the town fell far short of a sufficiency to meet the wants of the people. They were obliged to depend for a supply entirely on the west. The demand from the east so augmented the price, that all the money in town was soon absorbed in the purchase of bread. The poorer people had borrowed all which was in the hands of the richer, who were obliged to part with it to keep them from starvation. When the money was all gone, they were necessitated to take the feathers out of their beds, and the wool saved to clothe their children in the winter, send them to Boston, and dispose of them to procure food for their families. The taxes had been burdensome, and the land so unproductive that many were reduced to penury. It was said by unimpeachable authority (a leading man of the town), that "the land in Wells was so poor and barren, that the horses, oxen, cows and sheep were not more than two-thirds as large as they were in other towns of the State. That such was the poverty of their pasturage, and the mean quality of their hay, that twenty acres of land would not pasture a cow well." This has the aspect of a "tough story," and we do not

assume the responsibility of the statement. We judge it to be somewhat strained. But there is no question that the people were reduced to very great extremities. They had lost many of their best men. They were obliged not only to furnish troops, but to obtain them, they had to pay a large bounty, and one-half of the amount of their wages while in the service, while the richer towns paid no more.

Notwithstanding all this, it was said in one of the newspapers at this time, "that a great and patriotic spirit prevails in the county of York." Nearly all the people were heartily engaged in the war. They had faith that the issue would be favorable; and, therefore, never faltered in doing what they could.

In the beginning of this year, 1779, John Wheelright was chosen to prosecute all who were inimical to the good cause. The people did not hesitate to regard those as enemies to their country, who did not cheerfully come up to its help in this hour of distress and peril. Tories were called Tories. Men awarded to others the character which their spirit and acts naturally suggested. The temper of the town was very far from allowing them unrestrained liberty to indulge or extend their iniquity.

At the same time Joseph Hubbard, Aaron Wheelright and Alexander Maxwell were chosen a committee of correspondence. The duties of this committee were to communicate with the government, and with neighboring towns, as occasion might require, on all matters of common interest; so that the necessities of the period might be met at the earliest moment. These committees were deemed important to the safety of the republic, and demanded the best men of the country.

A convention was called this year at Cambridge, for the purpose of forming a Constitution for the State. Nathaniel Wells was the delegate from this town. He may well be regarded, unless Dr. Hemmenway is excepted, as the most solid and considerate man in Wells, and well fitted for the duty thus assigned to him.

At the annual meeting in March it was voted to raise 10,000 pounds (over thirty thousand dollars), required for the various municipal purposes. The value of money then current, and by law a legal tender for all objects, will be readily understood by the reader from this fact. The extent to which this fancy currency had become the medium of business, shows very clearly also to what straits the

government had been driven by the exigencies of the times. Like the poor debtor, the best it could do was to give its notes. But while in its poverty it was the representative of almost all the towns, it was not less so in its patriotic and determined spirit.

Our readers have all heard of the dark day of 1780. It was memorable through life to all who lived at this period. The sun was darkened and the moon refused to give its light. Many of the ignorant and superstitious trembled with the apprehension that the great day had come. It occurred on the 19th of May. Nothing unusual marked the early hours of the morning. The sky was clouded and there was a slight fall of rain. But extensive fires had been raging a long while in the interior, and the atmosphere was filled with smoke. The wind being at the West brought the whole volume to the seaboard, and early in the forenoon the light began to fail, and when noon arrived almost the darkness of night settled down upon the households of the inhabitants. Men forsook their business; the cattle returned to their yards and the fowls to their roost. Candles had to be lighted in the houses, that the work of the family might go on. A dense fog setting in united with the smoke, and thus hanging over the town, obscured the sun during the remainder of the day. The night was one of hideous darkness. But as the dark hours of life seldom fail in the order of Providence to be followed by more cheery manifestations, the murky atmosphere the next day had disappeared, and all again gave themselves to their various pursuits. It is difficult to explain some of the effects of this unnatural darkness. After it had disappeared and the sun resumed its power, large numbers of birds were found dead in the fields and by the fences. Perhaps they had flown early in the morning to a distance from their nightly habitations, and regarding the strange darkness as only the effect of clouds shutting out the sun for a few moments, waited for the restoration until it was too late, and then in their attempts to reach their lodging places, flew against the fences and buildings and thus committed the involuntary suicide.

The convention at Cambridge had agreed upon a Constitution and Declaration of Rights, and they were laid before the town at the April meeting in 1780. The matter was new to the people. Most of them had never even read a constitution of government, and as questions of the highest importance affecting their personal, civil and corporate relations were involved, it was thought proper before final action was

taken, to submit the whole subject to the careful examination of the most wise and judicious of the citizens. It was accordingly committed to Rev. Moses Hemmenway, Rev. Daniel Little, Samuel Waterhouse, John Mitchell, John Wheelright, Dea. Benjamin Hatch, Amos Storer, Jonathan Hatch, James Littlefield, jr., James Littlefield, 3d, Capt. John Bragdon, Jeremiah Storer, Hanse Patten, Capt. John Littlefield, Adam Clark and Capt. Joseph Winn.

This committee made a long report. It was, we presume, the work of Rev. Mr. Hemmenway. And nothing of importance could be short, which had to go through the ordeal of a careful and critical examination by him. A verbatim copy would occupy too much space in a work like this. In substance it objected and argued the objections at length, that the Constitution did not give to the executive a negative vote on the Acts of the Legislature, and that the House of Representatives was too numerous. That it did not require that the Governor should be of the Protestant religion. That military officers should be appointed by the Governor, and not elected by the subordinates. That the limitation of the period of eligibility of the same person as treasurer to five years was unwise, and that provision should be made in it for a convention in 1795 for its revision, and making such alterations as experience might suggest; and that this subject should not be left dependent on a two-thirds vote of the people.

The town in its action on this report expressed its opinion as to the necessity of a new form of government, and concurred in the sentiments expressed in regard to the objectionable parts of it; but at the same time declared if the convention disapproved of the amendments suggested by the committee, that they would waive their objections rather than have the constitution fail, if provision was made in it for a convention within fifteen years, for amendments in such parts as experience might show to be necessary. With such a qualification of the vote, the Bill of Rights and Constitution were accepted. Judge Wells being a member of the convention was not on this committee. If he had disagreed with Dr. Hemmenway there would have been no end of the controversy. Both of them were men of unending replication to any adverse thoughts suggested to the views which they held.

Under the provisions of this new constitution, Nathaniel Wells was re-elected representative in October. Though the business of

forming a constitution for the government of the people was a matter of great moment, and affecting the action of all for years to come, it was not felt to be of such magnitude as the controversy and struggle for independence. That must be provided for at all hazards. How the town should do its part was the serious and embarrassing inquiry.

At a town meeting, July 10th, it was voted to raise £18,000, about \$60,000; and, Oct. 12th, to raise a sum of money sufficient to purchase 13,200 pounds of beef, and Oct. 16th, 20,000 pounds instead of the 13,200. Although the amount thus to be raised may not have exceeded altogether a thousand dollars in coin, the people must have been much troubled by the inquiry where it was to come from. True, they had been familiar with such embarrassments, and therefore might not have suffered themselves to be discomforted by the recurrence of a new trial. A quota of twenty-eight soldiers from Wells was now called for, to strengthen the army, and how were they to be had? The current money afforded but a weak incentive to leave one's family and home, and give his services, perhaps his life, to the country. There was much sound patriotism surviving all the adversities and hardships already experienced. Hope of a speedy close of the war begun to lighten up the horizon and cheer their hearts, and (what was no small inducement to some of them) the prospect of a portion of plunder, kindled at least a faint desire to be in a position to have the benefit of it. Col. Noah M. Littlefield had written home to some of his friends of the effectual storming of Rocky Point, to the great credit of our army, and that Jotham Littlefield and Masters Treadwell had each of them received seventy-nine dollars as their portion of the enemy's property thereby secured. Such facts at this period would have great weight with men who perhaps had not seen so much money since the war began. At this meeting, Capt. Joshua Bragdon, Joseph Hubbard, John Taylor, and Nehemiah Annis, jr., were chosen a committee to ascertain upon what terms soldiers could be procured for the three years' service. This was the fixed term of service. Short enlistments had heretofore been the bane of the country. They were authorized to go to the extent of a hundred dollars in silver for a single recruit. The committee were well fitted for their position. Bragdon had been an efficient laborer in all war measures. But all their exertions were unavailing; not a single enlistment was effected. All the motives addressed to men were powerless, by reason of the length of the required service and

the hardships and perils which the people well knew must attend it. Accordingly, at a meeting on the 25th of December, the committee made report that their labors had been fruitless, and that there was no prospect of procuring recruits upon the terms offered. There was no alternative now but an enlargement of the bounty offered, or a general submission to the draft. The town chose the former, and voted that "each soldier enlisting for three years, or during the war, should receive as much hard money as would make ten dollars a month while in the service, including all which he should receive from the United States and this Commonwealth, and that the sum of one hundred hard dollars, or an equivalent thereto in paper money, according to the current exchange, should be advanced to each soldier within six months from the time of engaging in the service toward making his wages as valuable as before mentioned."

The existing committee having had as large a share in unavailing labors as they thought duty or patriotism required, a new committee, consisting of Capt. Daniel Clark, Capt. James Littlefield, Capt. Nathaniel Cousens, Capt. Hanse Patten, and Capt. Jeremiah Storer, was chosen. These, with the treasurer, Joshua Clark, Adam Clark, John Staples, John Taylor, and Abraham Annis, were authorized to agree on any bounty which they should judge necessary as further inducement, and if a bounty was agreed upon it was to preclude any other. To meet any demands which might arise from this vote, and for the beef which was to be furnished, it was voted to assess a tax of one hundred and five thousand pounds in old Continental currency.

The experience of the town as to the difficulty of raising soldiers for actual military service did not differ widely from that of our late civil war, excepting in the circumstance of pecuniary ability. New England is now teeming with wealth, while in the days of the Revolution there was not property enough among the inhabitants of many of the towns to supply the common necessities of life. A single individual of Kennebunk, with his present amount of property, could have purchased the whole town of Wells.

This committee succeeded during this and the following year in procuring a part, and perhaps all, the soldiery required of the town. At the meeting in March, 1781, they were directed to proceed with all possible despatch, and it was voted that no penalty should be imposed by the town upon any particular class which should be formed

for the purpose of providing one of the soldiers, provided such class exert themselves in procuring a soldier and furnishing their proportion of money or other articles necessary to pay such soldier his bounty when thereto requested by said committee, and any penalty incurred by any particular class complying with their duty should be paid out of the town treasury. At the same time Theodore Lyman, Daniel Clark, Hanse Patten, Capt. James Littlefield, Capt. Jeremiah Storer, and Capt. Nathaniel Cousens were appointed a committee to provide for the families of non-commissioned officers and soldiers in the Continental army. A thousand pounds, hard money, was raised for the purpose of procuring soldiers according to the votes of the town, and eleven hundred pounds, hard money, to procure 10,461 pounds of beef for the use of the army, and twenty-two soldiers to serve three months, and supply the deficiencies from depreciation of former grants to be paid in hard money, or bills of credit of the new issue, resting on the funds of the Commonwealth at the rate of one and seven-eighths of a dollar in said bills in lieu of the hard dollar. It was also voted that "each able-bodied man who should enlist as one of the town's quota for three months should have a bounty of four pounds, hard money, a month for each month in the service, one-quarter to be paid when he marched from home," and that "the chief commanding officers of the several companies of militia within the town be requested forthwith to enlist twenty-two soldiers in the whole for the service aforesaid, and that they be desired to exert themselves on the occasion, as thereby they will honor their office, serve the town, and probably promote the interests and happiness of their country."

These last votes would seem to have been at the extreme verge of the town's ability. They had exerted themselves to exhaustion to fulfill their duty to their country. How far they succeeded, no record within the reach of the author answers. It is probable that before the close of the year 1781 they had accomplished their work. It was one of great difficulty, putting all their skill to the test. The people must vote compensation in hard money. The currency was powerless; but this hard money was not to be found in their pockets. It will be seen that the people divided themselves into classes to effect the necessary enlistments, and as they had no money they provided for payment in something equally as substantial. We take the case of the people in Harrysickett. Their descendants will

learn from this something of the burdens which their ancestors were compelled to assume to secure the independence of their country.

“Wells, Feb. 26, 1782. This day agreed with Robert Drake to serve as a soldier in the army three years, with what each man turns in to said Drake.

Thomas Meldrum, a cow,	£6 0s. 0d.
Roger Littlefield, a Do.,	6 0 0
Nathaniel Taylor, a Do.,	6 0 0
Abner Fisk, a Do.,	6 0 0
James Gillpatrick, a Do.,	6 0 0
William Jefferds, a Do.,	6 0 0
Nicholas Gowen, an ewe sheep,	£1 0s. 0d.
John Wormwood, a Do.,	1 0 0
Simon Jefferds, a Do.,	1 0 0
Abraham Storer, a Do.,	1 0 0
Eleazer Clark, jr., a Do.,	1 0 0
Meturan Ricker, a Do.,	1 0 0
Stephen Ricker, a Do.,	1 0 0
Capt. Samuel Jefferds, a Do.,	1 0 0
Solomon Clark, a Do.,	1 0 0
Capt. John Cole, 2 Do.,	2 0 0
John Meldrum, 1 Do.,	1 0 0
Ebenezer Wormwood, 1 Do.,	1 0 0
John Clark, 1 Do.,	1 0 0
Isaac Storer, 1 Do.,	1 0 0
A Coat & Shirt,	3 2 0

At this time six cows and fifteen sheep constituted a pretty good bounty for the service to be performed, as strong hopes began to be cherished that the great contest was near its close. The soldier was sure of something substantial if he returned. It was not so with a large portion of those who had been in the service. The Continental money was of no other value than what the slightest hope imparted to it. Many a faithful servant of the Republic was obliged, on his way home, to give even an hundred dollars for a single meal. But those who remained at home managed their affairs more favorably. Business men made their charges on a more reliable basis. For example: Dr. Hall Jackson, of Portsmouth, was called to visit

Pelatiah Littlefield, on account of the painful condition of one of his limbs. His bill for his services was in this wise:

“March 4, 1783. Pelatiah Littlefield to Dr. Hall Jackson, Dr.

To visit and medicine for his leg, £2 16s. 4d., equal to
4 bushels & 3 pecks of Indian corn.”

This total failure of the currency was a great grievance to all classes, but more especially so to the brave men who had been long absent from their homes; whose farms in the meantime had run to waste, and who had now, by its worthlessness, nothing to show for their labors and perils, or of which they could avail themselves for renewing and restocking their long neglected homesteads.

News of the surrender of Cornwallis was received here on the 27th of October, 1781. This victory lifted an immense weight of anxiety from the heart of the country; but to no part of it did the news of this capitulation come with more cheering inspirations than to the households of Wells. It portended a brighter day. The people felt that they were about emerging from a thralldom which to many families had made even life a burden. Joy glistened in many eyes which had been dimmed by the sad adversities of the long war. Houses were illuminated; men met and congratulated each other with the earnest shake of the hand. Every face was lit up with the happy emotions which welled from the depths of the soul.

During the course of the following year, 1782, while still endeavoring to obtain enlistments for the three years' service or during the war, no pressing demand for recruits seems to have required any extra exertions to obtain them. The year glided by and the carnage of war in the northern part of the Union was almost entirely stayed. Great Britain was wearied with the conflict, and both parties were anxious to end the wasting desolation. In 1783, the struggle was brought to an end, and a day of rest came to the exhausted inhabitants. All the powers of the town had been pressed to their utmost tension to uphold the national arms, and the annunciation that the strife was closed came over the people almost like a paralysis. The continued action of seven years, kept alive by unfaltering patriotism, being so suddenly stayed, and a dead calm prevailing all around, the people could with difficulty so realize their situation as to wake up to the importance of renewing their energies in attempts to recover their position before the war. The deprivations and distressing

hardships of so many years of severe trial had been so material a part of their condition, and they had been so habituated to a life of expedients to supply every-day necessities and keep themselves from succumbing to the adversities which met them on every side, that in being now released they felt as though their trials were material to their daily existence; so much and so completely can humanity become reconciled, by long use, to any status in which one can be placed.

CHAPTER XXXII.

OPPOSITION TO RETURN OF REFUGEES—THE CURRENCY—FIRST VESSEL BUILT ON KENNEBUNK RIVER—FIRST GROCERY STORE—FIRST PUBLIC HOUSE—LIST OF PROMINENT BUSINESS MEN—NEW ROAD LOCATED—FIRST REGULAR POST-OFFICE IN MAINE—OLDEST TOMBSTONE IN KENNEBUNK—STEPHEN LARRABEE—PROSPEROUS CONDITION OF KENNEBUNK—ELECTION OF STATE OFFICERS—CONVENTION AT FALMOUTH TO CONSIDER QUESTION OF SEPARATION—OPPOSITION OF WELLS—QUESTION SUBMITTED TO THE PEOPLE—THE BRUNSWICK CONVENTION—VOTE OF WELLS RELATIVE TO ANNEXATION TO NEW HAMPSHIRE—CONVENTION OF OTHER TOWNS FAVORING ANNEXATION—SEPARATION—CONVENTION AT PORTLAND TO FORM A CONSTITUTION—ONE-THIRD OF TOWN MEETINGS HELD AT KENNEBUNK—MEETINGS OPENED WITH PRAYER—GREAT FRESHET—ABATEMENT OF TAXES BY GENERAL COURT—MAILS—PUBLIC HOUSES—WHERE LOCATED—DELEGATES TO CONVENTION FOR ADOPTION OF FEDERAL CONSTITUTION—JOHN BOURNE.

THOUGH peace with Great Britain was hailed with so much joy by the whole people, the public mind was by no means at rest. Matters of great general concernment now presented themselves, for the action of all whose patriotism was awake to the future interests of the republic. The most bitter feeling prevailed against those who had abandoned their country and gone over to the enemy at the beginning of the war. One of the preliminaries for the settlement on the part of Great Britain was, that the refugees should be permitted to return to their former homes. This proposition was spurned by all the people, and meetings were holden to protest against any such provision in the treaty. The strongest resolutions were passed in opposition to the proposal. Many avowed that they would rather continue the war than accede to it. These refugees were denounced as enemies of humanity, and as unfit to live in any Christian community, and their restoration to their former relations here, it was said, would again imperil the peace of the country.

Those who have not been accustomed to read the public prints of that day can have but a very imperfect conception of the excitement

which prevailed on this question. All the large cities or towns in New England and the middle States held public meetings, calling on the people to refuse all sympathy and communion with these men, stigmatizing them as murderers, traitors, and outlaws, and also calling upon the States for such legislation as would forever debar them from obtaining residence or foothold on our territory. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia had been the principal places of refuge for these unfortunate loyalists. Many of them were men of high moral standing, and would have been useful citizens if restored. The condition of these refugees in the enemy's country to which they had fled was deplorable indeed. A writer from Port Roesway, says: "I find the refugees to be the most miserable set of beings that it is possible to conceive of. The king finds them provision at present, otherwise they could not subsist. They live in huts and tents about the woods, and appear to be the most dejected set of persons I ever beheld. It is not possible for any person to conceive of their situation who has not seen it. Their looks plainly disclose their feelings, and would almost incline the humane to pity them, were it not that they can still make use of their tongues in the old language of rebels and traitors." There were sixteen thousand of them in this place. As this letter was written after the close of the war, I suppose the number must include many from the State of New York, who held their residences there till peace was proclaimed, when the people would not suffer them to remain.

But this question did not so deeply interest the people of Wells as those of some other towns. We do not know of more than one man who fled for refuge to the English flag. A few left the town during the war, but we have been unable to trace them. These were men who were frightened at the impending contest, and some whose opinions and feelings did not harmonize with those of the multitude. But they did not have the resolution to abandon the country.

The public credit was now also a matter of deep interest. No business could be entered upon without a currency of permanent value. That which had been in use was almost worthless. In the beginning of 1783 there was in the town treasury about \$60,000 Continental money. But this whole sum, apparently so large for this small town, was not worth five hundred dollars in silver. It became therefore a highly important matter with the people that some suitable medium of exchange should be furnished before busi-

ness could be safely renewed. Sometime elapsed before this necessity was obviated. Business was not immediately quickened into life.

From 1731 to the beginning of the war, the vicinity of the Littlefield mills on Kennebunk river was the theatre of the principal business in the eastern part of the town. When these mills were built cannot be clearly determined. The grants were made on both sides of the river in 1680 and 1681, embracing the necessary privilege and lands adjoining, and we think the saw-mill was erected soon after, and perhaps the grist-mill. In 1731, the former is called the old mill. In 1688, Robert Goliff was indicted for rafting down boards on Sunday. As there was no occasion for rafting boards from Gooch Creek, and at this time there was no other mill on the river, the inference is reasonable that the Littlefield mill was in operation. From 1688 to 1713 there could have been no opportunity for work. Excepting for the short intermission between the wars of King William and Queen Anne, men were necessitated to be continually on their guard against the wiles of the Indians. If built after these wars were over, it would not have been designated as the old mill.

Here were Richard Kimball, Nathaniel Kimball, Joseph Littlefield, Samuel Littlefield, John Gillpatrick, John and Samuel Shackley, James Ross, James Ross, jr., Jedediah Wakefield, — Currier, Samuel Gillpatrick, John Gillpatrick, jr., Thomas Kimball, Auley McColley, Stephen Larrabee and others. Richard and Nathaniel Kimball were pioneers in bringing this part of the town into note, and clearing the ground for the service of man. They, with John Mitchell, built the first vessel on Kennebunk river. Richard opened the first grocery store. Nathaniel the first public house. They were men to whom was entrusted much of the public business, as committee men and agents, and were leaders in enterprises to increase the business of the neighborhood. The Shackleys were tanners and shoemakers. McColley was the tailor; Currier the joiner and cabinet maker. The Littlefields were driving the mill and rafting their boards down the river. Thomas Kimball, the Gillpatricks and Rosses and Larrabee were vigorously tilling the land. Here were the garrison houses for protection from Indian ferocity; two on the west, and one on the eastern side of the river. The teams, in passing to the mills, had wrought out a passable way, and in 1750 the people succeeded in having the main road from the west to the east duly located by the mills, and the travel turned thither from the seaboard.

In May, 1775, here was established the first regular post-office in Maine, Nathaniel Kimball being appointed postmaster. Here also the probate courts were holden. Richard Kimball was deacon of the Congregational church after the Second Parish was established. For the edification of the people he invited Mr. Powers, of Berwick, a Baptist minister, to preach the gospel at his house; and here on the Sabbath, by the fear of hell and the hope of heaven, he frequently exhorted the people to repent of their sins, and to greater activity in the cause of their Master. Englishmen, Scotchmen, Scotch Irish and Irish alike listened to his ministrations. There is no surviving evidence that Mr. Little called the deacon to account for this exercise of his Christian liberty. The oldest monument of the dead standing in Kennebunk is also at this place, near the house of Owen Burnham, bearing the inscription, "James Ross, æ 35, died Aug. 16, 1749."

Died ———, 177—, STEPHEN LARRABEE. In another place we have given some few items of the history of this heroic and valuable man; but he merits a more particular biography. He was the son of William Larrabee, who came here from North Yarmouth, being driven from that town in the Indian war of 1676. To him we are indebted in a great degree for the preservation of the settlement. He was a man of uncommon decision of character, bold, resolute, and fearless, at all times calm and collected, the man whom the exigencies of the times required, fitted to fortify the spirits and strengthen the hands of his comrades, while at the same time his bearing kept in awe the savages who approached him. They regarded him as their most dangerous enemy, and it was important for them to get him out of the way. Still they dared not, when they had the opportunity, attempt to effect their object. On another page we have stated that the Indians here inhabiting were never known to be guilty of a violation of their treaty obligations, as indicated by the pile of stones. Still the faith of the sergeant in their fidelity was not sufficiently strong to lead him at any time to trust himself in their power. He knew the importance of his own life to the safety of his companions, and also the pressing anxiety of the Indians to get rid of him. Thence he felt it to be his duty to take every precaution for the preservation of his life. There was one of the tribe who lived just below the house of John Freeze, of whose

honesty he had strong suspicions. From his demeanor in time of peace he was satisfied that he cherished some sinister intentions in regard to him. He had a long time, evidently, been watching the sergeant, keeping his eye on him when he went from the garrison. On many occasions he had taken the liberty of following him abroad, going with him into his field, or into the woods, under the pretense of enjoying his company. Larrabee did not disclose to him his suspicions, but his eye was never averted from him. His mind was made up that he ought not to suffer himself to be thus harrassed; his services were too important to his family and others to have his thoughts thus diverted from his duties. He feared also that in some unguarded moment he might become the victim to his wiles. He had but one course to take. He must rid himself of this annoyance. There was a deep gulley just above the house of Samuel Emmons, about twenty rods below Wise's dock, at that time a great resort for beaver. Aggawam was in the habit of going there at a very early hour in the morning to look at his traps, carrying with him his gun. The sergeant embraced the opportunity of following him on one of these occasions, unobserved by the Indian or any one, and as he stooped to remove a beaver from his trap shot him dead. As it was a time of peace, and he would therefore be subjected to the penalties of the law, he there buried him and his gun, at the bottom of the valley. Although this action was well understood, no disclosure of it was made by Larrabee till many years after. The gun was dug up by Anthony Littlefield and was kept by him a long time. Probably the Indians suspected the murder, but no evidence of it could be had. This act of Larrabee in no degree diminished their anxiety to relieve themselves from the fears with which he inspired them. On the contrary, they became more anxious to place him beyond the power of injuring them. They had arranged in a time of peace to accomplish this purpose. In the darkness of night, when they supposed he was asleep, they entered the garrison, the gates being then unfastened. From some cause, instead of going to bed, he had taken his pillow and laid down before the fire. There were six or seven of them. They supposed him to be asleep, but Larrabee's eye was upon them. They walked round him two or three times as if to assure themselves that he was asleep. The sergeant made no motion whatever; but they delayed their work. Such was their awe of him that no one had the courage to give the first blow.

They felt that they had him completely in their power, but feared to exercise it. He was prepared to ward off any attack; but he determined to be still to satisfy himself of their real object. They continued hesitating or irresolute. At last he sprang from the floor, and they were off in a moment. They were never known to attempt his life afterward.

One more instance of his self-possession and fearlessness, will be interesting to our readers. In the year 1752 a boom was placed across the river just above the dam. The sergeant and another man had brought down a raft of logs, and in order to let them into the gut it was necessary to loosen one end of the boom. They had with them a small boat used in the work of rafting. The water was very high and rapid, a great quantity of rain having fallen. The sergeant was in the boat which lay aside the boom in the middle of the river. His assistant incautiously loosed the boom before he had opportunity to paddle the boat ashore. It swung round immediately. He saw there was no escape for him. Horror came over his careless companion. By his thoughtlessness he had sacrificed the life of the brave man. But the abyss ahead did not paralyze the sergeant or deprive him of his presence of mind. He seated himself in the bottom of the boat exclaiming, "here I go;" and over the dam he went. But not being in the least agitated, he so skillfully managed the little craft when she plunged that she took in but two or three pails of water, and glided safely down the rapids until he brought her to the shore near the mill. The exploit was regarded as a wonderful one, and added somewhat to his already established character for bravery and self-control.

We need say nothing more of the character of Stephen Larrabee. These few anecdotes will exhibit it in all its material elements.

A few years after the war, the various employments of the people received an impetus which gave a rapid increase to the eastern part of the town. Kennebunk was soon in a prosperous condition. Men of various professions came in from abroad. The business of ship-building was renewed in both parts of the town. The vessels built were generally of light tonnage, fitted for coasting and the West India trade. This last employment was based entirely on the lumber manufacture. Large quantities of boards and joist were brought in from all parts of the county; and until the embargo of 1808, such a

scene of activity in business was witnessed here as we can anticipate in no future time. The roads were full of heavily loaded teams, and the Landing was crowded with lumber. There were many gondolas in the river, and most of them were in full employment. Kennebunk was the center of business for the county. Saco and Biddeford had not then started on their career of activity and improvement. Factories were not in the thoughts of men of enterprise; and the Saco river was not well fitted for vessels of a large draft.

A Constitution of Government had been established by Massachusetts, and the people now felt themselves at ease in the enjoyment of liberty. Their thoughts had been for years absorbed in the great questions which were in issue, and being released from all anxiety and care in regard to their political rights and privileges, they could safely turn their attention to their individual interests. But first of all, they were called upon to place the government in the hands of some one who they knew would be watchful and a faithful guardian of those liberties for which so much precious blood had been shed. A Governor, Lieut. Governor, Senators, and Councillors were to be chosen on the first Monday of April, 1783. There was then no occasion for canvassing the town to ascertain how the people would vote. There was but one spirit among them. All looked to their country's weal. Demagogism had yet no place in political action. John Hancock, remembered as the unflinching patriot from the first to the last stage of the war, was the candidate for Governor. The people revered that heroism and fortitude which could fearlessly face all the power of British tyranny, in the determination to maintain the God-given rights of man. Though Governor Gage denounced him and Samuel Adams as guilty of offenses "of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment," and, therefore, no pardon could be accorded to them, while it might be granted to every body else; yet the people well understood that all these pretended offenses were the acts of a most noble and magnanimous spirit which elevated them far above all charges of crime or rebellion. It needed no electioneering circulars to place Hancock in the right position before the public. Accordingly the votes for Governor in Wells being 42, were unanimous for John Hancock, and, for Lieutenant Governor, Thomas Cushing had 38. For Counselors and Senators, Benjamin Chad-

bourne had 17; Edward Cutts, 9; Charles Chaney, 2; and Nathaniel Wells, 28.

Perhaps there never has been a period from the time when Maine fell under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, in which all the people have been satisfied with this union. There was no natural geographical connection between the two Provinces. But we are not sure that it was not well for Maine thus to have been brought under the government of the latter. Though the assertion that our people at this time were outlaws, licentious, and reckless of all moral law, has no basis in history; yet it cannot be questioned that law and order were not so highly regarded as to assure a stable and permanent government among them. For a time the exercise of the authority of Massachusetts over the District might have had a salutary influence, and have done much to elevate the great mass of the people. For more than a century past, we believe our population would well compare with the inhabitants of that State. The remark of Daniel Davis, Solicitor General of Massachusetts, that when he "went into that country in 1782, in every part of which he had discharged his professional duties, the face of the country, the habits and manners of the people, and those circumstances which are peculiar to a new country, where all the institutions of society were disregarded and neglected, would form a picture that would astonish the present generation," is, we believe, if not entirely unwarranted, very much of an exaggeration. This remark would comprehend, in its application, the whole of Maine. We know that Davis was in the habit of attending our courts in York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, and during these professional visits he had the opportunity of estimating to some extent the characters of the people. Courts everywhere are much the same, so far as regards the character of those whose business requires their attendance. But every one knows that the developments of those tribunals do not exhibit civilization in a very favorable light. From the frailties of the race, frightful iniquities are there manifested or brought to light, and professional men are sometimes auxiliaries to such exhibitions. The court then sat at Pownalboro', where these special excitements growing out of contested land titles, might have afforded a picture of even unusual depravity. But if it is intended to say that the people of Maine at this period, as a whole, had become so far corrupted that all the institutions of society were

disregarded and neglected, we believe the statement to be without any justifiable foundation. We do not claim an uncommon refinement, or a type of life beyond that of other new communities. In the early days, far beyond 1782, we must admit that iniquity abounded; that ignorance did shed its blighting influence over almost every household, from whence immorality and crime necessarily followed. But at the time of which the writer speaks, the people generally had become so enlightened and their intercourse with other communities so extended, that a very fair state of morals existed in the larger part of the District. We believe that the inhabitants of Wells, and of all the adjoining towns, governed their lives by a standard of morality as high as any in Massachusetts; that the institutions of religion, the worship of the sanctuary, the importance of education, and the necessity of integrity in the business and associations of life, were as highly regarded here as in other portions of New England. The people had been well purified by the fires through which they had passed.

But, as before observed, they had never been of one mind in regard to the usurpation of Massachusetts in 1653. The spirit of opposition to the rule of that State had been kept alive among the inhabitants, and now began to develop itself anew in more open and active measures to throw off the yoke which had so long been borne by the inhabitants. The people of Wells manifested no disposition to join in these measures. A convention was to be holden at Falmouth in 1785 to take the question of separation into consideration, and John Storer was chosen a delegate to that meeting. But no effectual action was there taken in relation to the subject, excepting to provide for another meeting at Falmouth on the last Wednesday of January, 1787, and to request the towns in the District to express their views on the subject, and send delegates to the convention. At the annual meeting in May, 1786, it was again brought before the town. But the townsmen did not sympathize with the movement, refused to send a delegate, and at the same time voted that they "disapproved of any application for a separation, or forming a new government under the present circumstances." They wisely concluded that having just emerged from a war in which all the towns had greatly suffered, and by which they were much reduced in property, it would be exceedingly injudicious to burden themselves with the expense of a new and independent administration.

Massachusetts had taken a noble stand in the great struggle, and the people of Wells believed that it would be for their interest that the connection should not be severed, and that they should yet longer share in the honor of her magnanimity and persevering patriotism.

But, notwithstanding the expression of the public feeling against separation, the ambitious and discontented spirit of many of the people would not suffer the matter to rest. Again, in 1792, the subject was agitated, discussed, and a new movement made to accomplish the purpose of these malcontents. Still, a majority of the people could not see sufficient reasons for the proposed change. The town of Wells was steadfast in its opposition to the measure, and at a meeting in May of that year, voted unanimously against it, and at another meeting in December, voted to have no part in any proceedings tending to that object; refusing to send a delegate to the convention. It was also voted, that "a committee consisting of the selectmen and town clerk inform the convention that it is the opinion of this town that it is not expedient at present to apply for a separation of this District from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, because the State debts are not yet adjusted, and, because, if this District is formed into one State the people in the western and eastern parts thereof would not be so well accommodated as they are under the present Government." This last argument was entitled to much weight before the day of railroads and steamboats. It was easier then for all the east and west seacoast to attend the Legislature in Boston than it would have been at the present seat of Government at Augusta, or perhaps at Portland.

Notwithstanding previous manifestations of public sentiment, the agitators of this question were not content to acquiesce in it; but at the meeting in June, 1794, again endeavored to secure the election of a delegate to a convention in October. But the inhabitants had seen no occasion to change their views upon the subject, and voted against the proposition. Still, the matter was not put to rest. Ambition and anxiety for office are not subdued by repeated defeats. It is hard to yield and accept the situation. In May, 1797, the town was again called to vote on the same question, and settled it so far as Wells was concerned by a vote of fifteen yeas and one hundred and fifteen nays. But the zeal of the separatists had planted the leaven among the people, and to some extent broken down the united opposition with which they had been contending. They had brought

over fifteen advocates of the separation, and thus their strength was renewed for further efforts, which they were not backward in making. Party spirit had now found its way into the councils of the men of Maine, dividing them into two parties, federalists and democrats. This division was not yet sufficiently marked and effective to lead the voters to disregard their own interests for mere party purposes. The great question of the formation of a new State, thereby abandoning their long association with Massachusetts, was yet not sensibly affected by mere party influences. The fifteen votes for separation were probably obtained by the untiring diligence of the friends of the measure, while the opponents had no reason for putting forth any exertion in opposition. Now a more earnest campaign began. The subject was again brought before the people in 1807, and the town then voted more decidedly against the project than ever before, giving eight votes only in the affirmative, and three hundred and twenty in the negative.

Nine years passed away and the subject had slumbered. The District had rapidly advanced in population, and the central portion of the people of the District having imbibed the thought that we were of sufficient ability to control our own affairs, and to assume the dignity of a State, again invoked the attention of the inhabitants to the question. Petitions were presented to the Legislature in 1816, asking for the necessary proceedings to bring about the long sought result, and at the annual meeting in May the town took an informal vote on the subject, as an instruction to the representative in the Legislature, 27 voting in the affirmative and 152 in the negative. A resolve was passed for taking the sense of the people on the question of separation. But as it was considered that a bare majority, which might not be a true representation of the united will of the District, but only the result of extraordinary exertions of overheated zealots, would not justify the act of division, it was made a condition of the resolve that a majority of five-ninths, or five to four, should signify their wish for separation. The vote was taken agreeably to this resolve, and Wells again expressed its determined opposition, giving 374 votes in the negative and 47 in the affirmative. At this meeting Joseph Dane, George W. Wallingford, Jacob Fisher, Nahum Morrill and Joseph Gilman were chosen delegates to the convention at Brunswick, which was to be holden for the purpose of ascertaining the result and adopting the necessary measure for carrying it in-

to effect, if the requisite majority was obtained. This convention will be memorable, as having originated what has since been denominated the "Brunswick Arithmetic;" whereby a majority of five to four was eliminated out of a much smaller excess of the greater over the lesser vote than mathematicians or legislators had been accustomed to regard as essential for such a result. The General Court of Massachusetts, not being so arithmetically wise, could not see this matter in the light in which it was here presented, and it will be no disparagement to the memory of the delegates from Wells to add, that they had not been so educated that they could comprehend and approve of it as a reliable and valuable science. A concise illustration of the principle adopted may be stated in a single sentence. If the votes had been 100,005 in the affirmative and 100,004 in the negative, this would have been a majority of five to four, nothing being taken into the account but the majorities. While Massachusetts refused to ratify the conclusion of the authors of the report developing this new principle in arithmetic, and adopted by the convention, it is believed that those who sustained it did not thereby add much to their reputation for intelligence or political honesty.

Wells began to have serious apprehensions that the seceders would accomplish their work. They had already obtained a majority of the votes; and the rapidly increasing population in the eastern part of the district, while that of York county was advancing but moderately, indicated very plainly that soon the requisite majority would be obtained. Having so long opposed the separation, and being fixed and rooted in the opinion that it would be attended with much more evil than good, the inhabitants could not with composure look forward to a defeat in the contest which had so long engaged their attention and engrossed their feelings. The excitement on the subject had become so strong that some of the most intelligent and candid assented to a proceeding which in the retrospect does not seem to bear the mark of a calm and considerate wisdom. The question had not been allowed to rest since the last vote upon it; but the friends of the measure were incessant in their efforts to fix the public sentiment in favor of a division. In the year 1819 they had operated so successfully as to have the assurance of success on the next trial. Accordingly, petitions were presented to the Legislature for the appropriate resolve. The town of Wells at a meeting on the 15th of May, indignant at the probable successful result of the

indefatigable labors of these uneasy spirits, adopted the following vote: "That George W. Wallingford, Joseph Dane, Nahum Morrill, Joseph Gilman and Elijah Curtis be a committee to petition the Legislature of New Hampshire, that Wells may be annexed to that State, should the District of Maine be formed into a new State, and Massachusetts will not consent that the town of Wells may still be attached to her." A convention of all the towns west of Saco river was also called, which passed a resolution of like character, that these towns should be annexed to New Hampshire. It would have been rather a hopeless labor for any committee, or for the town, to have set out on the enterprise of inducing the Legislature of Massachusetts or New Hampshire to comply with the vote of the town of Wells, to annex the inhabitants of this place to the latter State or retain it as a part of the former. The request would not have been so unreasonable if the annexation of the county had been asked.

But Wells was now destined, willing or unwilling, to be cut off from its connection with Massachusetts. The commercial towns had long enjoyed much intercourse with that Commonwealth. All our coasting marine was employed in the trade with Boston; and the people had formed and sustained useful and pleasant relations with that place. This business would not be sensibly affected by the separation. But the people felt that thereby, in some measure, they were severing long continued and strong attachments. They were also assured of increased burdens, and that they were to be governed by men in whose political integrity they had not full confidence. All the public burdens of the District had not, heretofore, exceeded in amount twelve thousand dollars a year. This sum would not pay the general officers in the new State. Great excitement grew out of the controversy on this subject. But the Legislature of Massachusetts, by the same argument which would induce Maine to hold to its connection with that Commonwealth, induced that body to give it up. Massachusetts was paying largely for the benefit of the union. The speaker of the house appointed a committee almost unanimous for separation. This committee reported a resolve, calling on the people of Maine at a town meeting on the 26th day of July, again to give in their votes on the question of separation, and providing, if a majority of 1,500 were in favor of the movement, the District should become an independent State. Though there was now little hope of defeating the measure, it was discussed with a

great deal of zeal. Still the discussion was powerless in creating any effectual opposition; the result was beyond doubt. The people were for separation, and Wells, which had fought so long against it, was doomed to succumb; though as a last manifesto it gave 49 votes in the affirmative and 408 in the negative. More than three-quarters of the votes in the District were affirmative, and thus the great question was settled that Maine should be an independent State.

A meeting was holden on the third Monday of September to choose delegates to a convention to be holden at Portland to form a constitution. Joseph Thomas, George W. Wallingford, Joseph Dane, Nahum Morrill and Samuel Curtis were elected. A constitution was there formed and accepted by the people; and on the fourth of March, 1820, Maine was admitted into the Union as one of the States of the great confederacy.

We have thought it best thus to pursue this subject to its consummation in a separation from Massachusetts, thinking that the reader would thereby have a better knowledge of its history than from the accounts of it interposed in the different stages of this work. We now return to our point of departure, 1786. Noah M. Littlefield was chosen representative, and was instructed to use his influence in favor of a paper currency which should be made a legal tender for all debts and taxes, with the exception of such as were, or should be, assumed for the purpose of paying the foreign public debt. A currency of some kind was indispensable that business should go on, and no better one could be extemporized than this. The financial condition of the town was very much like that which followed the great rebellion, although pressing much more heavily on the inhabitants. The village of Kennebunk had now become sufficiently extensive to make it a material and prominent part of the town. The people there began to feel their rising importance, and thence to demand an increase of their privileges. It was a long distance for many of them to travel to attend the town meetings, which were then regarded as involving the interest of each one of the inhabitants, the larger part of whom attended those holden for municipal purposes. There were now in the territory of Kennebunk, or the Second Parish, about 130 legal voters; and at the meeting in March, 1787, they succeeded in securing the vote that, "one-third of the legal town meetings shall in future be held in the Second Parish; and the next town meeting which is by law to be held on the first Monday in April,

shall be held there." Town meetings being regarded as material agencies for the public welfare, the people, conscious that an overruling Providence was waiting to bless and prosper every good and important work, felt it a duty and a privilege, on all these occasions, to look to the Ruler of the world for the wisdom which was profitable to direct. No town meeting was opened without the consecrating prayer. It was good and strengthening, and elevating above all low conceit, cunning, intrigue, inconsiderate and hasty action, to listen to the devout and soul-stirring prayers of some of God's faithful servants in olden time. The hearty and sincere supplications of the affectionate Jefferds, found a ready response in most hearts. The prayers of Hemmenway, carrying with them angelic power, led many to reason and to think deeply of the high responsibilities of life; while the intercessions of Little, the "Apostle of the East," inspired their souls with the love of right and duty. Prayer was a guiding, controlling influence, permeating town action; not that the heaven worked in all; but in so large a proportion of the assembly, that the best interest of the town was the ruling principle in municipal deliberation.

This long continued element has ceased many years to have its place in our town assemblies. The wisdom of this world has assumed to itself an ability not needing that from above. But we cannot see in the abandonment of this holy usage of former days any evidence of the moral progress of the race.

In addition to this change of place as to town meetings, the people of the Second Parish felt the importance of having their proportionate representation in the board of selectmen, and now claimed to have two from that portion of the town. Accordingly, Benjamin Titcomb and Nathaniel Cousens were chosen.

In 1785, another great calamity came upon the town in the repetition of the freshet of 1755, by which the saw-mill, grist-mill, the lower iron works, the bridge, and, we believe, nearly everything on the Mousam river were carried away. The saw-mill on the Kennebunk river was also swept off. That of Storer, lower down on the river, had never been rebuilt since it was carried away in the former freshet of 1755. The iron works of Richard Gillpatrick remained, but were so much injured that they were used but little afterward. The lower works were rebuilt and the manufacture of iron continued many years. This havoc of the waters was a great check on the

growth of the village of Kennebunk. Much other damage was done in Wells and in the adjoining towns. These losses came so heavily on the people that it was difficult for them to pay their taxes, and an application was made to the General Court for an abatement, which was granted. Ninety pounds were deducted from the taxes of Wells and five adjoining towns.

Though the town, from the various causes before stated, was poor, and had, in fact, always been so, the population, after the close of the Indian wars, was continually increasing. To such an extent had it reached in 1761 that in that year no less than sixty different persons were chosen as town officers. The people were establishing themselves on the seacoast at the eastward, and travel was rapidly on the increase. This was still on horseback, and men were accustomed to move slowly. Fast horses were not the hobby of this period. Taverns were now established all along the road. Pelatiah Littlefield kept one where John S. Littlefield now lives; James Littlefield near Wells Corner; Simon Jefferds where the late Samuel M. Jefferds lived; Capt. Nathaniel Kimball where Edward Haney now lives, and two miles beyond, in Arundel, was the Patten House. The main road at Cole's Corner turned to the right and also to the left, the right branch tending down near the sea, and the left over Cole's Hill through Harrysickett, both again coming together near the bridge over Mousam river. In 1783, and many years afterward, Cole kept a public house at the Corner. In 1800, Barnard and Howard kept public houses in Kennebunk, the former where Daniel Curtis now lives, and the latter in the old Michael Wise house. The Barnard house was continued as a tavern till after the time when this history ends.

We have no means of ascertaining when the first regular mail was brought to Wells. Willis says that until 1760 there was none east of Portland, and no newspaper published in Maine, and that there was then no printing press east of Boston. He is in error in this statement. There was a press in Portsmouth. The New Hampshire Gazette was published there in 1756, and has continued so to be published to this day. This paper was taken in Wells from its commencement. Some of the files of this period are in the hands of the author of this work. The tradition also comes through such worthy sources that we feel ourselves authorized to state the fact, that the mail, or what was then termed the mail, for seven years

was brought from Portsmouth to Wells by a dog. It was carefully made up, tied to his neck, and brought safely through. The dog while thus on his way was killed by the Indians. We infer that this must have been previously to 1760, when the wars had ceased. There was then no regular post-office in Wells. In 1762, Samuel March, of Scarboro, was carrier from Portsmouth to Casco Bay, but we know of no established post-office in Maine until 1775, when Nathaniel Kimball was appointed for Kennebunk; the next was at Georgetown, and the third at Portland. Willis says the first letter from that office was sent to Kennebunk June 14, 1775. After March, Joseph Barnard carried the mail on horseback in his saddle bags until 1787, when he commenced carrying passengers, as related in Smith and Dean's Journal: "This year the first attempt was made to carry passengers and the mail in a carriage from Boston to Portland. Joseph Barnard, the old mail carrier, got up a two horse wagon in January and put forth a most attractive advertisement, stating that he should leave Motley's tavern every Saturday morning, arrive in Portsmouth on Monday, and leaving Portsmouth on Tuesday, arrive in Portland on Thursday. Those ladies and gentlemen who choose the expeditious, cheap, and commodious way of stage traveling will please to lodge their names with Mr. Motley." "Price for one person's passage the whole distance, twenty shillings."

In 1787, the Federal Constitution was submitted to the several States for their adoption. This matter involved deeply the interest of the country. The highest talent was required for action upon it. A convention was to be holden at Boston on the second Wednesday in January, 1788, to take such order upon it as the welfare of the republic required. Rev. Dr. Hemmenway and Nathaniel Wells were chosen delegates from the town of Wells. Having made this choice, they voted not to give them any instructions. In this vote, while paying a high compliment to the intelligence and wisdom of the persons elected, they manifested a sense of their own insufficiency to judge of and determine the expediency of the principles which it embodied. To have instructed Hemmenway and Wells what to do would have been a presumption which few of the inhabitants would have been willing to have taken upon themselves. These delegates embraced the collective wisdom of the town. Dr. Hemmenway, though a minister of the gospel, felt that the country had

demands on him for his services; that his position did not relieve him from his high responsibilities. Wells' impulses led him to seek public life. He was a man of strong mind and deep thought. Though the two could never agree on doctrinal theology, but were always in controversy upon some speculative points in divinity, on political questions they were generally of one mind, and we presume that on questions arising in that convention they seldom disagreed.

Though this question of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States excited great interest in most of the towns in the county, and in other parts of the State, it does not appear to have awakened much feeling in Wells. The people were strongly in favor of it. The confidence which they had in the judgment of Hemmenway and Wells led them to feel completely at ease in regard to it. But a few attempted to excite opposition. Joseph Hubbard had been chosen representative in May, and he was anxious to be a member of the convention, and succeeded in having a meeting called the last of December, to see if the town would not elect another delegate; but the meeting refused to do so, and passed the vote, as before mentioned, refusing to instruct the delegates before chosen. It may be that, at this time, commenced the division of parties in Wells; but it was not sufficiently marked, we think, to lead us to look upon it as a material breach in the unanimity which prevailed many years afterward.

Died, July 17, 1788, JOHN BOURNE, aged eighty. He was born on Smutty Nose Island, one of the group of the Isles of Shoals. When Queen Ann's war closed, he came to the shore and located himself in Kittery. He was educated as a mechanic, and engaged in the business of ship-building. Nov. 8, 1727, he was married to Mary Cousens, of Wells. He was a man of much energy and immovable determination. Wherever his own reason or impulses directed, there he would go, whatever consequences might impend. He had an iron will, and everything must yield to it. He was accustomed to say that he would maintain his ground at all hazards. He knew nothing of concession when reason and conscience had adjudicated what action was required. But still he was mild and gentle, and of a very kind and lively disposition, seizing little children, whenever he met them, with the hearty salutation, "you little dear," so common with many people. Even in his old age he would climb the

tree for the purpose of getting apples for them. No better evidence could be given of a kind and affectionate heart.

He was of very industrious habits, never suffering himself to be idle. A great many vessels of all sizes were built by him, on the Webhannet, Mousam, and Kennebunk rivers. He continued in this business more than fifty years. Most of his sons were educated to the same profession.

He was also a captain of the militia, and was distinguished by that title, one of the selectmen of the town, and a member of the Congregational church. His wife died Aug. 12, 1776; but he did not long live a single life. Unfortunately, it turned out that he was a much better judge of a stick for building a ship than of one to build up the old waste place in his heart. He went to Portsmouth and there entered into a marriage contract with Mrs. Mary Langdon, a widow. Probably this contract was the result of an acquaintance or intimacy formed fifty years previously, when he lived in Kittery, from which place he moved to Wells immediately after his first marriage. He was married to this lady in October, 1777, and took her to his home in Wells. His house was an ordinary one-storied building, unpainted outwardly and perhaps inwardly. This woman had enjoyed the luxuries of high life, and coming to Wells she brought with her three servants, a male and two females, necessary appendages of the style of living to which she had been accustomed. With what wonder must the staid inhabitants, whose wives were their own servants, cooks, and chambermaids, have viewed this attempt to ape the style and fashion of aristocratic life! With what amazement must the people of the intervening towns have gazed upon this equipage or retinue on its way to its lowly habitation in this secluded villa! What could the man and woman have expected in the installation of themselves in this limited home with such an array of servants? What was to be done with them? How long could one dependent on his physical exertions expect to maintain such an establishment? But however marvellous such folly, much of it is visible all along the journey of life.

She lived in this grand style a few years. A large proportion of the earnings of his diligent life was soon squandered. He was obliged to sell off his lands to meet her expenditures, and when his property was so far reduced that they could no longer be sustained, she left with her servants and returned to Portsmouth. Whether

he ever met with her again we know not. One of the old servants, we believe, was living a few years since, blind, and at a very advanced age, when one of his great-grandchildren called to see her. She wished her to come up close to her, so that she might touch her and see if "she felt like the Bournes." We are not aware that there is anything peculiar in the physique of the family, so that a blind person could determine the genuineness of one claiming to belong to it.

After this time he spent a portion of his remaining years with his daughter Storer, but most of his time in his own house, where he died suddenly on the 17th of July, 1788, lying down merely to rest after dinner and not again awaking.

Judge Sayward, in his journal under date of July 23, 1788, says: "I hear Mr. John Bourne, of Wells, is dead, aged about eighty years. He had built several vessels for me. A diligent laborer, a useful man, of good moral character."

John Bourne was the ancestor of all the Bourne families in Wells and Kennebunk. By his first wife he had the following children: Mary, John, Benjamin, John, Joanna, Samuel, Joseph, Abraham, Abigail, Isaac, Lucy, and Hepsibah. The first John died in infancy, the second in youth. It is unnecessary further to elaborate this genealogy. All inheriting the name can trace their descent from one of these children.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ROADS LAID OUT—ROAD NEAR THE HOUSE OF OLIVER PERKINS—ROAD FROM THE MILE SPRING TO PEABODY'S—CAT MOUSAM ROAD—ROAD FROM MOUSAM LANDING—NEW MEETING-HOUSE BUILT BY THE SECOND PARISH—ASSIGNMENT OF PEWS—MEETING-HOUSE BUILT AT ALEWIFE—PETITIONS FOR APPROPRIATION OF MONEY THERE—BAPTIST CHURCH ORGANIZED THERE—BAPTIST CHURCH ORGANIZED AT MARYLAND—ORDINATION OF REV. NATHANIEL LORD—LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY—PETITION TO THE GENERAL COURT FOR DIVISION OF THE PARISH—REMONSTRANCE OF FIRST PARISH—AGREEMENT AS TO MONEY RAISED—REV. JOSEPH EATON ORDAINED—NEW MEETING-HOUSE BUILT.

IN 1765, the Stamp Act was passed, and from the day of its enactment till the great conflict commenced, which resulted in the independence of the United States, it would seem that but little else could be attended to than such matters as the necessities of life required. No one could foresee what would be the result of the complications of the home and Provincial Governments. Still, the preparations for the future went on, and even when the burdens of the war were on the country, those who were not direct actors on the theatre of the conflict were engaged in making public improvements. Several roads were laid out in various parts of the town. In 1774, the still-existing road from Oliver Perkins', easterly by Joshua Thompson's, was established. In 1778, that running from the Mile Spring to the house of the late Isaac Peabody, and also the road from the poor-house, by Thatcher Jones' to Cat Mousam bridge. In 1781, it was voted that the road on the eastern side of Mousam river, from "Mousam Landing" down by the iron works, four rods wide, should be opened. This last road now became of new importance, from the necessity of the manufacture of iron, which could not be imported.

Yet though there would seem to have been so little occasion for town action, the people in different parts of it had found means to occupy their attention, and withal to keep up no small degree of

excitement. Kennebunk had so increased before the severance of the friendly relations of the Provinces to the mother country, that the oldest portion of the settlement, from the Landing to the sea, had lost its prestige of being the ruling part of the town. The rich farming lands in Alewife had been taken up by an enterprising body of men, who, feeling that they were not on an equal footing with the inhabitants of other parts of the town in regard to their parochial relations, began to look about them for larger conveniences than they were then enjoying. We suppose, also, that the controversy in Wells about their meeting-house was not without its effect here. When towns are new and prosperous, its inhabitants almost invariably become ambitious to emulate and keep pace with their neighbors. The inhabitants of the older part of the town had determined to have a new and more commodious house of worship. Not to be outdone in improvements, a meeting of the Second Parish was called in March, 1767, to consider the question of moving their meeting-house to the County road, and it was then voted to make such removal, twenty-three voting in the affirmative, and eight in the negative. Stephen Titcomb, Richard Boothby, Stephen Webber, and Samuel Emons entered their dissent on the records. It was voted also that the expense of removal should be paid by subscriptions, and Joseph Storer, Richard Kimball, Nathaniel Kimball, Waldo Emerson, James Hubbard, Stephen Titcomb, Obadiah Littlefield, John Maddox, and Stephen Larrabee, were appointed a committee to carry out the vote. Titcomb, of course, declined to act. But the removal of the old house did not commend itself to their more considerate judgment, and in July another meeting was holden, at which it was voted to take it down. It was objected by some that it was not large enough for the accommodation of the Parish. But the spirit of the parishioners was not equal to the work which was pictured before them. The committee were of the most influential men of the society, and able to do a large part of the work themselves, yet the subscriptions could not be had, and the whole matter was suffered quietly to sleep.

Still, the conviction remained that the privileges of the sanctuary ought to be equal to all, and that it should not be so located that a large part of the parishioners should be obliged to travel seven or eight miles, while the remainder traveled at most but three or four. The meeting-house was located at the Landing, more than two miles

from the center of travel. In 1771, John Cousins, jr., Samuel Cousins, Jonathan Taylor, Benjamin Day, Benjamin Stevens, Obadiah Hatch, John Maddox, Obadiah Littlefield, Richard Thompson, Nathaniel Cousins, James Smith, Samuel Littlefield, jr., Stephen Larabee, jr., John Gillpatrick, jr., and Joseph Coburn, petitioned to the Parish Assessors to call a meeting to consider the question of building a new church on the country road. A meeting was accordingly called; but those living near the old meeting-house, though above it, did not wish to incur the expense, and uniting with those below, defeated the proposition. But matters of this character are not so easily disposed of. The spirit of the people is seldom subdued by any such adverse result as this. The next year a new petition was presented by the larger part of these petitioners. At this time they were successful, the parish voting to build a meeting-house where the house of the First Parish now stands, fifty-six feet long and forty-four feet wide. Joseph Storer, Richard Kimball, James Hubbard, Obadiah Littlefield, and Ebenezer Rice were chosen the building committee. It was also voted that common hands and the building committee should have three and sixpence a day; that on the lower floor there should be forty pews, and in the gallery twenty-five wall pews, and that all the pews should be disposed of according to the rank of each person in taxation, the first or highest in the list having the first choice. A little while after, it was determined that there should be six pews more, and also a porch on the front of the house. In conformity with the vote as to the disposition of the pews, Joseph Storer was assigned No. 1, which was the first on the right, at the entrance of the house. No. 2 was assigned to Waldo Emerson, which was the first on the left. Such a choice does not well comport with the sentiment of the present day. Nos. 23 and 22 were assigned to John Mitchell and Nathaniel Kimball.

In May, 1773, the width of the house was reduced to forty-four feet. It was to be built with the side, or longest part, on the road. But against the whole proceedings the people seaward entered their protest, avering that the old house was large enough to accommodate all the people and needed no repairs. A selfish, illiberal spirit is not a new element of human character. It reigned supreme in many hearts at that time. The Christian church has never yet been free from it. The golden rule is little regarded by many who claim for it a supremacy over human action. The old house was nearer to

them than the location of the proposed new one, and therefore, whatever the inequality of privileges, or whatever wrong was done to others, they insisted that public worship should be maintained at the old house as before; but their opposition was insufficient to prevent the removal.

Though the pews were assigned, they were not yet erected, and therefore changes could be made, and in August, 1773, it was voted to increase the number of gallery pews to twenty-four, which were drawn and assigned in the manner before prescribed. But little seems to have been yet accomplished toward completing the building. It may be interesting to their descendants to learn how their ancestors stood in the ranking which was then made. "James Hubbard, Waldo Emerson, and Stephen Webber were appointed a committee to rank each person according to the vote." The committee fulfilled their duty, ranking the people as follows, and the pews were assigned to each according to his standing.

FIRST RANK.

Richard Thompson, No. 26; John Gillpatrick, 9; John Gillpatrick, jr., 3; Obadiah Littlefield, 27; Benjamin Day, 29; John Maddox, 44; James Smith, 32; James Hubbard, 12; Samuel Waterhouse, 7; Edmund Currier, 11; Stephen Webber, 5.

SECOND RANK.

Samuel Burnham, jr., 30; John Wakefield, 4; Jedediah Wakefield, 10; Benjamin Stevens, 14; Ebenezer Rice, 8; John Cousins, 25; John Taylor, 40; Widow Anna Shackley, 20; Adam Ross, 31; Samuel Emmons, 38; James Kimball, 39; Nathaniel Cousins, 21.

THIRD RANK.

James Lord, 19; Samuel Cousins, 36; Mark Fisk, 18; Obadiah Hatch, 6; Richard Kimball, jr., 13; Stephen Larrabee, jr., 35; Paul Shackford, 34; James Wakefield, 16; Nathaniel Wakefield, 17; William Wormwood, 37; Ebenezer Coburn, 15; Hezekiah Wakefield, 33.

It was voted "that Deacon Stephen Larrabee and Mr. Benjamin Stevens be appointed a committee to draw the pews in the gallery." They were drawn thus:

FIRST RANK.

Ebenezer Rand, No. 1; Jonathan Taylor, 2; Jesse Larrabee, 3;

Samuel Mitchell, 12; John Dennet, 13; William Butland, 14; Jedediah Gooch, 11; Samuel Towns, 22.

SECOND RANK.

Jabez Emery, 19; John Kimball, 17; Joseph Wormwood, 16; Samuel Kimball, 5; Daniel Hatch, 8; Samuel Littlefield, jr., 9; Joseph Cousens, 21; Stephen Fairfield, 20; Anthony Littlefield, 18; Samuel Cousens, jr., 6; Jotham Mitchell, 7; John Butland, jr., 4; Abraham Day, 15; Samuel Stevens, 10.

Two of the pews on the lower floor were not drawn. Three of the remonstrants against the removal, Stephen Titcomb, Richard Boothby, and Thomas Boothbay, who lived below the old meeting-house, had no pews assigned to them. The others came in and claimed their rights.

On the 22d of November, 1773, it was voted "that the public worship of God be hereby removed from the old to the new meeting-house." But to calm as much as possible the excitement of those who were opposed to this removal, it was voted that there should be five meetings more at the old house, at different times afterward. It would seem that the house must have been in a very unsuitable state for their religious services. We think that not a single pew had been finished. But the people at this period were little accustomed to the conveniences which the civilization of the present hour has wrought out for man. Anything as a rest met the demands of the hour in the sanctuary. Whatever its condition was, it was ever afterward used for the exercises of the Sabbath. In 1777, it was voted "to put up the body seats." In 1782, that those who have pews should pay for them, that "the committee may finish the meeting-house as far as the money goes." The money, evidently, came very slowly. It was only to be had by great prudence and a large expenditure of labor. Many who took pews and paid a part of the consideration were unable to make the full payment, and the pews were sold to others. The seats for the singers were to be built on each side of the broad aisle, not far from the front door; but in 1782, it was voted to finish the front gallery and provide seats for them there.

Years passed, and several who had pews in the gallery and on the lower floor, were still unable to pay for them. In 1786, those in the gallery were sold, and in 1787, the committee were directed to insist

on immediate payment, and if any neglected, they were directed to oust them from their possession. The erection had been more burdensome than was anticipated, and though anxious to hold their seats, several were unable to do so. Great complaint was afterward made of the injustice of taxing them for the support of the ministry when they could not share in its benefits. Those who had thus failed to obtain pews and the people in Alewife and Cat Mousam, who had come into the town or become of age in 1794, felt themselves much aggrieved in their relations to the parish, and petitioned that the house might be finished and a tax assessed to pay the expense. We are unable to explain the motive of these petitioners, unless the parish had, up to this time, neglected to set up all the pews of which the house was capable, and if completed, more pews might be provided for those who needed them. These complainants seem to have had some good cause for dissatisfaction. Taxation without compensation in some way, has never commended itself to the people of New England, and we can conjecture no other benefit to accrue to the petitioners in this proceeding than the one suggested.

Since the inauguration of the movement of leaving the old house and building a new one on the country road, there had been continual discontent in the different parts of the parish. Votes were passed at one meeting and annulled at the next. Nothing was stable. Committees appointed for building or finishing were continually being discharged. During the period while the meeting-house was in process of erection, about fifty meetings were holden, at which some modification of previous action was sought, or some new measure bearing on the completion of the house devised. No less than twenty persons signed this last petition, and requested that they might be discharged from the parish if the meeting-house could not be finished. None of those who lived below the old house signed it. The malcontents therefore must have been numerous. Those below who were entirely opposed to the removal, and those above who had no rights in the new house, must have constituted nearly half of the society. But the parish were not disposed to give any heed to the petition, and resorted to the summary method,—so common to get rid of a troublesome matter,—the immediate dissolution of the meeting as soon as organized. Still, we think we can with confidence say that there was but little ill-feeling engendered among the

people by all the apparent discontent with the posture of their parish relations. No one could be charged with any wrong to another. Mr. Little always spoke of the society as united and dwelling together in harmony.

Perhaps the assumption that no one could be charged with wronging another in his action as a member of the society, needs some qualification. Stephen Titcomb, according to the rule prescribed for the assignment of pews, being the fourth in the order of taxation, was entitled to the fourth chance of drawing or making a selection. But, by some means he was deprived of it, and might have been obliged even to take the nineteenth. How this error was brought about we have no means of ascertaining. It surely was not reasonable to expect him to be satisfied with such a deprivation of his rights.

In 1799, all the committees for finishing the meeting-house were discharged. The building had not then been completed, and was not until after the great modification to which it was subjected in a future year. The pulpit and front gallery were painted. But painting was not necessary to its completion. That was an adornment which was not then an incident of the churches, and which few dwelling houses received. The necessities of life were all that the people could meet. The luxury of beauty was but little thought of.

But now, after twenty-five years of contention in relation to the meeting-house, another project growing out of the prevailing dissatisfaction was started, which had no tendency to minister to the peace of the people. The inhabitants of Alewife had built a meeting-house for themselves. This was the old house which was standing in that part of the town until within a few years. It was not built from any division of sentiment, or any objections to the preaching in the Congregational church; but there were many who paid taxes for the support of the ministry there, notwithstanding they had and could have no rights in the meeting-house, who felt seriously the inconvenience of traveling five or six miles to meeting, and they thought it reasonable that Mr. Little should preach in their vicinity a portion of the time. They built this house without apparent difficulty, and in a very short time. In June, 1796, the following persons petitioned that they might have part of the preaching in the house which they had thus built; or that they might have the proportion of money which had been assessed upon them for the support

of the ministry. This petition was signed by Moses Hubbard, Benjamin Titcomb, Reuben Littlefield, Jotham Littlefield, Joseph Gillpatrick, Ebenezer Day, Joshua Taylor, John Taylor, jr., Ebenezer Taylor, Ezekiel Wakefield, Adam Ross, Daniel Ross, Eliphalet Walker, Joseph Ross, and Tobias Stone. Only one of these petitioners had a pew in the house of the Second Parish. The remainder had no right in it whatever. All were men of influence and good standing, most of them having come into the town or become of age since the assignment of pews. This petition was summarily disposed of by a vote to dissolve, passed immediately after its organization.

We are not in sympathy with this mode of treating respectable complainants. There were some merits in their petition. They were willing to pay what was required of them, and all that they asked was a share in that for which they paid. They may not have presented a claim which the Parish should recognize as such. It is a fundamental principle of republicanism that every one should cheerfully submit to the inconveniences which are unavoidable, growing out of principles which every one must acknowledge to be sound. Each cannot have the church or school-house at his own door. It must be placed where it best subserves the convenience of all. This is a rule which must everywhere prevail in republics. But parishes, we feel, are bound to have some reference to Christian charity. As these persons were excluded from any rights in the house, it was just and Christian that they should have some benefit for the burdens which they were required to bear. As to the request to return to them the amount of the taxes which they paid in, probably, as the law then stood, the Parish had no right to comply with it. But the rebuff did not discourage the petitioners. In 1800, they petitioned again, that a part of the present preaching of the gospel be granted to them at their new meeting-house. At the meeting called to take this petition into consideration, the leading petitioner, Benjamin Titcomb, was made chairman. But as soon as it was organized, it was voted that the meeting be dissolved. This procedure surely could not have been very effective in the promotion of peace and harmony, and did not give any real strength to the society. At any rate, the malcontents did not lose courage, and in 1801 they applied for a territorial division of the parish; but their petition met with the same response as before, in a permission to withdraw as soon as the meeting was organized. In 1805, they asked for a division of the money raised

between Mr. Fletcher, the new minister, and Elder Joshua Roberts, who was preaching in the Alewife meeting-house. But the same course was again pursued, and the petition dismissed. In this last proceeding the people of that part of the town do not seem to have taken the precaution which was in their power. The Puritanism of Massachusetts had now in some degree relaxed its sovereignty as to the popular theology, and the people were allowed to attend on and support such a ministry as their own consciences approved. In 1804, all who chose, on due notice, could have required the assessors to pay over their several taxes to Mr. Roberts. But they seem not to have taken advantage of the opportunity.

The Act of the Legislature of 1800, had a very serious effect on the standing Congregational societies. The people were no longer bound to maintain the regular ministry, if they chose to sustain one of different character, and actually did so. They were required only to contribute to the support of some religious teacher. A portion of the inhabitants of Alewife determined to supply their own pulpit, Baptist societies were now being gathered in many places, and in 1803 they organized a church among themselves, and soon after Joshua Roberts, jr., was ordained as their minister. Benjamin Titcomb and about half of those who had signed the various petitions for relief of which we have spoken, did not unite with the new society, but continued their connection with the old. The people on the Alfred road were content with their original relation to the Second Parish, and did not ask for any change. But the institution of the Baptist society put an end to all the discontent which had prevailed; and the two societies from that period have maintained as harmonious relations as any one could expect from those who differed widely in theological sentiment.

We return now to the old parish. It will be remembered that the proposition to build a new meeting-house was defeated by the people of Merryland, who were intent on another division, which they felt their position demanded. The matter was allowed to rest for a short time only. The project of building a new church was not abandoned. It was renewed at a subsequent meeting and a vote obtained to build, the discontents persevering in their opposition. There was now no probability of a reconciliation; and those of Merryland, encouraged and strengthened by others in the adjoining town of Berwick, came to the conclusion to organize a church as a nucleus for a

Baptist society. Accordingly, they associated themselves by signifying their assent to a long creed of fifteen articles, conforming in the main with the theology of Calvin. Thirty-four males and thirty-three females thus became parties to the organization. It is seldom that a church is started under more favorable circumstances as to numbers.

In 1780, the church, or a portion of it, being in number but fourteen, invited Nathaniel Lord, of Berwick, to become their minister. The invitation was accepted, and November ninth appointed for the meeting of the council and the ordination. The council consisted of Elder William Hooper, Elder William Frost, Deacon John Knight, of Berwick, Elder Samuel Shephard, of Stratham, Deacon Hennon, Deacon Powers, and Elder Chadbourne, of Sanford. They duly examined the brethren as to the soundness of their theology, and the conformity of their faith with the teachings of the gospel; and also made due inquisition as to the experience of the candidate, and his fitness for the position, and being fully satisfied on these matters, voted to receive him into their watchful care as a brother, and proceeded with the customary ordination services to set him apart as minister of the Baptist church in Merryland. Elders Shephard, Hooper, and Frost, solemnly laid hands on him and ordained him to the work of the ministry. Elder Shephard then addressed the people who had assembled on the occasion. Elder Hooper preached the sermon and made the ordaining prayer. Elder Shephard gave the charge, and Elder Hooper the right hand of fellowship, and made the concluding prayer.

On the second day of December, Gideon Hatch and Joseph Eaton were chosen deacons, and on the third was holden the first regular communion of this church. Thus a permanent separation from the old society was perfected, as far as was in the power of these persons. Several years elapsed before they had any regular house of worship. The war was still prevailing, and the people were destitute and hard pressed by its demands. But in 1791, the tide of prosperity returning, the people received fresh inspirations for new zeal, in the improvement and establishment of their religious privileges, and set about the work of raising and building a meeting-house. To perfect their organization it was necessary that a society should be gathered about the church. Accordingly on the third day of June, 1793, a portion of the people, twenty in number, formed themselves into a

society of the Baptist denomination. The following were the associates for this purpose: Jeremiah Hubbard, Joseph Eaton, Joseph Goodwin, John Withum, George Penny, Abraham Annis, Joseph Hobbs, Nehemiah Annis, Moses Chick, John Hatch, Elisha Perkins, Samuel Chadbourne, James Littlefield, Joseph Day, Richard Lord, David Littlefield, James Pearce, Stephen Annis, Jonathan Hill, Joshua Eaton, jr.

A majority of the people were not then of the Baptist denomination, and did not unite with the society. Some of them had embraced the religious views of the Free Will Baptists, and some adhered to Congregationalism. But the principal part of them were united in the opinion, that either the meeting-house of the First Parish should be removed to a more central place, or the parish be divided; or that the money raised in Merryland should be applied to the maintenance of preaching in that part of the town. But the old society was unyielding on all these points. No small excitement was created by this collision of feeling, and there were not wanting those who were ready to do what they could to intensify it. About the time of the formation of this church a new denomination, calling themselves Free Will Baptists, appeared in New Hampshire. This sect had rapidly enlarged by the zeal and active labors of its advocates, and as before stated, a portion of the inhabitants of Merryland had become converts to its doctrines. Some of their preachers came into Merryland, and stirred up the people by the presentation of their new views of the Christian revelation. One Tingley, whether of Calvinistic or Free Will sentiments we are not informed, was very active in his endeavors to bring about a rupture with the old society. We suppose his freedom in attempting to preach the gospel in the limits of the regular parishes had not been regarded with much composure, and perhaps he had not been favored with very satisfactory treatment. At any rate, his zeal was directed altogether to the overthrow of the regular church. He went about from house to house on the Ridge, preaching his religious views, and stirring the people to greater activity in their Master's cause. His prayers in the various households to which he had access embraced the special supplication, that Congregationalism might be confounded, and its candlestick removed from its place. As might well be expected, under the influence of an earnest ministry of this character, many were brought to assent to his theology, and ceased to sympathize with the existing

ministrations of the pulpit of the regular society. The opposition of that society to their wishes, strengthened by these new views of the religion of the gospel, created a feeling against Dr. Hemmenway, believing as they did that his feelings were enlisted against the new society. In the midst of the excitement a small body of these malcontents went down to make known to him their objections to his ministerial opinions, and action and to have "a free talk with him. Mr. Elisha Hatch, a very good man, carried with him a sieve, and on entering his house told him they came to sift him. The various particulars of this interview have not come to our knowledge. We only know that they carried out the programme of their visit, and spoke very freely, charging him with some mal-administration in his office, especially condemning him for the admission of his wife to the church, which they alleged he would not have done if he had examined her as he ought.

Having fortified themselves with a regular society, they renewed the contest for independence. Having a large and respectable church, they would present themselves before the public as worthy of respectful consideration. They did not think it expedient again to apply to the old parish, but selected another field for action; petitioning to the General Court for a territorial division. Notice was ordered on their petition. The First Parish determined to oppose it, and chose Nathaniel Wells and Aaron Clark a committee to embody their views in a remonstrance. Judge Wells was never backward in stating his objections to any proposition in as strong terms as the facts would authorize. The first objection in his report was that there was no union in their religious sentiments; that nearly half were Baptists, or inclining that way, and if made a parish, there was such a division among them they never would agree in the support of a minister of any denomination. Secondly, if they could, they were too poor to support him. Thirdly, that many of the people in Merryland were opposed to the establishment of the new society. And, fourthly, that the line of division, as set out in the petition, was not the best one. But without waiting for the action of the Legislature, the committee of the First Parish came to the conclusion that it would be wise in them to save a portion of the tax payers rather than lose the whole, as they might, if the Legislature should grant the prayer of the petitioners, and they accordingly agreed with the new society that all should be taxed as before; and

that the Baptist society should receive all that its members paid, deducting the expense of collecting; and that any one might pay his tax to the Congregationalist or to the Baptist minister, provided he left a certificate of his choice with the town clerk on or before the first of March annually. This agreement was assented to and complied with by both parties. But the law, as enacted soon afterward, being based on the same principle, rendered the agreement no longer material. Any one now could file his certificate with the town clerk, and require his tax to be paid to any minister on whose services he attended on the Sabbath. The society had rapidly increased, and Joseph Eaton, and Joseph Goodwin of the Anabaptist church, filed with the town clerk a certificate that Seth Hatch and fifty-three others were members of that church. Thus, after many years of struggle, and through much tribulation, they achieved a *quasi* independence. No reasonable person can fail to commend them for their perseverance, though all the acts of individual members cannot be approved. The attack on Dr. Hemmenway was entirely unjustifiable. Such, we suppose, was the judgment of the church. Elisha Hatch was suspended from their communion. The cause is not stated. But where one adequate appears, it is safe and just to attribute it to that.

In 1793, Joseph Eaton "was approbated to improve publicly;" and by his religious exercises in the following years, so far commended himself to the society that they gave him a call to the ministry, asking the church for their concurrence. The church signified their assent, and on the 20th day of February, 1798, he was ordained as their minister. Elder Hooper, of Sanford, preached the sermon; Elder Bachelder, of Berwick, gave the charge; Elder Lord the Right Hand of Fellowship, and Elder Locke offered the prayer. The society appeared to be now in a very flourishing condition. In the years of Elder Lord's pastorate, it must have enjoyed great prosperity. Many were added to the church. Part of them, we suppose, were inhabitants of Berwick. In their prosperity they felt that the house of worship was not what it should be. The pulpit had never been erected. The only provision for the minister's comfort was a bench to sit on. No desk was at hand on which he could rest his Bible. The remainder of the house was probably in no better state for the accommodation of the people. The singers' gallery furnished the oc-

cupants with the same conveniences as those of the pulpit. Without any heating apparatus in the winter season, the religious zeal of the worshipers must have warmed their souls to a high degree, to have enabled them to withstand its severities. But in 1800 they came to the conclusion that such a state of things ought to continue no longer; and they determined to build a temple more worthy of them as a Christian society. Accordingly they erected the house which is still standing, though modified and improved since in various ways. The cost of the structure, as far as completed, was about 3,000 dollars. This must have been a heavy burden for the society. There were no rich men to aid them with heavy contributions. But it was a house for the Lord, and men came forward willingly for the work.

But their prosperity was doomed to receive a material check in a very short time. The neighboring territory was being rapidly populated. The people of Berwick were enterprising, and felt the same need which these inhabitants had experienced, of having the church nearer their own doors. They determined to institute a church among themselves. Elder Lord had been preaching among them with good success; and application was made, in December, 1803, by 76 members, for a division of the church; these members wishing to unite with others in Berwick in forming the Second Baptist church in that town. The loss of this large number would be a heavy blow to the Merryland society; but they felt obliged to assent to it; and on the 28th of May, 1804, they were dismissed. This was a severe trial to those who remained. They had had many trials in their church relations; being called upon very frequently by the disciplinary rules of the denomination, to suspend brothers and sisters from their communion. We have nothing to say on this assumed prerogative of any church, excepting that it is one of momentous responsibility, and demanding of frail, erring man, the most considerate and prayerful judgment. Every man must bear his own burdens. If he holds the truth in unrighteousness, the penalty is his. The true church of Christ is not to be condemned on account of the aberrations of some claiming to belong to it. In our opinion the best course for christians to take in such cases is to leave judgment with the Almighty.

Elder Eaton was continued pastor of the society till about the

time when our history ends. Such were then his infirmities that he could no longer supply the pulpit.

The four societies, Congregational and Baptist, were the only regular ecclesiastical organizations at the time when we propose to end this work. The Free Will Baptist, Methodist, Christian, Universalist and Advent were inaugurated after 1820.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

WOLVES—BEARS—ANECDOTES OF WILLIAM BUTLAND—DEER AND MOOSE
—BEAVERS—BIRDS—SALMON—BASS AND SHAD.

WE have frequently referred to the troubles which our predecessors experienced from the wolves which infested the forests in the early days of the settlement. Bounties had been, and up to this time continued to be, offered for their destruction; but the exertions to exterminate them had been ineffectual. We are inclined to the opinion that their numbers had not been diminished from the first ingress of the pioneers to the territory of Maine, to the middle of the last century. Contact with civilization had actually increased them, by furnishing a more abundant supply of food. The flocks were a continual prey to their ravages. Wherever there was a settlement, not only the wolves, but other wild animals which live in a great measure on aliment in common with man, gathered in great numbers in the recesses of the surrounding forests. The wolves and the bears yet continued very troublesome in Wells, more especially in the eastern part of the town, along on the Mousam river. William Day, who at this time lived just above the Cat Mousam bridge, on the western side, on what was afterward called the Cousens place, had as much as he could do to maintain his position as "master of the situation." He was terribly harrassed by the continual ravages of the wolves upon his inclosures. From the deep valley above his house and the tops of the adjacent hills, their nightly howlings came to the ears of his family in "awful melody," but only to rouse him to renewed resolution to exterminate them. He exerted himself in this work, and was so far successful in reducing their numbers that the town granted him thirty acres of land for his services in their destruction. It was dangerous for an unarmed man to travel in this part of the town. As the population was now rapidly extending, men were obliged to resort to new localities.

John Webber took up a lot beyond Day's, where the Webber families now live. Here he cleared away the woods and built him a house, to which he took the partner of his joys to share with him in the trials which beset the pioneers on the new territories. Here her womanly heart trembled daily while her husband was absent at the saw-mill about his work. Her fears at one time got the mastery of her, and she determined to follow him to his work. She took her babe and accompanied him to the mill, and there spent the day. At sunset he took his axe and the child, and they started on their return home. They had only passed Day's house when a flock of these terrible pests came out upon them. He handed the child to his wife, and taking his axe wielded it hither and thither to keep them off, his wife keeping close behind him. They had a long distance to go, but making as rapid progress as they could, and he exerting himself with the axe as much as possible, they finally reached their home with safety, when they sent out the dog upon them; but he was instantly torn to pieces.

About the same time, just over the line in New Hampshire, two men went into the forests for the purpose of cutting wood, and there separated. One of them was afterward found by his companion, shockingly mangled. It appeared that he had been attacked by a flock of wolves, and after a terrible conflict with them was overcome and killed. Seven were found dead around him.

Bears were also numerous at the same time. They were not so destructive as the wolves and were, withal, a little more cautious. Yet they were sufficiently troublesome to make it an object with the town to do what was possible to drive them away from the neighborhood. The general law provided for a bounty for each one killed. In 1754, John Storer killed five and one whelp. In 1769, Daniel Gile, at Alfred, killed forty-one. They were met with very frequently, but most people thought it best to let them alone where they were not doing damage. The greatest injury which the settlers suffered from them was in the destruction of their corn. This was a favorite article of food with them, and it was not considered safe to leave their corn-fields, which were always in close proximity to the house, without some kind of protection. Generally, some one was to have his eye upon them. Sometimes the dog would give the warning. We think they were not so bold at this period as they have been in some places within the present century, where they

have even had the courage to enter a cellar and walk off with a pot of butter; but they were bold enough to enter barns and outhouses, and carry off whatever they thought proper. They had a great relish for the meat of swine, and in fact for almost every article which is regarded as the special food of man. Mr. William Butland had several encounters with them while he lived at the Larrabee village on Mousam river. "I was," he says, "hoeing in my field near the house. It being in a time of peace, I had not taken my gun with me. My hog had strayed a short distance from the house to near the edge of the woods. All at once he began to squeal. In a moment it occurred to me that he was attacked by a bear. What was to be done? Before I could get my gun he would surely kill him. There was no alternative. I must risk my life or lose my hog. I could not hesitate, but ran with my hoe to the scene of action. The hog was struggling with the bear. I at him with my hoe, with all my strength. He immediately left the hog and pursued me, while I kept up a running fire with the hoe; but as the hog was getting out of the way, he turned back and seized him again. I at him a second time, giving it to him hot and heavy with the hoe. He again left the hog and renewed the combat with me; but I managed the hoe so adroitly that he was not able to get so close to me as he wished. Being so earnest after the hog, he again turned back, while I followed him pell mell. He seized the hog, but at the same moment a gun was fired, which put an end to the contest by killing the bear." Mr. Wormwood, who lived in the house below, hearing the noise, seized his gun and ran to the spot, and seeing the bear, shot him before Mr. Butland was aware of his coming to the rescue. But few persons now, we think, would have the courage to rush into such a contest.

Butland had another encounter with a bear, which may interest the reader. After his corn had fully grown, he discovered that a bear entered the field every night and made considerable havoc with it. The former contest had satisfied him that he had no reason to be afraid of Bruin, and he was determined not to lose his corn. Day after day, and sometimes in the night, he watched his field, having with him his gun loaded for the trespasser. He would never come to the corn while he was there waiting for him. But if he omitted watching, the depredations were renewed. He had cut his stocks and they were standing in shocks in the field. With his usual fear-

lessness, he went out in the night with his gun, determined at all hazards to risk a battle with him. He had learned that without a complete concealment of himself, his waiting would be in vain. The bear's eye in the night was much quicker than his own. He accordingly went to the centre of the field, and taking a large bundle of stocks, cut off the binding and tied them together at the top. Spreading it open at the bottom, he drew it over his head and sat down, so that there was then apparently only a large bunch of stocks. He had been careful to seat himself in such a manner that the bear would come up directly before him. He had been thus waiting but a short time, when the wary animal came in sight and raised his forefeet on the fence. Here he stood looking in all directions, so as to assure himself there was no danger. After careful examination and survey of the whole ground, he sprang over the fence, and, contrary to Butland's expectation, went around by the side of the field, coming up directly behind him. He was now in a sad dilemma. What should he do? The bear he saw was uncommonly large, and in a hand fight he would stand rather a poor chance. He could not fire his gun as he then was, and he could not turn around without turning the bundle of stocks. But hesitation would not do. The bear was all the while breaking off the corn and piling it in a heap. He must turn or lose the bear and his corn. Accordingly, he turned himself very moderately, moving at the same time the bundle of stocks. This motion met the eye of the bear, and he set up a most hideous growl. Butland was still as death. In a moment, without approaching the bundle, the bear again went to the work of breaking off and piling up the corn. Having thus prepared for a good meal, he laid down and began his feast. Butland then sat about changing his gun to the other side of the stocks. This he succeeded in doing unperceived by the bear. Being thus ready, he gently raised his gun, which the bear discovered, and rising in terrific majesty on his hind feet was about to spring on the bundle of stocks, when Butland fired and inflicted a mortal wound. Poor Bruin ran to the fence and attempted to jump over, but his strength failed him and he fell back dead. When the gun was discharged it was so near him that the hair was scorched. By the assistance of Sergeant Larrabee and Wormwood, who came to his aid, the bear was dragged home to Butland's house. His weight was between four and five hundred pounds.

Until about the commencement of the Revolutionary war, deer were very abundant in Wells. Herds of them, from ten to twenty, were very frequently seen. They were in the habit of visiting the marshes in great numbers. There was an island in Mousam river, which was for them a great place of resort. This was called Deer Island. Where it lies we cannot state. There is no island of any magnitude in that river except one or two thatch beds near the sea. As late as the year 1770, a deer was started by a dog, and in the chase he ran into the parlor of Joseph Storer in Kennebunk, and went out through the window. For many years deer and moose-reeves were chosen at the annual town-meetings. These officers were elected until the year 1786. What their duties were, or what the necessity of the office, we have not ascertained. These animals were not, of course, to be driven like sheep or cattle.

The moose, also, in the earlier period of the settlement, were found here in considerable numbers. But they soon sought refuge away from civilization, though some continued to visit their old haunts nearly as long as the deer. One was killed by Ichabod Cousens near the "great stump," which is frequently referred to in deeds in 1775. This stump stood on the shore of the Mousam river, where the tide flows, a rod or more from a large rock in the edge of the river, where the road bends with the stream. Another was killed in 1760, where the Second Parish meeting-house stands in Kennebunk, and another on Hart's marsh about the same time. The last was seen in 1778, crossing the road in Kennebunk where the post-office is now located.

The rivers and ponds were great places of resort for beaver. These were very abundant until late in the last century. A great many of them were taken. Their skins were very valuable, being worth about four shillings. One of the Boothbys, of Wells, in 1755, took seventeen of them. But it is believed that they have entirely fled from the limits of the town, not one having been taken here within the memory of the author. Their works are yet visible near the banks of our river. The "beaver dams" are mentioned as monuments in a great many conveyances.

Of the other animals still found here, and occasionally killed, it is not necessary for us to speak. A word or two in regard to birds may not be uninteresting to the young men. A hundred years ago, pigeons in innumerable numbers haunted the woods near the sea.

Wells and Kennebunk afforded the very best feeding ground for them. The whortleberries abounded on the plains, though then covered with woods, and daily the pigeons took their morning flight to the sea for salt. In the appropriate season they furnished food for many of the families. They were easily taken by old and young. Great quantities were killed on the marshes. The slaves were expert in gunning. Women also occasionally tried their hands in this kind of hunting, and with considerable success. But in the last century they had not the inventions of the present, which have made such havoc among them. The pigeon-stand introduced here not far from the year 1810, was much used for more than thirty years. This institution made great destruction of these valuable birds, and we suppose was one of the principal causes of their forsaking the feeding grounds here. With this device the experienced gunner would get from one to three hundred in a day. Judge Clark, Dr. Fisher, Joseph Hatch, John Low, and Joseph Porter used to supply the whole village with this kind of food. But frequently such had been the abundant supply, that many would not accept the gift of them unless they were dressed.

Sandbirds or peeps were as numerous as the pigeons. Sometimes they would almost cover the beaches. They were found on the flats, on the river banks, on the marshes, and wherever there were ponds or creeks. Though a very small bird, and requiring much labor in the dressing, they were sought with great avidity as an article of food. They were easily killed. They had none of that shyness which they manifest now. It was nothing uncommon to take fifty or more at a shot. Mr. John Bourne went down one morning in pursuit of this game, taking a bag or basket to bring it home. This he soon filled. He then pulled off his trousers, tied a string around the bottom of the legs, and filled them full, and then returned home well satisfied with his morning's work. In some particulars it will be seen that the people during the Indian and Revolutionary wars fared a little better than their descendants.

At one time salmon abounded in Mousam river, and they continued to be taken in great quantities until about the year 1760, when man had so obstructed the stream that it became unfitted for even a temporary habitation. On their passage up they furnished the best of food; but on their return in autumn they were almost worthless. At the junction of Rankin's creek, cartloads were sometimes taken

by one of the Wakefields. Before the close of the last century they had ceased to visit any of the rivers in Wells.

Bass and shad were also very plenty in Mousam river. They were taken in weirs which were built in different places. The most noted place was near the mouth of the river, a few rods above Hart's rocks, or near the old dam of 1792. But soon after the settlement was initiated at Kennebunk, the bass came to the conclusion that it was unsafe to attempt navigation in this river, and discontinued their visits to it. The shad, possessing more spirit and a stronger attachment to the old summer watering place, where their ancestry had basked from the morning of creation, have not even yet been driven entirely from the ground, although they have had to maintain it through the most fearful perils.

CHAPTER XXXV.

NAVIGATION—FIRST VESSELS OWNED IN WELLS—FIRST VESSEL BUILT ON MOUSAM RIVER—THE PROPRIETORS OF MOUSAM RIVER CANAL—COURSE OF THE RIVER CHANGED—FIRST VESSEL BUILT ON KENNEBUNK RIVER—PROMINENT BUSINESS MEN—INSURANCE BY INDIVIDUALS—MARINE DISASTERS—THE FRENCH CLAIMS—PIER BUILT AT THE MOUTH OF KENNEBUNK RIVER—SMALL-POX—HOSPITAL ESTABLISHED.

THERE is no matter of a past century of historical importance in the examination of which we are not almost invariably compelled to feel that much of it is forever lost to the world. Time, with its relentless power, is constantly sweeping from the earth the vestiges of the material action of the race that preceded us, in the occupancy of the territory which we now inhabit, where no special pains have been taken for their preservation. From the records or monuments of the olden time, we derive but a very imperfect view of the moral, social, or business life of those of the former centuries, who lie sleeping in the earth under our feet. Tradition is not always faithful in things left to its care. Much of importance is permitted to slip from its hands.

No subject can be of more interest to mercantile men than that of the commerce of the town, and we have to regret our inability to give a connected history of its progress from the time when the first vessel was launched on the Webhannet. In tradition we can find no help. It has been only by the diligent study and research of many years that we have been enabled to present to our readers the brief history which makes up this chapter. All our town histories have strangely ignored this important subject, giving only here and there in the thread of narration, a few facts which come in to complete some other matter of historic value. We might have had material assistance in the work of others, if the navigation and commerce of the several seaport cities and towns had received that attention which they so well merited. Our prosperity and success as a nation

are due to its commercial activities more than to any other branch of human industry. Without it our agriculture, the principal employment of a large proportion of the people, would have been stunted to the mere supply of personal necessities and comforts. There would have been little community of interest, and still less of a well-grounded and abiding patriotism. It was the moving impulse to all the original investments of labor in clearing up the wilderness, and in the successive business operations which have advanced the towns of Wells and Kennebunk, and especially the latter, to their present respectable position among the municipalities of the State. Kennebunk, by the valuation of 1860, was the third town in Maine as to the highest average amount of property to each inhabitant. Our navigation has imparted life and energy to all other departments of business. It has been the basis of our prosperity.

When Edmund Littlefield built his saw-mill at the first Webhannet falls in 1641, he foresaw that the immense amount of timber which was awaiting the demands of civilization, must inevitably be a source of profitable employment to those who should have secured the power of bringing it into the service of man; and that as a means for that purpose, the Webhannet, Mousam, and Kennebunk rivers would soon be supplied with the necessary amount of navigation. So also must Sayward have been assured when he built the saw-mill at Mousam in 1669. Edmund Littlefield's grandsons when they built that on the Saco road, and Goff, when he built the mill in Arundel, which goes by his name, must have been of the same faith. The large quantity of lumber which must be here manufactured, would find its way out of these rivers.

We cannot learn when the first vessel was owned or built in Wells; but the Webhannet and Mousam rivers began to be navigated sometime previously to 1700. The mill in Wells was in operation in 1642, and that at Mousam in 1672. At the latter, large quantities of lumber were shipped for Boston, being hauled down to the landing place and there delivered on board the coasters. As we know that many cargoes were here manufactured, and that there was here no demand for lumber, it must have all been transported in vessels elsewhere. Edmund Littlefield's mill, not being operated by so great a power, and being in the neighborhood of the growing village, supplied the demand created in that vicinity, and perhaps furnished a surplus for exportation. But we have no specific knowl-

edge of the vessels then employed at either of these places. In ancient times it was seldom that the name of a vessel was mentioned in any report concerning her. She was only distinguished or known by the name of the master. Thus the first two vessels of which we have any knowledge belonging to Wells were sloops commanded by Capt. James Gooch and Capt. Samuel Storer, and when these vessels were referred to, it was said Capt. Gooch or Capt. Storer sailed, or arrived, or was spoken. These vessels had a memorable part in our history. In the great battle of June 10, 1692, when they were assaulted by an army of 500, and having on board but fourteen men and a few muskets, with no ordinance and no other equipments for the conflict, for forty-eight hours they bravely withstood the attacks of the enemy, thwarting all their plans, killing several of their men, and finally compelling them to retire from the field. The courage and skill of these noble commanders and of their small crews, in thus defending their vessels against such an unequal force, should render their names imperishable. Gooch soon after manifested his bravery in another encounter with a French vessel, of which we have not been able to gather the details. But Cotton Mather speaks of it in connection with the great battle in this wise: "This was as worthy an action as is in our story, and it was not long before the valiant Gooch, who bare his part in the action, did another that was not much inferior to it, when he suddenly recovered from the French a valuable prize they had newly taken."

During the progress of the Indian wars, which continued, with a few years' intermission, till 1714, no vessels could have been built; but after that period the people set about the work of recuperation with increased energy, and navigation was required to carry on business successfully.

Pelatiah Littlefield, who kept a public house, entered into the business of ship-building. He was an enterprising man, who aspired after distinction among the men of his day, and perhaps suffered his ambition to carry him a little beyond the dictates of prudence. He did not count the cost of life or activity in its various channels. Men generally were content with domestic fabrics for their apparel, but he was not satisfied with a wardrobe of that kind. He was in the habit of visiting Boston and associating with the merchants there, and, consequently, feeling that he must have a wardrobe fitted for such society, had his clothes made at that place. The ordinary

income of the farm and the tavern would not come up to his necessities, and he entered on this new branch of business, adding to it a small store of goods for trade. In 1728, he built a sloop for Robert Barrett, and the same year another for himself and John Low, who was to command her. These vessels were built at a place called the "Six Acres," a little to the eastward of the Eldridge house. The last vessel was called the Triton. She was employed in the coasting trade to Boston, and also to Virginia. Saw-mills were now in operation in various parts of the town, so that there was lumber for exportation, even beyond the demand. She loaded sometimes with wood; but we have seen no evidence that she brought much profit to the owners. These were the first vessels which we know to have been built in Wells.

The next year, Joseph Hill, with John Batson, of Newcastle, built a sloop of 55 tons. Batson sold his part to John Storer for £60, making the cost of the whole vessel about £120, or about \$400. This coaster was called the "Wells' Trial." Storer then kept a public house. He described himself as a taverner. Men in that employment were almost the only persons who were in the way of receiving money, as business intercourse with other places had been very much restricted by the influence of the wars through which the settlement had passed. This vessel was sold at Louisburg in 1735. Storer was a man of much enterprise and of considerable business capacity, and was much in government employ in subsequent years. In 1733, Francis Littlefield owned the sloop Defiance, which, we suppose, was built at Wells. In 1737, John Webber, James Littlefield, and John Winn purchased the schooner Prosperous, of York. She was commanded by Winn, and was employed in the coasting business. Winn was a man noted for his bravery. Some further account is given of him in another place. At this period vessels were sailed at thirds, that is, the master had one-third of the profits. He was also allowed twenty shillings a month wages.

In 1739, another sloop was built by John Storer for himself and Ebenezer Storer, his brother, a merchant in Boston. Navigation does not yet seem to have been very prosperous as an investment, and few people had the disposition or ability to engage in it. There was no foreign trade. Some of the vessels made voyages to Canso and up the St. Lawrence. They carried cattle to Montreal. The voyages to Canso were perhaps the most profitable. Generally, the

owners were content with very small profits, though these even were not always received. Adversity, or want of skill in the construction and management of vessels, seems to have attended all enterprises in navigation; but the owners were in the habit of taking the Christian view of these apparently unpropitious results. Ebenezer Storer, under date of April 13, 1741, writes to his brother :

“The sloop is wholly lost. The crew were taken up by a vessel bound from Bristol, in old England, to Philadelphia, so that the men are all saved, which calls for our thankfulness, although we have met with a great loss in losing the sloop; but I hope it will serve to set our affections less on things below, which are perishing, and excite us to a more careful securing the true riches, which will never fail. That it may ever be so is the prayer of your loving brother,

EBENEZER STORER.”

The towns of York and Kittery were much in advance of Wells in their navigation. In 1746, York had twenty sail of vessels, besides five fishermen. In 1751, Kittery had 944 tons, and York 680, while Wells had but sixty. During the French and Revolutionary wars but little addition was made to that of Wells. In 1757, Pelatiah Littlefield owned the sloop Maryland, of 70 tons. John Storer being now in the employ of the government, Dr. Sayer, whose enterprise could not be satisfied with professional routine, turned his attention to trade and commerce, and built several small vessels, some of them in partnership with Judge Sayward, of York. He built the “Three Friends” in 1760, of which Daniel Wheelright was master; the schooner Ranger in 1763. In 1767, Pelatiah Littlefield and Jonathan Littlefield built the schooner Prosperous, of 88 tons, the largest vessel yet launched in Wells. But this was more of an undertaking than they anticipated; Jonathan was embarrassed by it, and his half was taken and sold on execution. Dr. Sayer continued to carry on the business till his death, in 1774, when he owned in part four vessels, the Elizabeth, Three Friends, Ranger, and Industry. These small vessels had now entered into the West India trade, being engaged in carrying lumber of all kinds to these islands, and returning with cargoes of rum, molasses, and sugar; but the Revolutionary war put an end to business on the seas.

After the war was over, it was some time before the interest in commerce was revived. There were few men who had the money

to invest in navigation; but John Storer, son of the John of whom we have before spoken, embarked in the business on a larger scale. In 1795, he built a large ship of 290 tons. Other vessels of small tonnage were built previously, and continued to be built to the close of the century. Nahum Morrill, who in after years became a leading man in the business of the town, entered into commercial life, and soon engaged largely in the West India trade.

We now turn our attention to the Mousam river. This began to be used for the purposes of civilization soon after the Webhannet. On this river commenced the settlement of Kennebunk, and there is no doubt that soon after the saw-mill of Sayward went into operation, coasters came into it freely and took the lumber here manufactured. It must nearly all have been exported by water. There was no other way of transportation, and there was no need of lumber near the mill. But we have no definite information of the business on the river. The Indian wars commenced in four or five years after the saw-mill was built, and then all work in the vicinity was ended. The mill was burnt, and nature soon resumed her original wildness. More than half a century passed away before the white man again found a dwelling place on its banks. A little village was now built up not far from the sea, on its eastern side. The saw-mills were again in operation; one having been built at Great Falls, and another at Middle Mousam. Coasters came into the mouth of the river and took the lumber manufactured by all of them; so that there must have been a large number of vessels here during the season. A road had been laid out from the upper mill down by the others on the bank, near the water to the landing place below the falls, so that from all the mills, convenient transportation to market was provided for. At high water the river was about eight feet deep. The mills were increasing in every direction, while around, the pine was growing in great abundance; gigantic trees, out of which were cut boards between three and four feet in diameter, whose reliets still hold their places in some of our ancient dwellings.

Ship building began at the Larrabee settlement. None of the men of wealth in Kennebunk would listen to the suggestion of investing in navigation. Bereft of what they had previously acquired by the conflicts with the tribes, their energies were exhausted in securing a foundation for a new start in life; and none of them had made such progress in pecuniary acquisition as to have a sur-

plus to invest in vessels. Immigrants of after years, who brought capital with them, were the only persons who could build or own vessels. The first which was set up on this river was a small one by John Butland, for a gentleman of Newburyport. She was built a little below Sergeant Larrabee's fort. After this, he built six or seven for men in Boston, Salem and Newburyport. At some time during the Revolutionary war he built a large ship, as she was called in those days, designed as a letter of marque or privateer, for Samuel Coffin, of Newburyport. She was about 240 tons, and pierced for fourteen guns. Before this time, vessels had been built up the stream, at the foot of the falls. Men of ability had come into the town; Joseph Storer, from Wells, Theodore Lyman, from York, Joseph Churchill, Benjamin Brown, Tobias Lord and Richard Gillpatrick. More than twenty vessels, brigs, schooners and sloops were launched from the yards, on both sides of the river, from this period to the time when ship building ceased on Mousam river, in the early part of the present century. Some of these were set up during the war. Being unexposed to the ocean, and so far from it, they were regarded as safe, though no arrangements for defense had been made at the mouth of the river. The location and the stream made shipbuilding here very convenient. Though Mr. Lyman had removed from the village to the Landing, he still continued to build on the Mousam river. The people interested in the mills and in navigation had now come to the conclusion, that great improvements could be made in the river with little expense. Its channel was too circuitous. The long arm toward its mouth, and the wading place, over which it passed, making the river shallow, could be obviated. The young and energetic men, who began to feel the inspirations of a more lively and extensive business, were awake to the great benefits which might flow from the increased facilities which it was supposed a change in the course of the river might furnish. Hart's Rocks were then its boundary on the western side. It was concluded that the stream might well have a straight course to the sea, passing out by what has since been termed the Two Acres, and if successful in the accomplishment of that object, a new impetus would be given to business. But a few persons would be obliged to bear all the expense, and it was therefore judged necessary, as all were to reap the benefit, that all should contribute to the cost of the enterprise. Accordingly, it was determined that a petition should be presented to

the General Court for an act of incorporation, with the right of taking toll on all lumber passing down the river through the new channel which was to be made. In 1792, a petition was thus presented, and the following persons were constituted a corporation under the name of "The Proprietors of the Mousam Canal," with power to demand toll on every thousand of boards, shooks, staves, joists, hoops, etc., passing out of the river, viz., Joseph Storer, Clement Storer, Benjamin Brown, William Jefferds, John Low, James Kimball, Richard Gillpatrick, Joseph Barnard, John Low, jr., Nathaniel Conant, Henry Hart, John Butland, Nathaniel Spinney, Jesse Larabee and Michael Wise. The prospect was so favorable that men were very ready to embark in the undertaking. Many shares were taken up by people of other towns. About eighty were taken by people in Portsmouth. In the next year a survey being made, it was determined to attempt an outlet at the western end of Great Hill. All were satisfied that here would be found no obstruction by ledges. The next year, 1793, a contract was made with Nathaniel Spinney, who lived on the Neck at the eastern end of the Hill, to build a dam across the river and make the new channel. This dam was erected directly in front of the house of Henry C. Hart, and at the same time the outlet opened. All the auspices were favorable. They had excavated nearly to low water mark. The current set out with great force, and there appeared no reason for apprehending any failure of the project. All left the work at night full of encouragement. But a severe storm came on, and the next day the dam was carried away, and the stream immediately resumed its old channel and the new one filled up. This unfortunate result of their labors chilled all the ardor of the movers of the enterprise. Spinney, the contractor, was dispirited by another unfortunate circumstance attending the raising of the dam. In locating one of the piers, by some mishap it fell and killed Phillip Webber. He was a brother-in-law of Spinney; and the accident so affected him that all persuasion was ineffectual to induce him again to take hold of the work.

But the courage of the company had not yet failed. Their labors were to be renewed. A most unfortunate conclusion, however, was adopted by the recommendation of stockholders in some other towns. Though many opposed the changing of the place of the outlet, the company determined to attempt it at the eastern end of the Hill, on the ground that a much better harbor would be made. This ill-ad-

vised change blasted all their hopes. The dam was rebuilt by Richard Gillpatrick, who contracted to fulfill the contract of Spinney and open the new canal. But the survey of the route was miserably inadequate to the necessities of the work; and they went on, blind as to the obstructions which were to beset their operations. They soon came in contact with a ledge which extended a great proportion of the distance to be excavated, and there were no funds to overcome this obstacle. Having exhausted all their available means, and the remaining work requiring as much labor as had already been expended, it was left in this unfinished state fifty years, the channel, in the highest tides, only offering seven or eight feet for the passage of vessels. This obstruction at the mouth, caused the river to fill up by the slabs which settled to the bottom, and other substances washed into it from the banks, the water at the bottom being still for three or four hours between the tides; or perhaps it would be better to say, always still.

The people continued to build vessels at the falls; and under the influence of the hopes of a better river, some were set up of a larger size than had been built here before. The first vessel which went through the new canal, was a schooner belonging to Theodore Lyman, which passed out the first of February, 1794. About the same time John Butland built, for Joseph and Clement Storer, a large ship. It was with great difficulty and expense that she was got to sea. Having reached the ledge, the water was found altogether insufficient for her to pass out. But she could not be sufficiently raised, and the only course was to raise the water. The great bay where the boats now lie at anchor, did not then exist. George's Rock, as it is called, was a part of the shore, the bay projecting inward no further. The river here was of no greater width than in the upper end of the canal. At this rock they built a dam, which luckily maintained its position until the fresh water from above had raised the stream so as to afford the necessary depth for the passage of the ship over all the falls (as this obstructed part of the river has ever since been termed). This perplexing experiment put an end to ship-building on Mousam river, though two or three smaller vessels may have been built afterward.

We, from our present stand-point, wonder that the Wells and Mousam rivers should have been selected for the important purposes of navigation, before the Kennebunk, a river furnishing abundance of

water for any vessel which yet entered into the thought of any man to build. There was ship-timber all along these rivers. Still, there was something in the locality which rendered the Mousam more favorable for those who lived at the head of the river to prosecute this business than the Kennebunk; and if, instead of building a dam below to relieve Storer's ship, they had built it at the upper end, and expended their money on the ledge, they might have made it a desirable river, on which ship-building might have been carried on successfully to this day.

But the interests of commerce from this time centered at the harbor of Kennebunk. This river, certainly the best of the three, was neglected till a very late period. It was lumber alone which brought the coasters to any of them. Littlefield's mill on Saco road, Goff's mill, and Harding's, on Gooch's creek, were away from any other habitations than those of the owners, and therefore did not do much till the wars were over. There was no village on the river. The Arundel settlement was at the Cape. James Huff owned a sloop. Hovey, in his Journal, speaks of her as his old sloop, as early as 1742. A few years afterward several were built and owned there. But we think none had been built on the Kennebunk before 1755. Many coasters had been into the mouth of the river for lumber in former years. The first vessel was built here on Mitchell's wharf by John Bourne, in 1755. (This wharf was a few rods below that of the late Bourne & McCulloch.) She was owned by John Mitchell, Richard and Nathaniel Kimball, and Robert Elliott, of Salem, and was about eighty tons. Great preparations were made for the launching, which excited much interest. Great pains were taken to find a fat heifer for the occasion. After much trouble a satisfactory one was secured, and the whole animal was dressed and cooked to furnish a dinner for the assembled multitude, who had come in from all the adjoining towns. At the appointed time the vessel moved into the water amidst the shouts of the spectators. All were then invited freely to join in the feast. It was a great day for Kennebunk.

The circumstances attending this launching seem to indicate that the exhibition was novel, and the occasion one of great public interest. The fact that it took place in the year 1755, was related to the author by one, then a boy of sixteen summers, who was present. Therefore, we have had no hesitation in recording it as having occurred at that time. Yet, we have strong evidence that Stephen

Titcomb and John Mitchell built the schooner Endeavor in 1747; and we should judge by this evidence that she was built on this river. But we have preferred to give full credit to the statement to the author by a reliable man (then a boy), who was present, rather than to assume a fact not based on clear testimony.

A schooner was built by Samuel Wakefield, son of James, in 1766, in the yard recently owned by G. & I. Lord. This was the first built up the river. The next year a sloop was built by Richard Kimball. As timber was abundant and cheap, the spirit of ship-building began to take strong hold of the people. Several vessels were built in the few years following, most of them of small tonnage. The first brig on the river was commenced by Waldo Emerson, in the year 1773; but he died before she was finished. She was afterward completed by Mr. Lyman, who during the war built two or three vessels. These were all intended for the West India trade, though occasionally they ventured to Virginia for cargoes of corn. Such was the introduction of ship-building on Kennebunk river.

Soon after the close of the Revolutionary war and the establishment of the independence of the United States, lumber was turned out from the mills in great quantities, and there was apparently nothing in the way of a profitable investment in navigation. The ship yards were filled with workmen. In a few years wharves were built, and vessels of a larger size were receiving their cargoes for the West Indies. Several enterprising men were now added to the settlers in Kennebunk. Among them were Jonas Clark, Thatcher Goddard, John Grant, Richard Gillpatrick, Oliver Keating, Tobias Lord, John Bourne, Joseph Moody, John Low, Jacob Fisher, Daniel Wise, Michael Wise, Joseph Hatch, and Jeremiah Paul. There were also several active men in Arundel, whose interests were allied to those of Kennebunk. All entered into navigation with spirit, anticipating thereby the speedy acquisition of wealth, so that in 1798 we had ships, George, 262 tons; a new ship, 202; ship Phebe, 168; Aurora, 195; Mercury, 180, and Sally, 179. Bark, Truxton, 132. Brigs, Success, 152; Franklin, 149; Neptune, 117; Commerce, 122; Panther, 142; Pallas, 135; America, 117; Union, 126; Franklin, 149; Hope, 115; Experiment, 117; Morning Star, 122; Polly, 102; Rainbow, 140; Atlantic, 151; Alexander, 119; Horatio, 150; Nathaniel, 128; William, 132; Maine, 130; Snow Eliza, 135; and sixteen schooners and twelve sloops.

These facts would seem to indicate a high degree of pecuniary prosperity; but we are compelled to say that a more full history does not warrant any such inference. Almost every man at this period, with a few thousand dollars, or owning a respectable farm, was interested in the navigation of the town. There were no insurance offices, to which owners were accustomed to resort for the purpose of obtaining insurance. Policies were signed by individuals specifying against their names the amount they insured, so that farmers in Alewife, traders, and other persons became insurers. Col. John Taylor, Benjamin Titcomb, Samuel Waterhouse, Benjamin Brown, Thatcher Goddard, Oliver Keating, sea captains and ship owners, insured in this manner, for about four per cent, on a voyage to the West Indies and back. Insurance by the year was not yet in vogue. In estimating, therefore, the profit of navigation, the interests of all concerned are to be taken into the computation. We suppose that the art of building and managing vessels was not so well understood then as now; but from whatever cause, the result of all this commercial investment, activity, and labor was no material addition to the property of the town. We know but little of the details of the voyages of these vessels; but we have sufficient knowledge of our ancient navigation in all its relations, to satisfy us as to the accuracy of our judgment in this matter. Mr. Lyman, we have stated, built four vessels during the war. Three of them were captured by the enemy on the first voyage. The fourth was very unsuccessful. Capt. Hovey went out with a cargo or freight of cattle, many of which were lost overboard the first night. Another, soon afterward, loaded with lumber, was lost on the Keys near the West Indies. Nathaniel Littlefield was shipwrecked in the West Indies in 1769. Daniel Paul went out in one of these small vessels in 1760 with a load of cattle. Thirty-nine of them were lost overboard, and he returned to port. In 1786, one of the sloops was lost on Plum Island, at Newburyport. The crew succeeded in reaching the land, where, wet and chilled, they found a haystack in which they burrowed; but soon, the tide rising to an extraordinary height, they were driven from this refuge, and Mr. Curtis, the owner, and one man were frozen to death. John Perkins succeeded in reaching the fort, but was very badly frozen. Though some of these facts may be irrelevant in this place, we insert them from the conviction that they are matters of interest to those connected in the way of descent.

with the sufferers. In 1794, a brig of Mr. Adam McCulloch was burnt while lying at the wharf.

These losses would, of themselves, furnish but little support to our position; but taken in connection with the great losses in the years closing the century, they are not without their weight. The war between France and England made sad havoc with the navigation of Kennebunk. For the benefit of those interested, we append a statement of the losses which have come to our knowledge. The United States Government, having received an equivalent for all these losses, may yet, even after a delay of more than seventy years, come to the conclusion that it is best to pay its honest debts. Our information is probably imperfect as to the number of vessels of which our people were unlawfully deprived, but we give such as we have obtained: The brig *Dolphin*, owned by Tobias Lord, Daniel Wise, and Richard Gillpatrick, was taken in 1793; brig *Harmony*, owned by Jonathan Stone, Daniel Walker, and Wheelright Stevens, in 1794; ship *Sally*, owned by Thomas Perkins, John Blunt, and Thomas Perkins, jr., in 1798; ship *Phebe*, Lemuel Walker, master, 1799; schooner *Phoenix*, owned by Theodore Lyman, 1797; brig *Hope*, owned by Daniel Wise and Dr. Keating; brig *Atlantic*, owned by Tobias Lord, Samuel Lord, Nathaniel Lord, and Jonathan Stone; brig *Betsey*, Capt. Baker, owned in Wells; brig *Panther*, Capt. Merrill; sloop *George*, Capt. Grant, 1797; brig *Fanny*, Capt. Gould, owned by Daniel Wise, Dr. Keating, Thomas Perkins, and Joseph Perkins; schooner *Columbus*, Capt. Mason; brig *Harmony*, Capt. Burnham; *Snow Eliza*, Capt. Ephraim Perkins; brig *Betsey*, Adam McCulloch, owner, 1797; brig *Rainbow*, Capt. John Grant, 1800; brig *Fame*, owned by Richard Gillpatrick and others; brig *Success*, owned by Richard Gillpatrick; schooner *Mercury*, owned by John Bourne; schooner *Fortune*, owned by Tobias Lord and Daniel Wise; brig *Active*, of Wells, Capt. Gerrish, 1798; brig *Horatio*, owned by Eliphalet Perkins, and ship *George*.

A few of these were not condemned, but were subjected to great expenditures and loss of time by the unlawful detention. There were probably others of which we have not learned. The century closes leaving an unfavorable history of the commerce of the town. The enterprising men, who had for so many years expended their industry in business on the seas, in the period of declining life saw no fruits of all their labors in this branch of human activity. They

nearly all died leaving no other property than their real estate, of which they had become invested by patrimony or purchase in early manhood. So closed the days of Pelatiah Littlefield, John Low, Nahum Morrill, John Storer, Joseph Storer, Michael Wise, John Grant, Jonas Clark, John Bourne, and Hugh McCulloch.

No more successful issue of life's labors cheered the hearts of any of those who had spent their days in building vessels. We have been unable to find the evidence that any one of them possessed in his last days, a reasonable competency of the conveniences and comforts of life. John Bourne, the first master builder and contractor of whom we have any knowledge, dying in 1787, built a large number of vessels for townsmen and persons at the West, but died without any property, excepting a very little real estate. So also did his son Benjamin, who built many vessels and died in 1778, and John Butland, who built the vessels on Mousam river. They gathered no fruit from all their hard labors. The history of these three, we believe, is the history of all the ship-builders of Wells to the time of which we speak, so that we may well say that the navigation of Wells and Kennebunk, up to the commencement of the present century, wrought no great addition to the wealth of the town. Still, here and there, a fortunate owner reaped the benefit of a successful voyage, and a few acquired a very respectable amount of property. These facts awakened and kept alive a desire for further adventures. A profitable speculation of one man, though a similar enterprise of ten others may have entirely failed, is almost always sufficient to lead the multitude to try their luck in the same direction; and about the beginning of the present century the commercial business of the town seems to have received a new impetus. In 1798, an attempt was made to improve the Kennebunk river. It was believed that a pier, built at the mouth, would be of service in deepening the water and afford much aid in getting vessels to sea. The navigation for vessels which were beginning to be built was not regarded as convenient or safe. The larger class were loaded in part at the wharf, and then towed over the bar, where they were obliged to lie until the loading was completed. This sometimes occupied many days. An act of incorporation was obtained in 1798, authorizing the corporators to build a pier at the mouth of the river, and allowing the company to take toll on all vessels passing out. Most of the people in the village of Kennebunk, at the Landing, and at the Port took

stock in the company, a reasonable toll of five cents a ton being allowed on all vessels passing out, and two cents on smaller vessels exceeding ten tons. The pier was erected and a period of successful navigation followed. A great number of vessels was added to our commerce, nearly all of which were engaged in the West India trade. Vessels of a larger capacity were beginning to be built, and in the year 1811 two large ships, the *Rubicon*, 408 tons, and another, 479 tons, were built by Hugh McCulloch. But the war of 1812 blighted all the prospects of the ship owners. These two vessels were built just below Durrell's bridge. One of them laid there during the war; the other went to sea but did not return. All the navigation during the years 1812, 1813, and 1814 was laying up the river out of the way of danger from the enemy; but when the war closed many of these vessels were of little worth. The great ship of Mr. McCulloch had rotted and was nearly ruined, so that this last period of commercial business terminated very much like the first. Very few of the people were much better off from this last fifteen years' adventure on the sea. Still, commercial ardor was not abated. The navigation was again rapidly increased, and in 1820, when our history ends, there were here owned five ships, forty-three brigs, and a large number of schooners and sloops. The business after the war was still confined to coasting and the West Indies. The crews were almost entirely of our own people. There was no necessity for resorting to any shipping agency to obtain the required number of sailors, or of using the auxiliary, now so often resorted to, of stupefying and benumbing the intellect of men, so as to secure them on board the vessels, where they would first open their eyes to the fact that they were not only under contract for a voyage to Europe, but actually on the way. There was then drunkenness enough to satisfy the wishes of the rumseller, but the owners had no occasion to avail themselves of it to man their vessels for sea. Ship owners and sea captains entertained very different views of their duties to seamen from those which have prevailed in subsequent years. Whenever a vessel arrived home from the West Indies, it was the custom of the master with all his crew to present themselves at the house of worship on the first occurring Sabbath, to render thanks for the Divine protection during their absence. This practice produced and maintained for the marine service a very different set of men from those to whom the destinies of our shipping are now committed. The

seamen were daily furnished with their rations of rum while on the voyage, but it was very seldom that they were unfitted for duty by an unreasonable indulgence in the use of it.

The loss of so many vessels at the close of the last century, had a very discouraging effect on many hearts. But Wells, then including Kennebunk, had for many years been a commercial town, and the people had come almost universally to feel that all their interests depended on the activity of commercial business. And when navigation ceased to meet with encouragement, all the employments of the people failed in satisfactory returns. Lumber and agricultural productions had no market. In 1801, these outrages on our navigation ceased, and business in all departments of life revived; and, as remarked in another place, a prosperous period soon commenced, so that for six or seven years following, the town made rapid advances in population and property. Ship-building was renewed with vigor. All along the river at Kennebunk Landing, vessels were going up rapidly. The principal shipyards were here. Up to this period, and to the time when our history ends, no vessels were built at the Port, with the exceptions which we have stated. Vessels were also built in Wells, but the number was much less than that of Kennebunk. All these vessels varied in size from 200 tons, down to those of the smallest size. Ship-timber came in from all the neighborhood. Rock-maple was abundant, furnishing the best of keel pieces, and masts for all vessels here built were to be had at a very moderate price. The timber and plank were obtained at less prices than are now paid for the freight of such material from the South.

The principal business of the larger vessels was in the West India trade; that of the smaller in coasting both east and west. New Orleans freights were not yet sought after. Lumber afforded abundant cargoes for the supply of all the navigation. This revival of business brought into Kennebunk many influential and active citizens; while some, children of previous settlers, arrived at maturity about the same time. So that now, everywhere, activity was the general order of life. Among the immigrants and energetic young men were Robert Waterston, Isaac Pray, William Hacket, Nathaniel Frost, Timothy Frost, John Hovey, Timothy Kiezer, Horace Porter, John U. Parsons, Charles W. Williams, Joseph Hatch, Jeremiah Paul, Nathaniel Jefferds, Hugh McCulloch, Samuel Lord, James Titcomb,

John Skeele, Stephen Thatcher, Abial Kelly, Parker Webster, Peter Folsom, Thomas Folsom, Nathaniel Shute, Elisha Chadbourne.

I speak only of those who by mechanical profession, trade, or other work, were instrumental in extending the business of the town. Some of those mentioned, and others not satisfied with the prospective view, tarried here but a few years. Pomfret Howard, who kept a public house, moved to Alfred; Nathaniel C. Little to Bangor; Parker Webster who, with James Kimball, built and owned Washington Hall, went to Canada; Tobias Lord to Alfred; Thomas Folsom to Andover, and Waterston and Pray to Boston.

In 1806 a vessel arrived, having on board a person sick with the small-pox. This fact suggested to the medical men the expediency of establishing a hospital, and of inoculation for this disease, full faith not then being given to the position that vaccination for the kine poek, would afford an effectual remedy for any danger to which the people might be exposed by its existence in the neighborhood. This had indeed been practiced to a considerable extent. But its effectiveness against the contagion had not been here satisfactorily settled. The hospital was established at a spot a good distance from all dwelling-houses, near the sea, about a mile east of Kennebunk Point, and was under the care of Drs. Fisher, Emerson and Dorrance. A good many took advantage of the opportunity and placed themselves under their charge. Among the number were several who had had the milder disease by vaccination. George Lord, Ivory Lord, James Bourne and others of Kennebunk village, were of this class. The author of this work, then only eight years old, was one of those who were sent, or went there for the benefit of this obnoxious and revolting malady. But it was very merciful towards him. He came out of the institution with a countenance unblemished; and while in its power, he was not restrained a single day from the enjoyment of the pure air of heaven. Those who had had the kine poek were unaffected by the inoculation. The disease would have no fellowship with them; and they returned to their homes in the confidence that vaccination was a complete barrier to its attacks.

It is a matter of some doubt whether small-pox is much better understood now than it was at this time. Here were a large number of persons at the hospital, some of whom had it severely, but only one, a young man, died. The mother was there having the charge

and care of him ; but in the midst of the worst stages of it she escaped from all contamination. The physicians were there day after day mingling with all their patients, and returning home to their families, and visiting the sick all around them ; and yet the infection did not show itself anywhere beyond the limits of the hospital. They disrobed themselves when they came just outside of the boundaries of the inclosure ; and when they returned were thoroughly smoked before reinvesting themselves with their usual apparel.

At no period since the settlement commenced, has the town suffered severely from what has been commonly denominated contagions. Several times in the last century those diseases to which children are most subject prevailed to a considerable extent, and many died. The throat distemper occasionally appeared, though its ravages were not very extensive. But in contrast with other neighboring towns the virulence of these diseases in Wells and Kennebunk was much less severe. In 1816, the spotted fever prevailed, and several died. So also about 1820, a great many were afflicted with a fever. Of what type we do not remember. But none of them died ; while in the neighboring town of Arundel great numbers were carried off by it.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE JAY TREATY—MEMORIAL OF CITIZENS OF WELLS RELATIVE THERE-
 TO—ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS TO PRESIDENT ADAMS—HIS REPLY
 —POLITICAL PARTIES—OPPOSITION OF WELLS TO THE EMBARGO—PE-
 TITION TO THE PRESIDENT—RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT TOWN MEETING
 —MEMORIAL TO THE GENERAL COURT—THE NON-INTERCOURSE ACT—
 MEMORIAL OF THE INHABITANTS OF WELLS TO THE PRESIDENT ON THE
 WAR QUESTION—WAR DECLARED—AMERICAN VESSELS CAPTURED—THE
 PRIVATEER GLEANER—REJOICING OVER THE TAKING OF THE GUERIERRE
 —CONVENTION AT KENNEBUNK TO NOMINATE CANDIDATE FOR REPRESENTATIVE TO CONGRESS—TOLL-BRIDGE BUILT OVER KENNEBUNK RIVER
 —BRIDGE MADE FREE—FISHERMEN TAKEN BY PRIVATEERS—THE “HORSE
 MARINE LIST”—CAPTURE OF THE PRIVATEER ALEXANDER—BANK
 ESTABLISHED—PUBLIC DINNER TO HON. CYRUS KING—THE SHIP BUL-
 WARK OFF KENNEBUNK HARBOR—SOLDIERS CALLED OUT—SLOOP JULIA
 RECAPTURED—COMMITTEE OF SAFETY CHOSEN—“COMPANY OF EXEMPTS”
 PRIVATEER McDONOUGH CAPTURED—THE PRIVATEER LUDLOW—PEACE
 DECLARED—GREAT REJOICING AT KENNEBUNK—VOTE OF THE INHABITANTS OF WELLS ON THE FIRE PROOF QUESTION—ANOTHER GREAT
 FRESHET—TEMPERANCE—COURT RECORDS KEPT AT KENNEBUNK—CUS-
 TOM HOUSE MOVED TO KENNEBUNKPORT—DEATH OF JUDGE WELLS—
 DEATH OF THOMAS McCULLOCH—BIOGRAPHY OF NATHANIEL WELLS.

No material disagreement on questions of political interest had hitherto arisen to disturb the peace of the town. There were some strong men among the inhabitants who were watchful of all public relations of the country, and of the Legislature, and administrative action of the Commonwealth; men who were careful of their effect on the special interests of the town. Dr. Hemmenway, Nathaniel Wells, Samuel Emerson, Jacob Fisher, and Benjamin Brown, endeavored to inform themselves and examine the merits of all measures proposed for the public welfare. The remainder of the inhabitants being for the most part engaged in agriculture, found little time to devote to political or municipal economy, and generally trusted to the knowledge of these prominent men to direct their action on all

subjects as citizens and as voters of the town. It is a mark of wisdom that they did so, for they were men in whom they could safely confide. Their opinions of men and measures were adopted by the people generally. There was seldom any wrangling on great questions. The people were generally harmonious and discreet in their action. They were almost universally John Hancock men. They had unshaken faith in him as long as he lived; voted for him as Governor ten or eleven times almost unanimously. This union led to concurrent action on most questions.

The most interesting subject which came before the town at the meeting in 1795, was Jay's treaty with England. This treaty, as is well known, in consequence of some of its provisions, produced intense excitement all over the country. The question of its ratification became a matter of controversy in most of the larger cities and towns. The people were divided as to its expediency. Its opponents assailed it with great violence. Copies of it were obtained and burnt before the door of the British minister, and in Boston, Jay was burnt in effigy. Even the integrity of Washington was attacked. But the town of Wells took the matter very coolly, there being at that time no unprincipled partizans to stir up discord and strife for merely personal interests.

At the town-meeting, May 2, 1796, holden for the consideration of this subject, John Storer was chosen moderator. The merits of the treaty were discussed, and the following memorial unanimously adopted:

"To the Hon. Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

The memorial of the inhabitants of the town of Wells, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, respectfully states, that at the adoption of the Federal Constitution they were and ever since have been uniformly of the opinion, that the power of making treaties with foreign nations was exclusively vested in the President of the United States, with the consent of the Senate. That, accordingly, the treaty with Great Britain, lately made and ratified by that authority, has now become the supreme law of the land; that the faith of our nation is thereby sacredly and solemnly pledged for its due observance, and that if carried into timely and honorable effect, will produce many and important benefits to our country.

But, as from recent information, they have serious occasion to apprehend a dangerous delay, if not a total failure in the execution thereof contrary to their rightful expectations, and being under impressions of the strongest conviction that a continuance of the differences with Great Britain, without a warrantable hope of an amicable termination, or of indemnification for past losses, our commerce unprotected by a navy, subjected again to unlimited spoliation, and that confidence in our national honor and fidelity so essential to the peace and prosperity of a rising republic irretrievably forfeited, will be among the inevitable consequences resulting from such omission. They, therefore, with a spirit becoming independent freemen, anxious for the welfare of their country in a situation so critical, and with all possible respect for the representatives of the United States, most earnestly request and recommend, that uninfluenced by any partial considerations of policy, your Honorable House would in their wisdom seasonably make the necessary provision for carrying the treaty into full and complete effect."

The foregoing memorial was ordered to be subscribed in behalf of the town by Nathaniel Wells, John Storer, Samuel Emerson, Jonas Clark, and Benjamin Titcomb, and transmitted to George Thatcher, representative in Congress.

In what respect this treaty was to be so beneficial to the town does not appear. This favorable judgment was probably based, not so much on the merits of the treaty itself, as on the fact that the matters in controversy were settled. Peace and free intercourse were more important than any provision of the treaty. Wells at this time had a great many small vessels, and it was therefore very material to the prosperity of the town that its navigation should have the free use of the ocean, and of British and American marts. The unanimity of the inhabitants on this question, we suppose, had its origin in their personal interests. England had prohibited since the war any vessels from the United States from entering her ports in the West Indies. The treaty opened them to our vessels not exceeding seventy tons. So that in this one respect it was very favorable to Wells, and this concession on the part of Great Britain, we suppose, inspired the inhabitants with the desire for its execution.

As before suggested, the harmony and quiet of the town had not yet been disturbed by noisy and selfish partizanship. The people

had not sufficiently recovered from the embarrassments of the war, to give their thoughts to other matters than the recovery of their former condition. They were not sufficiently independent to leave their daily labors for political scheming. Though in some parts of the country there were manifest indications of a rising party spirit, it had not yet reached the inhabitants of Wells. The votes for Governor may still be regarded as unanimous, there being in 1797 eighty-four votes for Increase Sumner, and two only for James Sullivan. At the town-meeting in May, 1798, for the purposes of strengthening the union sentiment of the people, and to prevent the intrusion of discord which threatened the peace of some other towns, it was thought desirable to take the sense of the town on the condition of the country, and to give the Government some expression of the sentiments of the people in regard to the administration of national affairs. It would seem to us of the present day, that the people manifested rather an overweening sense of the importance of the opinion of this little town, in the assumption that their views on these questions could be a matter of any great interest to the President. But Wells was then an old town, and its severe trials and unflinching patriotism were well known to all acquainted with its previous history. Judge Wells also was not disposed to be forgotten or lost in the crowd which was now beginning to press on for preferment, and at this meeting it was proposed by him to forward to the President the following manifesto:

“Wells, May 7, 1798. Whereas, it appears that the French Government consider the country as divided in their political sentiments, being partly in favor of their own Government, and partly in favor of France; voted, unanimously, that this town is in favor of our own Government, and that they highly approve of the conduct of the present administration, and repose entire confidence in the wisdom, integrity, and fortitude of the President of the United States, and are ready to support such measures as shall be adopted by the General Government for the preservation of our liberty and property.”

“Voted, that Nathaniel Wells, Esq., Jonas Clark, Esq., and Dr. Thatcher Goddard, be a committee to forward an address in substance agreeably to the foregoing vote.”

In pursuance of this authority, the committee prepared and forwarded the following address :

“To the President and Congress of the United States of America:

At the time when the agents of a foreign nation boast of their intriguing talents, and of having a French party in this country devoted to their interests, with whose aid they pretend they can impose on the people of the United States, and by their deceptive skill prevent them from uniting in opposition to the unreasonable and unjust demands of France; and at a time when so many attempts have been made to defame the administration of our government, the inhabitants of the town of Wells have thought it expedient to address you; and, accordingly, at their meeting held on the seventh instant, unanimously directed us respectfully to declare to you, and through you to the world, their firm and unshaken attachment to their country, its constitution, its laws, and constituted authorities, to declare to you their entire approbation of the measures from time to time adopted by the Supreme Executive of the nation in respect to our foreign relations, and in particular towards the French Republic, to declare to you their great indignation against those enemies of our country, whether foreign or domestic, who have been busy in sowing the seed of discord, and propagating an opinion that we are a people divided from our government and opposed to its measures; and, at the same time to assure you that although they deprecate the calamities of war, yet reposing the highest confidence in your patriotism, wisdom, and firmness, they will most cheerfully afford every support in their power for carrying into complete effect all such measures as you shall deem necessary in defence of the country, and for securing that freedom and independence which are equally dear to the American people and their government.

NATHANIEL WELLS,
JONAS CLARK,
THATCHER GODDARD.”

Wells, May 10, 1798.

To this declaration of the patriotic spirit and resolution of Wells, the following answer was received :

"To the inhabitants of the town of Wells, in the State of Massachusetts:

Your address to the President and Congress has been presented to me by your representative in Congress, Mr. Thatcher. Unanimous resolutions at a meeting of one of our towns cannot pass without a real unanimity of opinion and sentiment. Those of the respectable town of Wells on this occasion are very satisfactory. The agents of a foreign nation have had too much colour for boasting of their intriguing talents, and of having a party in this country devoted to their interests. Your unshaken attachment to your country, constitution, and laws, your approbation of the measures of the supreme executive authority of the nation, and resolutions to afford every support in your power, are as honorable to your character as they must be satisfactory to the nation and its government.

JOHN ADAMS."

Philadelphia, May 28, 1798.

Adams had been into the District of Maine at various times, and had some knowledge of the town of Wells. The inhabitants had been in political sympathy with him, and to encourage them in this relation, this flattering letter, we suppose, was written. It could hardly have been expected of the President of the United States that he should feel it a matter of duty or of complaisance thus to have noticed this action of the town. But he was not accustomed to neglect any duty, however small.

Notwithstanding this manifestation of the views of the people, sustained by such high authority, the intriguers, as they were termed, succeeded in sowing the seeds of discord among the people. Parties grew out of the circumstances referred to in the memorial. Federalists and Republicans very soon divided the population. This division continued to gain strength, through the administration of John Adams. The various interests of the people affected materially their political principles. An honest, magnanimous patriotism seldom controls the action of a large proportion of any community. We are not speaking specially of either of the parties which were then contending for power. We know not which of them is to be regarded as the apostates. At any rate, the union in the town was broken. At the meeting in 1798, Geo. Thatcher had a unanimous vote for representative to Congress; and at the meeting in 1800 almost the same

unanimity prevailed. In 1802, the votes for Caleb Strong were 185, and for Elbridge Gerry, 18. But in 1803 the unanimity was completely broken up. There were Federal and Democratic electoral candidates. The former received 110 votes, the latter 176. There was not sufficient excitement to call out all the voters. Men were actively engaged in their business pursuits, and were not disposed to leave them for matters of general interest. But the majority of the town were now clearly Democratic. In 1807, the power reverted to the Federalists.

The embargo declared the latter part of this year, 1807, did not commend itself to the Federalists, or the majority of the people of Wells. They were extensively engaged in navigation, and were prospering in the employment of their ships, and had but little sympathy with the fears of President Jefferson, that there would be great exposure of our merchandise, seamen, and vessels, if permitted to go to sea while the English and French decrees threatened them with capture. All the leading men of the town were ship-owners. There were more square-rigged vessels in Kennebunk than in any other town in Maine, the total tonnage being about 8,000; and these owners regarded themselves as having the right to determine whether it was best to send them to sea or not. They chose to run the risk of loss; and they felt that neither the President, nor any one else had a right to interpose measures against what they thought best in their own business. They therefore took the embargo very seriously to heart. It was the death blow to business. Jefferson came in for anathemas everywhere and on all occasions; and the representative in Congress, Richard Cutts, received his full measure of reproach.

The people withstood this interference with their business as long as possible. But their patience becoming exhausted, a town meeting was called in August, 1808, and a committee, consisting of Nathaniel Wells, Joseph Moody, and Samuel Emerson, was chosen to prepare a petition to the President, to be signed by the selectmen, setting forth the views of the town on the embargo and asking for a suspension of it. The committee presented the following, which was accepted by the town, signed by the selectmen, and forwarded to the President

“The inhabitants of the town of Wells, in the District of Maine, in legal town meeting convened, respectfully represent, that they are

duly impressed with the importance of a ready submission to the laws of our country, and feeling willing to endure personal privations to add anything to the public good, have peaceably yielded our wishes to the will of the nation, and have borne with great patience the regulations with which we have been embarrassed. Placed by an overruling Providence on a soil penurious of the conveniences and comforts of life, we have hitherto resorted to the ocean for a supply of what the hand of nature has denied us from the field. From the union of these means, the sweat of the face has not flowed in vain, and we have been enabled to obtain wherewith to make glad the heart. Refraining from all political discussions of the policy of the restrictions on the commerce of the country, we are willing to believe that, although it is a measure which strikes at the root of our prosperity and happiness, the motives which originated them are pure and patriotic, and we cannot but feel the most confident assurance that when the course of events shall have been such that the causes which gave rise to them shall have ceased, or proof the most irrefragable demonstrates their inutility, the opportunity to the mariner to again unfurl his sails will by our government be eagerly embraced.

Although the turmoils of European nations give rise to embarrassments to our commerce, and those embarrassments are assigned as the cause of our embargo, yet if those turmoils have produced a chain of events which, in a considerable degree, remove those embarrassments and give birth to new sources of trade, we have hopes the best founded that the several acts of Congress laying the embargo will, in whole or in part, be immediately suspended. In the revolution in Spain we believe we see opened a wide avenue to commercial enterprise, and we feel assured that the wants of that people will be the guarantee for the safety of an extensive trade.

Congress having invested you, sir, with the power of suspending the embargo laws, whenever the French Decrees or the British Orders in Council shall be rescinded, or such other events take place as in your opinion it will promote the public good to suspend the same, we seize with eagerness the present moment to request you to give effect to that authority, or that you will be pleased to notify a meeting of Congress for that purpose, should you believe the powers with which you are clothed inadequate to the prayer of our petition, and as in duty bound will ever pray."

As all the country, more especially the commercial part of it, was suffering in like manner as the inhabitants of Wells by the restraint of navigation, we presume that other petitions were crowded upon the President of the same character; but none of them appear at the time to have had any influence on Mr. Jefferson, and if they were of like character with that of Wells, we do not discover any special reason why they should. The pretenses of the petition that the people had borne the evils of the embargo with great patience, had no foundation whatever. They had no patience with it. Continual murmuring was going up from every seaport, and the newspapers of the day too plainly speak of Jefferson and his policy, and this inhibition of commercial intercourse, with great bitterness and wrath. We do not say whether justly or unjustly; but we only allege the fact, in opposition to the hypocrisy and prevarication of the address. The people were not quiescent under the embarrassments and trials which the embargo brought upon them. They believed there was no occasion for it, and therefore they had the right to complain, and did so from the beginning to the end of it. Jefferson knew as well as everybody else, that our seaports were suffering from this act of Congress, and that the whole seaboard was continually fretting under its operation. The resolves adopted in January following, falsify this manifesto throughout.

The embargo was continued, and the people continued to murmur under the grievance. On the 23d of January, 1809, another meeting was holden, to consider what measures the town would take in reference to the embarrassments which had come upon the business of the inhabitants by the action of the government. At this meeting George W. Wallingford, Joseph Moody, and Joseph Thomas were appointed a committee to consider the distress under which the people labored, and to report such resolutions thereon for the town's action, as the occasion might require. At the same meeting the committee made report, and the following resolves were adopted, with but six dissenting votes.

“Resolved, as the sense of this town, that we consider the protection of life, liberty, and property among the primary objects of civil society; that to cherish and guard them should claim the first attention of government, and that the dereliction of these fundamental

principles should arouse to action the people, the legitimate source of all government.

“Resolved, that to tamely submit to the first encroachment of rights inalienable, and which have been expressly reserved by the social compact, is as a recognition of the meanest slavery, and to which a people worthy the appellation of freemen will never yield while a single vestige of patriotism remains.

“Resolved, That we consider the several Acts of the general government, laying an embargo, unequal and unjust; and that it is a duty we owe ourselves and our posterity, to resort to all legal means to redress these injuries; among which remedies are those of peaceably assembling to deliberate and express our sentiments of the conduct of our rulers and of the state of our public affairs.

“Resolved, that we consider the right of navigating the ocean, as legitimate as the air we breathe,—each derived from the same source, and equally removed from the rightful control of every power but that from which we inherit them; an infringement of which is not delegated expressly nor by implication; not warranted by our political relations, foreign or domestic, nor consonant with our national honor, but wholly subversive of the objects of civil society.

“Resolved, That we deprecate the cringing sycophancy which has marked the conduct of our national government toward the tyrants of Europe, while we view with indignation and alarm its hostility toward Great Britain.

“Resolved, That had an honest neutrality and a manly independence (such as the great Washington pursued) been maintained towards the belligerents, our national honor had been preserved, our rights secured, and the miseries we suffer had been avoided.

“Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States is a blessed gift of God to our fathers as a reward for their virtue, constancy and patriotism, sealed with their best blood; and we will defend it with our own.

“Resolved, That we deem the law of Congress of the ninth instant an usurpation of power not delegated, and therefore not binding.

“Resolved, That Congress in restricting the communication between ports of the same State, have exceeded the powers delegated

to them by the constitution of the United States ; that being a power reserved to the individual States, or to the people by the eleventh and twelfth articles amendatory of that Constitution.

“Resolved, That we consider the conduct of our representatives in Congress as basely servile to executive will ; highly treacherous to his constituents, and justly deserving the execration of every friend of his country.

“Resolved, That having no confidence in our national government, we will direct our attention to the Legislature of our Commonwealth, in whose wisdom and patriotism we have fullest confidence.”

At the same meeting Samuel Emerson, Joseph Dane, John Bourne, Nathaniel Wells and Nathaniel Frost were appointed a committee to prepare a memorial to the General Court upon the same subject. The following was presented and duly accepted by the town, and the representative was directed to present it to the General Court :

“To the Hon. Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in General Court assembled, January, 1809.

The inhabitants of the town of Wells convened in legal town meeting on the 23d January, 1809, beg leave respectfully to represent, That they consider the embargo system, and the measures adopted to carry the same into effect, as highly oppressive and against the manifest spirit of the national constitution, in as much as it is therein declared that the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated nor excessive fines be imposed ; that they consider them as anti-republican, inasmuch as their effect is to destroy that equal possession of property, without which republican institutions cannot exist, by making the rich man richer, the man in competent circumstances poor, and the poor man poorer.

That they observe with great concern, that the majority of members of Congress seem determined on war with one or both belligerents. The absurdity of a war with both, and other circumstances, make it evident that a war with Great Britain only is intended. They feel it their indispensable duty to express their opinion that circumstances do not warrant hostilities with that nation, as they believe

our differences with Great Britain might be amicably and honorably adjusted.

Your memorialists firmly believe that the same spirit which wrought our independence, will preserve it; that having, pursuant to their constitutional rights, petitioned to the national government for redress without effect, they rely on the State government for relief from their present embarrassments.

We therefore ask your Honors to take the awful situation of our country immediately into consideration, and may the God of mercy and justice give you wisdom."

The committee who reported this memorial were men of discernment and sound judgment, but we are unable to comprehend its positions. How the embargo violated that clause of the constitution which guarantees to the people the security of their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, we are unable to discover. The embargo restrained them from sending their vessels to sea for a little while; and this was ordered for their preservation and safety, exposed as they were on the ocean, where every day our navigation was being searched and seized by foreign nations. It is a strange construction of the constitutional provision referred to, that this detention of our vessels a little while in port, from national policy, contravenes its spirit. Our constitution is the basis of the government; every true citizen must feel the importance of preserving its provisions inviolate. Those principles to be available for our security must be clearly set forth; and no one should seek to clothe them with a meaning which the authors never intended. If the phraseology is not sufficiently precise and definite, it is subject to amendment by the people.

Although there is no force in any thing presented here as argument, the facts stated have a true foundation. The inhabitants of Wells were suffering exceedingly by the embargo. Their large commercial marine was rotting at the wharves; and as a consequence, all the business of the town and surrounding country had become stagnant. The best of lumber was reduced in price to five or six dollars a thousand, and West India goods and groceries, which had become material to life, were so raised in price as to be almost beyond the reach of many of the inhabitants. The owners of navigation, who would seem to be more interested in its use and safety than any one

else, did not perceive that there was any just occasion for confining it at home. The fact that these protests against the embargo were unanimously adopted, shows very clearly that the feeling of the ship owners was that of the people also. They regarded the acts of the government as tending to a war with England. They did not believe that there was any sufficient cause for a rupture of our relations with that nation, and therefore had no sympathy with any measures of that character. If our commerce had suffered from British aggression, commercial men surely were the persons most directly injured by it.

While there is nothing in this memorial but the enunciation of the great fact that our people were suffering from the embargo, which addressed itself with power to administrative wisdom, in the first resolves, we think, there are assumptions or principles avowed which cannot be accepted by considerate minds. The fourth resolution is very questionable. The world of humanity would not move on very smoothly without government. Navigation would be of no great value without law. Human action is not confined to land. The ocean is a great theatre of business life, and human passions as much need the directing and restraining hand there, as on the shore. God gave to us the sea in the same sense in which he gave us the land; and though we do not claim to have entered very fully into the councils of the Almighty, we are strongly inclined to the opinion that He intended that human governments should legislate for one as well as the other; and we also think there are some substantial reasons for the judgment, that navigation would not be of any great service to those concerned in it, if the position of the resolve should find acceptance. Anarchy any where is not very favorable to prosperity. If we would resolve against a grievance, it is desirable that our resolutions should carry with them sanctions of consistency and rationality.

The embargo having been so unwelcome to the mercantile portion of the community, and its operation so severe on the eastern part of the country, Congress thought it expedient that it should be discontinued, and that what was termed a non-intercourse Act prohibiting trade at English or French ports, should be substituted in its place. This modification of the Act relative to navigation had some effect in subduing the excitement growing out of the embargo. Still, it was not what the people wanted. But the government considered

our foreign relations to be such that some restrictions were necessary, and this restriction was continued till 1810, when it was manifest to the people of Wells that war was about to be the result of our complications with England. The Republican party who were rapidly gaining strength, were bent on war. Although great unanimity had prevailed in Wells in regard to the embargo, a different state of feeling was now awakened. The advocates of war had increased. The Republican, or Democratic party in town, had become sufficiently magnified to embrace a quarter part of the voters. Great excitement necessarily ensued, and at the town meeting in 1810, for the choice of Governor, Christopher Gore, the Federal candidate, received three hundred and sixty-one votes, and Elbridge Gerry, the Democratic candidate, one hundred and thirty-two votes. But the ardor of men for retaliating the wrongs and insults of Great Britain did not hold out. Men are frequently very courageous when danger is at a distance, but their enthusiasm is apt to cool at its near approach. War with England was not so cheering in the immediate prospect of it; and at a meeting of the town on the 27th of July, 1812, it was moved that the sense of the people be taken "whether Wells should declare for war or peace." A vote was accordingly taken—four voted for war, and two hundred and forty-six against it. So that virtually the town of Wells was unanimous against the war of 1812.

Having thus ascertained the sense of the townsmen on the subject, it was thought necessary that a large committee should be appointed to give expression to this feeling in a memorial to the President of the United States, and Nathaniel Wells, George W. Wallingford, Joseph Thomas, Joseph Dane, Tristram Gilman, Joseph Bourne, Joshua Eaton, Benjamin Titcomb, Samuel Curtis, Samuel Waterhouse, Nathaniel Cousins, John Cole, and Capt. William Cole, were chosen. The struggle with Great Britain would be initiated with some misgivings on the part of its supporters as to the consequences. Apprehensions prevailed in Congress as well as in the Executive department, that New England would not go into the contest. The opposition to all proceedings tending to such a result was manifestly very strong. We depended on our commerce for all business enterprise. In that interest the public feeling was absorbed. The destruction of commerce was inevitable from a war with England. The committee which had been chosen to express the sentiments o

the people in a memorial to the President, who were all men of influence, entertaining this view of its effect on the town, reported several resolutions embodying their sentiments, drawn up with great care and deliberation by Judge Wells. They are too long for insertion here. They begin with a recurrence to the first principles of the constitution, and enunciate the dangers of party spirit, the importance of the expression of public sentiment in regard to disastrous expedients to which an inflamed spirit may bring the country, and reiterate the common axiom of the right of the people to assemble and petition for a redress of grievances. They then declare the war to be unjust, unnecessary, and inexpedient; that the powers of the government over the military ought to be carefully watched, and concur with Governor Strong that the militia of the Commonwealth should not be put under any other than their own officers, sustain the address of the minority of the House of Representatives, oppose the acquisition of any new territory, assert the submission of the minority to the will of the majority, as a sound Republican principle, and that a change of measures is only to be effected by a change of rulers; that any alliance with France "whose diplomatic intercourse is proverbial for its fatality and punie faith, should be avoided;" that the inhabitants of Wells are "attached to the Union as the last hope of a Republican theory, and that the restrictive system is at variance with the design of the Union, and adverse to the interests of the people."

Though these resolves may be politically sound, they expressed simply the view of a small country town, and had no weight whatever in changing the policy of the government. It is somewhat remarkable that the people of Wells should have thought otherwise. An embargo was laid on the 4th of April, 1812, on all vessels in port, and war was declared on the 19th of June following.

The business of the town was soon at a stand-still. Lumber immediately declined, and thence trade with the interior towns was stopped. Our seamen were out of employment, and navigation still at the wharves. Soon its effects began to be more directly felt. The brig Concord, commanded by Daniel Tripp, was captured, though while the captors were in the pursuit of another vessel, she made all sail and escaped. The brig Hesper was taken and sent to Halifax, and owners were now in constant anxiety for vessels which were still at sea.

England had been guilty of grievous offenses against our commerce in boarding our navigation and impressing our seamen. The government and people had borne with these insults a long time, and there was a lingering pride of country in almost every heart which could ill brook these unwarrantable acts against our flag, and the people generally were prepared to rejoice at any triumph over the enemy on the sea. Ship-masters and mariners soon partook of the war spirit, and were ready for revenge. "Free-trade and sailors' rights," was now the moving spring of action. The old merchants were not so ready to fall in with any open participation in a war which they had regarded as uncalled-for and unjust. But these mariners who were wedded to the sea could not endure an idle life on the shore. Their energies demanded application to some employment. Though most of these men were opposed to the war, now that it was upon them, they concluded that the most speedy way to bring it to a close was to join in and help fight it out. They accordingly obtained the schooner *Gleaner*, fitted her up as a privateer with six guns, and with a crew of fifty men, under the command of Capt. Robinson, she set out on a cruise; but her career was soon at an end. She captured one prize, and had just secured another, when both the prize and privateer were taken, and the latter was ordered to Halifax. The first prize, we think, never arrived at an American port. The result of this enterprise was not very encouraging to further operations of the same character.

The people of Wells had always been in favor of the augmentation of the navy. Their business was on the sea, and they wished for its protection; but they had no sympathy with the war operations on the land, and none offered themselves for the army. The news of the capture of the *Guerriere*, on the 19th of August, was received with great joy by all parties. The bell was rung, and the people gathered together for congratulation; a collation was prepared, cannon were fired, toasts were drank, and gladness was upon every countenance. The following were a part of the toasts which the occasion suggested: "The American Navy. An enlightened and patriotic administration of a commercial people will always patronize this efficient species of defense." "The Frigate *Constitution*," "The United States," "Isaac Hull," and "The Federal Constitution."

As our voyages at this period were principally to the West Indies and back, most of our vessels reached their home port before the war was generally known by the British navy at sea. There were a few on the coast of Europe, but most of them arrived safely home. The brig *Dromo*, Capt. Perkins, arrived in August, having on board a Capt. Cassneau, who sailed from Boston Dec. 11, 1811, in a brig of 130 tons, which was capsized Dec. 15th. There were eight persons on board. The vessel drifted about 161 days, and was near the coast of Africa when the captain and one other man were rescued by an English vessel in latitude 28° north and longitude 13° west. They were afterward put on board the *Dromo*. The rest of the crew had perished. We think that another such remarkable case of preservation through the terrible perils of cold, storm, and hunger is not to be found in history.

Though the capture of the *Guerriere* was very gratifying to the people, it did not reconcile them to the war. The opposition continued not less bitter than at the beginning. A convention was holden at Kennebunk in September, for the nomination of a candidate for Congress. The people came together without distinction of party and nominated Cyrus King, of Saco. The unanimity continued about as it had been, and at the election, King, whose opinions were strong against the war, received 622 votes, and Richard Cutts 41; so also at the choice of electors in the autumn, when Clinton received 650, and Madison 72. In April following, Strong for governor had 580, Varnum 97.

Though the general aspect of public affairs was discouraging, the people maintained a reasonable courage and were not disposed to let the time run to waste. Looking forward to a brighter day, when it would be so much needed, they at this time built the long bridge over Kennebunk river at the Port, and obtained a charter authorizing them to take toll for their remuneration. This bridge has been of great public benefit. In a few years after its erection, these tolls had come to be regarded as burdensome and somewhat injurious to the business of Arundel, and a petition was presented to the Court of Sessions to lay out a new road, with a bridge at the Narrows. This was set on foot for the purpose of inducing the stockholders of the toll bridge to dispose of it to the towns, at a low price, for a common highway. This object was finally accomplished; the bridge,

after a few years from the time when this history ends, being made a public highway and therefore free, was afterward maintained by Kennebunk and Kennebunkport.

Many of our seamen and others employed themselves in fishing during the war. Some of them, though in small boats, were captured, but were detained only a short time. They were treated very kindly and released. Some of our sloops and small schooners continued, though at great risk, to follow the coasting business. Several of them were taken by the privateer *Wolverine* and sent to Halifax. The schooner *Friendship*, bound to Boston, was taken, but ransomed for \$500. A great part of our business was done by land coasters, four horse teams which ran regularly to Boston, and were designated in our newspapers under the head of "Horse-marine List."

One of the most exciting events of the war was the capture of the privateer *Alexander*, of Salem, a ship mounting eighteen guns, and commanded by Capt. Crowningshield. She was chased on shore at the western end of Great Hill, a short distance from the present mouth of the river, on the ninth of May, 1813. The English sloop-of-war *Rattler* had with her a small tender, and the first report was that two British frigates had chased a small vessel into the bay, and one of them had got on shore. The bell was rung, and the people from all quarters gathered on the hill. An iron nine-pounder was all the cannon which could be had, and an attempt was made to drag it from the Port to the scene of action, but it did not reach the ground. The *Rattler* was anchored about half a mile from the shore, and the tender between her and the *Alexander*. Many of the people were armed with muskets; but a single broadside would have cleared the hill. While the people were waiting with intense interest, and watching the movements of the enemy, a flag of truce was sent on shore, and they were notified that the captain had surrendered his ship upon condition of the release of the baggage and personal effects of the crew, and that all resistance from the shore would be fruitless. The people concurred in that opinion, although this action of the captain would not have prohibited the recapture of the ship if they had had the power. Still, some of them wanted to give her a shot; others wanted to prevent the captors from carrying her off. But there were no means for any effectual resistance. She was a beautiful ship, and it was terribly

grating to the pride and sensibilities of the multitude to see her taken and carried off. The whole affair on the part of the privateer appeared to the spectators to have been blundering and cowardly. After she struck the beach, a gun might have been pointed downward and a hole made through her bottom, so that she would have filled. But the crew jumped overboard and made for the shore as quickly as possible. One or two were drowned. The weather being calm, as soon as the tide rose the vessel was caged from the shore, and very soon, with all sail set, was on the way to Halifax. At the time of her capture she had on board 120 prisoners, having taken seven prizes.

Notwithstanding the disastrous results of the war and its paralyzing effect upon the business of the place, the merchants conceived the project of establishing a bank. What particular necessity there was for such an institution at this period, or what object was to be accomplished by its operations, we have no knowledge. We do not perceive how it would have given any impulse to business, or aided any of the stockholders in the acquisition of the means of living. But an act of incorporation was obtained in June, 1813, authorizing a capital of \$100,000. The stock was taken up, a building erected (now the custom house), and Joseph Moody elected President, and Henry Clark, Cashier. Business was commenced April 1, 1814. We think it was never of any material benefit to the stockholders. So great were the losses by the inability of their debtors to pay, that when its business was closed, a very small part only of their investments was returned to them.

During the course of the year 1814, several brigs were fitted for sea, to sail under the Danish flag; but this stratagem did not work very advantageously. Four or five of them were captured and sent into Guadaloupe; most of them were condemned. These projects for business being unsuccessful, the people generally continued opposed to the war, though a few had become reconciled to it. At the election this year, Strong received 546 votes and Dexter 111. But a more decided expression of public sentiment was manifested in a dinner given to Hon. Cyrus King, in approbation of his course in Congress in opposition to it. About eighty of the business men of Wells and Arundel joined in the festival. Jacob Fisher presided at the table. Samuel Emerson, Eliphalet Perkins, and John U. Parsons were Vice-presidents. Many toasts were drank, most of them

demonstrative against the government. Some further account of the celebration will be found on a future page.

Though business was stagnant, something exciting kept the people almost constantly awake. The *Bulwark*, seventy-four, was on the coast, looking into the harbors. In June, she went into the Pool and captured a ship of Thomas Cutts. The next day she appeared off Kennebunk, inspiring many with great fear. Five companies were ordered out and were kept under arms through Sunday. Watchmen were posted at various places to give the alarm in case of any attempt to land. All the vessels were moved up the river out of sight. Some of the families sent their furniture to the interior. The money was removed from the bank. But the alarm soon subsided. The *Bulwark* disappeared Sunday night and the companies were discharged. A fort or small breastwork had been built on Kennebunk Point, and a company of artillery, of about thirty men, was stationed there. This company was relieved by another of light infantry, from Limington. They kept guard as far as Cape Porpoise. This scout, it is believed, made the only successful capture which was made by the inhabitants of Wells or Arundel. The sloop *Julia*, of Boston, had been captured by a British cruiser and ordered to Halifax. During her voyage to that port she encountered a violent head wind, which drove her back on the coast of the United States. The prize master put on board was ignorant of navigation, and having no knowledge where he was, but supposing himself to be off Nova Scotia, gave up the command to the captain, who ran her into Cape Porpoise, where she was taken possession of by our guard.

Apprehensions of an attack at the harbor for a time kept alive considerable anxiety, and a meeting of the inhabitants of Wells and Arundel was holden at the Lord store, at the Landing in Kennebunk, on the 19th of September, where a committee of safety, or council of war, was chosen, to advise as to all measures which the exigencies of the hour might require. Among these measures was the formation of a company of exempts. Notice was given to all persons who were exempt from military duty to come together, to form themselves into a company for the common protection. Large numbers responded to the call for this patriotic purpose. Sixty-three of them were from Kennebunk. A company was speedily organized. Dr. Jacob Fisher was chosen Captain; Major John Taylor, Lieutenant, and Major Timothy Frost, Ensign. John Low, Reuben

Littlefield, Joseph Porter, and Amos Stevens were Sergeants. Capt. John Tripp, Capt. Joseph Taylor, William Taylor, and John Fiddler were Corporals. Nearly all the leading men were enrolled in this company; but they were not called to any actual service. There had been no change of feeling as to the inexpediency and injustice of the war. The company was organized for mutual protection. At the next election the expression against the war was the same as it had been before.

This awakening of the older men to the necessities of the hour could not fail to have its effect on the younger. A new impulse was given to privateering. Some in other places had acquired wealth by embarking in it. Accordingly, workmen were soon engaged in building a brig suitable for the purpose, and in a short time she was completed, and armed with one long 24 pounder and four sixes. She was named McDonough, and manned with seventy men, under the command of Capt. Weeks. As she was built expressly for the purpose of a privateer, high hopes were entertained of her success. She put to sea amidst the cheers and good wishes of the people; but she had been out only one day when she was descried and pursued by a British frigate. Both her topmasts gave way in the chase, and five hours after that she was captured, and sent on her way to Halifax. Had it not been for the disaster to her topmasts she might have escaped. After their arrival at Halifax the crew were transported to England, where they were accommodated at Dartmoor, at the king's expense, till the close of the war.

But the people were not discouraged by this unhappy issue of the enterprise. Another brig of 208 tons was soon started, and was of such a mould that the builders considered her a match for any of the cruisers on the coast. She was built with great rapidity; all the work being hastened that she might be got to sea as soon as possible. Peace rumors were floating about, and the enterprising projectors, we suppose, feared that unless the greatest despatch was made, all their hopes of acquiring wealth might be suddenly blasted. She was soon finished, named Ludlow, and sent to sea under the command of Capt. Mudge. But though we speak of her as finished, such was the haste to get her out of Port, that no part of her was painted. Her armament was also very incomplete, and the provision for the crew very scanty. All deficiencies were to be supplied by captures. Prizes would supply them with every thing needed. She sailed for

Salem on the 22d of January, and from thence was soon again at sea. But in course of a few days they began to realize the effects of their folly in building too hastily. The brig leaked so badly, that the pumps were required to be in continual operation. In a short time it was discovered that they were insufficient to keep her afloat; and the brig was put away for Porto Rico, while the whole crew were kept at work bailing out with buckets or whatever could be had fitted for the purpose. Laboring thus night and day they succeeded in reaching St. Johns, in the island of that name. It was said that she could not have been kept above water another day. Here they were, without money, without credit, and without any means of putting the brig in a condition to go to sea. But in this time of need they found a good friend who wished to go with his family to Havana, and who proposed to furnish the money to calk her, if they would carry him to that port. They were rejoiced to have the opportunity of making such a contract; and without delay accepted his proposition. With this fortunate aid they succeeded in getting her out of the water and repaired her. But before she was ready to sail, all their dreams of riches from plunder on the ocean vanished, by the receipt of the news that peace with England had been declared. They left St. Johns as soon as possible, and arrived at Havana, where they landed their passengers; sold their armament to obtain necessary supplies and sailed for home, arriving at Portsmouth after a short passage, and soon after at Kennebunk; where in April, 1815, she was advertised for sale.

Before the Ludlow was finished, another brig of the same size was on the stocks. But peace was declared before she was ready for sea, and she was sold to some one in Boston.

Such was the result of privateering with the people of Wells and Arundel. Not a prize vessel reached an American port. Thousands of dollars were spent, but not a cent was earned. The war was in every respect disastrous, and when the news of peace was received in February, 1815, there was great rejoicing. The bell was rung and cannon fired. The people gathered together and a grand cavalcade was soon inaugurated, which started for the Port to congratulate those who had been common sufferers with them in the evils of the war. The out-door commemoration was followed by a peace ball, at which there was music and dancing, interspersed with free liba-

tions of rum, gin, brandy and wine, in which male and female indulged to their heart's content.

During this war many of the people, especially of the mercantile class, found themselves out of employment. Idleness was no element in the characters of these men. Life was of no value without an active use of it. They must be doing something. As soon as the weariness of the day was over, they were accustomed to amuse themselves as well as they could by going from house to house and playing checkers, cards, etc. In the daytime they could find solace when meeting together, by imprecations on the government. It is a great comfort to some men to enjoy freedom of malediction; to be able to unburden their pent-up thoughts in emphatic words. Perfect composure under supposed wrong, whereby one's ruin is certain to result, is not to be expected of frail mortality. Even good Christian men dealt out hard blows on the national administration. But this spirit soon wore itself out, and the people generally, by the middle of the war, soothed by some of the naval victories, came to concur in the sentiment that it was best to give to Great Britain an effectual admonition that the liberty of the seas was not exclusively hers. Some other matters in the year 1814, making a draft on their purses, which were now but poorly supplied, withdrew their attention from this dead-lock on their navigation. Some of the people of Alfred had become impressed with the thought that a fire-proof building was necessary for the safety of our public records. These impressions, it may well be presumed, grew out of a desire to expedite the growth of that town. But the opposition to the movement was not so much on account of the burden of the expense of erection, as on account of the proposed location. The people of Wells were urgent to have it built at Kennebunk. The necessity of such a building no reasonable man could doubt. The question excited a good deal of interest. The people generally felt that its decision would have a material bearing on the location of the courts. The public convenience would, without doubt, have been better subserved by their location at Kennebunk than at Alfred. This judgment had been freely expressed by committees having this matter in charge, and by the Legislature. Of course there were some in Wells who endeavored to rouse attention to this subject, so that when the feeling of the county was to be tested by a popular vote, the town gave 559 votes for Kennebunk, and four only for Alfred. But this ballot

did not determine the question, and another trial was ordered the next year, 1814, when 665 votes were thrown for Kennebunk, and five for Alfred. But the general result was in favor of Alfred, and the fireproof was built there. Had a little more public spirit been infused into the masses of the county by the supporters of the Kennebunk location, a different result would have been reached, and this might have been the shire town of the county.

Other events in 1814 served to occupy the attention of the people. A great freshet occurred in May, doing much damage to dams, mills, and bridges. The bridge over the Mousam river in the village of Kennebunk, was entirely swept away, and for some time foot travelers were carried over by boats. But this excitement lasted only a few days. Business of all kinds was stagnant, and thence the people were idle. But idleness is not always an unmitigated evil. Sometimes, in their dull and vacant hours, men are led to think of their sins, and to look about them for a remedy for other and more dangerous evils. In this dark hour, while there were many who were led to a freer use of the intoxicating cup, there were others who were thereby awakened to a sense of their obligations as members of society. The distresses of families about them exhibited too clearly the degrading iniquity from which they proceeded, to leave any doubt as to the cause. Poverty works no hindrance to the ravages of the appetite for intoxicating liquor. In many cases a man will give all that he has for its gratification. Wife and children may be driven to despair, and even to starvation, but there is no relenting of the mad passion. The unfortunate subject may mourn over his fearful bondage, but the power of releasing himself from it is gone; he is the doomed slave.

So manifest was the increase of the ruinous sin of intemperance, that those who had withstood its allurements began to feel that some measures must be adopted to check the inebriate in his downward path, and the town voted to publish the law against intemperance and drunkenness. They might as well have published the law of assault and battery, to restrain the lightning of heaven from assaulting their dwelling houses. God's law was always before the eyes of men in the misery, disgrace, and perdition of those who were its violators; and what could the mere knowledge of human law do where this manifest law of God had failed? This posting of a human statute was powerless. The evil was in no measure stayed. Its

dark shadows were all over the town as well as the country, and this glorious inheritance of Christian civilization and civil and personal liberty was evidently tending to an ignominious and dishonored end.

In a few years after, more fortitude gained possession and took the control of some hearts. A board of selectmen was elected in the new town of Kennebunk, who resolved to face the enemy in the boldest way, and they posted the names of about thirty of the inhabitants of the town, notifying all the licensed retailers to furnish "to none of them strong liquors, directly or indirectly," assuring all violators of this order that the penalties of the law should be inflicted on them. This, to those who were not already gone beyond the saving power of self-respect, must have come with astounding effect. One of the most fatal qualities of intoxicating liquor is its deceptive power. The drunkard is seldom aware that he is a drunkard. Though it is apparent to everybody else, yet he does not know it. From many of these inebriates, imprecations undoubtedly came down on the heads of these courageous town officers. But they were unmoved by their anathemas. The result of this action of the selectmen was probably favorable to the cause of temperance. If none of the wretched slaves themselves were rescued from their evil ways, their children, we think, were essentially benefited by this public declaration of their fathers' shame. We have carefully looked through the list, and we are not aware that more than two of the descendants of these men have walked in the footsteps of their fathers.

Not long after this manifesto against these intemperate men, a new board of selectmen came to the conclusion that no licensed retailers were necessary for the public good, and withheld all licenses for the sale of ardent spirits. A few years after that, the general temperance reformation began, and the new position was assumed that intoxicating drinks were not necessary for any one. The people generally resolved totally to abandon their use, and thenceforward the doctrine of total abstinence has found favor and support with the public, as the only antidote to that baneful indulgence which has ruined so many who might otherwise have been useful members of society.

In 1815, Daniel Sewall, Clerk of the Courts, and Register of Probate, moved from York to Kennebunk, having purchased the new house of John U. Parsons, who moved to Parsonsfield. Though

Kennebunk had not become the shire town, all the court records were brought and kept here until Maine became an independent State, when Jeremiah Bradbury was appointed Clerk, and they were removed to Alfred. In this year the custom house which had been established at this place since Kennebunk was made a port of entry, was moved to the Port. Joseph Storer was the collector, and George Wheelright, the deputy; and thereafter all the business was done at that place, as it is now. The large number of vessels then entering and clearing would seem to have made this change necessary years before. The public appear to have been intent on making improvements in some way. A petition was circulated, asking the Legislature to compel the owners of dams on Mousam river to open a passage-way for salmon. This petition was presented at the next session, and notice duly ordered upon it. But when the subject came up it appeared that some had not been notified, and thus the measure was defeated. Why it was not taken in hand a second time, we are not informed. The freedom of the river for this valuable fish might have been a very profitable acquisition to the town. Another attempt was also made to have the term of the Supreme Court then holden at York removed to Kennebunk; but this project was unsuccessful. There was evidently a great want of spirit and determination among the people generally. They were anxious for improvements, but there was no resolution that they should be made.

But the recovery of their personal status before the war furnished the mainspring of action to almost every one; and as all, of every condition in life, felt the burdens of the war pressing heavily upon them, the spirit of opposition to it did not at once die out. The personal feeling against Madison on account of it continued during life with many of them; but this animosity was not extended to his successor. All party feeling and all personal, selfish opposition was allayed by the induction of Munroe as President, and a general acquiescence was manifest in the proposition to give him a hearty reception on his visit to Maine in 1817, the details of which we have given in another place.

JUDGE WELLS, the town clerk, died this year. It is a remarkable fact that this office was holden by him and his father from the year 1738. Nathaniel Wells, then elected, was annually chosen until the

year 1776, when he died. The son succeeded and was annually elected during life. One of the most unfortunate incidents of our elective system is the continual changing of the incumbents of office. This has grown out of that party spirit which has sent demoralization through all the departments of our civil and municipal administration. Men of experience, thoroughly versed in all the routine of their official positions, are compelled to give place to others, ignorant of the duties required, and in many cases having no other fitness for them than the imputed qualification given by zealous membership of the party to which they belong. If our country should ever come to the verge of ruin, its decadence will have been wrought out by the gradual influence of this corrupting agency. The spirit of party will override all genuine patriotism.

One of the sad events of this year was the death of THOMAS McCULLOCH, at Cambridge. He was the son of Hugh McCulloch, and brother of the late Secretary of the Treasury. He had reached the last year of his college life with unusual distinction. His high intellectual powers and that firm moral principle which seemed to have been interwoven with, or a material part of, his natural instincts, together with that kindness of heart for which he was specially distinguished, attracted the love and good-will of all with whom he had intercourse, and so won the favor and affection of his classmates that they caused a monument to be erected to his memory. In this class were George Bancroft, Caleb Cushing, George B. Emerson, Samuel I. May, now maintaining a prominent rank among the intellectual celebrities of the country. This tribute of men of that class to the memory of young McCulloch must be regarded as giving high sanction to the memorial. The monument is a marble tablet or slab, standing on six sandstone posts in the cemetery at Cambridge, and bears the following inscription in Latin. As it will be more acceptable to our general readers, we give the English translation :

“Here lie the remains of Thomas McCulloch, a student of Harvard University, born in the town of Kennebunk, State of Massachusetts.

By nature he was most richly endowed with all the gifts of mind and body which excite our love, delight, and respect; moreover,

frank and pleasant in his deportment, he easily won the affection of all before he sought it. He was desirous of honor and fame; but envy did not pollute his bosom, nor did calumny soil his lips. Most studiously devoted to education and learning, he had explored all the recesses of the human intellect and had plucked flowers from the whole domain of literature, and now, after the completion of his third academic year, from the highest pinnacle of literary honor which he had reached by his talent and diligence, he descended, alas! to the tomb. For, hurried away by a most painful malady, which had brought death to many unfortunate ones, on the 7th day of September, 1817, he breathed most calmly his last.

Age 21.

The love of his fellow students hath raised this monument, their tears have hallowed it."

From this period to the end of our history we know no material facts worthy of record. Some considerable spirit was excited in the last years of the union of the towns by the questions where the town meetings should be holden, and whether a poor house should be built. But the former, just at the crisis of a separation, became a matter of little importance, and the latter, if an affirmative vote had been given, would only have been a source of bitter contention, in imposing a heavy burden on the inhabitants of Kennebunk, without any compensatory return; and all desired, knowing that division must speedily ensue, to part in peace.

NATHANIEL WELLS, who, during his active life, had been one of the most valuable and distinguished of the inhabitants of Wells, died in 1816, on the sixth day of December, at the age of seventy-six. His father, rightly estimating the importance of knowledge, and perceiving in his son evidences of an intellect which might bring him forward to honor and usefulness, determined to give him the benefit of a liberal education. He was accordingly fitted for college, and entered Harvard University in 1756, whence he graduated in 1760. He was there regarded as possessing endowments fitted to give him eminence and rank among the great men of the land. He was distinguished for strength of intellect, a tenacious memory, deep thought, and uncommon power of argumentation.

He made great proficiency in the acquisition of science, taking a high stand among the students.

He does not seem to have been inclined to either of the professions. After graduation he resorted to the business of school keeping, in which he employed himself many years. Afterward, by the desire of his father, now far advanced in life, he returned to the old homestead in Wells, where he spent the remainder of his days. The people soon understood the value of such a man in the management of affairs of common interest. His sound and ripe judgment, quick perceptions, and general manliness of character gave him a popularity among the townsmen which he never afterward lost. He was, in consequence, early placed in positions of responsibility. In 1770, he was one of the selectmen of the town. In the trying period, perceived by him to be rapidly approaching, in which the souls of men were to be tested, his opinions were received with great deference. We think, from the evidence that we have, that he was not immediately decided as to the proper course of action for the people to pursue. He was satisfied that England was wrong; that her assumption of rights over the colonies was unwarranted; but what should be done by the feeble colonies in opposition to her assumptions, was not so easily settled. He finally came to the determination that, as there was no reasonable alternative, the people must fight.

Intelligence was received from Boston in May, 1773, that the liberties of the country were in peril, and Mr. Wells was appointed one of a committee of correspondence, to ascertain facts and determine upon the proper action of the town. In 1774, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace by Governor Hutchinson, which office he held under various appointments during life. His father, who was town clerk, died in 1776, and he was chosen to fill the vacancy. As there were then no such political excitements or party interests, disordering the public well-being, as have prevailed in later years, he was annually elected to the same office to the close of life. In 1779, he was chosen a delegate to the convention at Cambridge to form a constitution for the State of Massachusetts. In 1781, he was appointed by Gov. Hancock a special Justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas; afterward he was Chief Justice of the Court, representative to the Legislature, and member of the Senate. He was

selected for various fiduciary trusts. He was also a member of the convention at Boston, holden for the purpose of determining the question whether the State would assent to the adoption of the proposed constitution of the United States. He was on the commission with Samuel Phillips and Nathan Dane, who had in charge the management of the eastern lands. In fine, his services were sought for on all matters of public interest. He was the people's man, fitted for any station, and always ready for duty. His opinions carried with them great weight and controlled the action of a majority of the people.

The most prominent element of his intellectual character was a proclivity to argumentation. He was cotemporary with Dr. Hemmenway, who was one of the most eminent logicians of New England, and found much of his happiness in the discussion of those great questions which involve the eternal interests of men. On some of these questions there was a wide diversity of sentiment between the two. Judge Wells was strongly Arminian, not differing much from the Unitarians of the present day. Whenever they came together, any suggestion of either adverse to the views of the other, awakened at once a controversy of which neither of them would ever weary. They had occasion to go to Berwick to attend some council or association, and stopped at a public house. Probably, in continuation of a debate begun on the road, they there got into an animated discussion which was continued to a late hour in the evening, when the Doctor said he would step out of doors a little while. The judge responded that he would go, too. They went out together. The landlord waited and waited, till his patience was exhausted. Not knowing what might have happened to cause such a strange detention after twelve o'clock, he went out to ascertain the status of the disputants. It is unnecessary to state where he found them. But they were still in the very heat of the controversy, each wide-awake in defending and taking care of his own opinion.

Neither of these men had any inclination to yield an opinion once formed. All arguments directed to that end were parried or neutralized in one way or another. They formed no judgment on any important matter without careful consideration; and thence felt that their conclusions were sound, and, therefore, adhered to them with great tenacity. Yet they were men of a liberal and generous spirit, and entertained the kindest feelings toward each other. Judge

Wells was a deacon of Dr. Hemmenway's church, and was regarded by all as a man of stern integrity. Difference of theological speculation did not lead to denunciation or separation. The church of Christ in those days, though it embodied a great variety of adverse thought, went forward harmoniously in the work of the Master.

Judge Wells was an exceedingly useful man. On all matters involving the interests of the town, he was consulted with great confidence. Politically, he belonged to the Federal party, and was regarded as one of its most prominent supporters in the District of Maine.

As the Wells family is one of the oldest in the town, we give a brief genealogical sketch of it. They all descended from Thomas Wells, a physician, who came over from England in the *Susan and Ellen*, Capt. Paine, in the year 1635.* He settled at Ipswich, in the State of Massachusetts, and died there in 1666. He married Abigail, daughter of William Warner, and came to Wells in 1657. On June 29th of that year (1657), he purchased of William Symonds "two hundred acres of upland and fifteen acres of meadow, having a dwelling-house standing upon the same." He had children, viz.: Nathaniel, married Oct. 29, 1661, to Lydia Thurlley, and died December 15, 1681. John, born —; died in Wells, April 11, 1677. Sarah, born —; married John Massie, of Salem. Abigail, born —; married June 19, 1661, Nathaniel Tredwell, of Salem. Thomas, born Jan. 11, 1647; died July 10, 1734. Elizabeth, born —; married — Burnam. Hannah, born —. Lydia, born —; married Mar. 25, 1669, John Ropes, of Salem. How long he continued here is unknown, but he had an allotment of land on Little River, and in a few years returned to Ipswich. His wife died in 1671.

John is the only one of the children in whom we have an especial interest. He was left in possession of the farm in Wells, and married Sarah, daughter of Francis Littlefield, of Wells, who was born Nov. 16, 1649. They were probably married in 1664 or 1665; he died the 11th of April, 1677, leaving four children, viz.: John, Thomas, Patience, who married Nathaniel Clarke; Sarah, who married first Samuel Libley, of Salem, who was killed by the Indians in their

*NOTE.—It has been said that when he embarked from England, he took with him his wife, Ann, then twenty years of age, who died soon after their arrival here; but we have not satisfactory evidence of this fact.

assault upon Haverhill, Aug. 29, 1708; and secondly, about Dec., 1710, John Sayer, of Newbury. John, the eldest son, became a "mariner." He went to Boston, was there in 1702 and 1707. He returned to Wells; was there in 1723. He married, probably while a resident in Boston, Mary Peck, February 18, 1697. He made his will, May 10, 1748, and died in that year. His estate inventoried £2,000, a large sum for that time, including one negro, inventoried at £100. He left three children, John, jr., a blacksmith; Mary, who married — Maddock; Hannah, who married Thomas Goodwin.

It appears by the town records of Newbury, that in 1696, Thomas Wells married Sarah Browne, and had four children, who were killed with their mother, by the Indians. Soon after the murder, Thomas Wells returned to Newbury. The town records of Salem state that "Thomas Wells, of Newbury, and Lydia Gale, of Salem, were married Oct. 12, 1704." She was the widow of Abraham Gale (who died about 1702), and daughter of John Ropes and Lydia Wells, youngest daughter of Thomas Wells, of Ipswich. They had three children. Nathaniel, born Aug. 21, 1705. He was the first Deacon Nathaniel Wells, of Wells, and was town clerk for many years. He died in Wells, in July, 1776; Joshua was born March 17, 1707; Lydia was born May 29, 1709. She married Samuel Clark.

Thomas, with his family, returned to Wells previously to March 3, 1718, as he was at that time chosen deacon of the church there. He died August 26, 1737.

John, jr., son of John, married Deborah, the daughter of Dependence Storer, of York, Me., October 11, 1733, and had eight children, John, Samuel, Susanna, Samuel, Daniel, Dependence, Hannah, Mary.

Nathaniel, son of Thomas, previously referred to, and usually designated by the title of "Town Clerk," married about 1736, Dorothy Light, of Exeter, N. H., and had six children, Dorothy, Nathaniel, Robert, Martha, John Light, and Ebenezer.

Judge Nathaniel married Abigail Winn, January 1, 1770, and had seven children, Dorothy, Nathaniel, David, Abigail, Theodore, Timothy, Theodocia.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE FIRST PARISH—REV. BENJAMIN WHITE ORDAINED AS COLLEAGUE WITH DR. HEMMENWAY—HIS RETIREMENT AND DEATH—REVISION OF THE CREED—INVITATION TO REV. DAVID OLIPHANT—REV. JONATHAN GREENLEAF ORDAINED—THE SECOND PARISH—ADDITIONS TO THE MEETING-HOUSE—STEEPLE ERECTED AND BELL PURCHASED—DESCRIPTION OF INTERIOR OF THE MEETING-HOUSE—SINGING—MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS—ORGAN INTRODUCED—STOVES SET UP—INFIRMITY OF REV. MR. LITTLE—REV. NATHANIEL H. FLETCHER ORDAINED AS COLLEAGUE—HIS ADDRESS—THE CREED—MARRIAGE OF MR. FLETCHER—JOSEPH SMITH—HIS ATTEMPT TO OVERTURN THE MEETING-HOUSE—JACOB COCKRAN—LETTER OF REV. JONATHAN GREENLEAF TO REV. MR. FLETCHER—ACTION OF THE PARISH RELATIVE THERETO—SUNDAY SCHOOL ORGANIZED.

IN the year 1810, Dr. Hemmenway having become so infirm as to be unable to preach, the Parish came to the conclusion that it was necessary to obtain some one to supply the pulpit. He concurred in this necessity, and in conformity with a custom then prevalent in the churches, a fast was appointed for the 31st of October, to seek Divine aid in a matter of so much importance. In pursuance of a vote to this effect, Benjamin White, who was highly recommended, was employed as a candidate, and so well satisfied were the people with his services, that it was voted to give him an invitation to settle as colleague pastor. To induce his acceptance, the parish offered him five hundred dollars as a salary, and after the decease of Dr. Hemmenway, the use of the parsonage, and a reasonable time to visit his friends. The offer was then considered a generous one, and was accepted by Mr. White May 4, 1811. His pastorate was so short that we deem it unnecessary to give in detail the ceremonies introductory to his ministry. He was ordained June 26, 1811. His health was feeble, and much of the time he was under the necessity of being absent from his parish. He was a true and faithful minister, making it the great object of his life to lead his people to righteousness. During the short period in which he was able to maintain his

position, he was very successful in his labors. Many were added to the church. His bodily frailty, perhaps, contributed much to his power as a preacher. He felt that he was on the confines of the grave; and the sympathies of his hearers were thereby more closely drawn to him. But he was soon obliged to succumb to the relentless power of disease. After long absence, he writes from Thetford, March 9, 1814, "I have but a short time to tarry in this world." He then submits the question of his dismissal to his people. A council was called on the 14th, and in concurrence with the church, it was voted to dismiss him. He died on the 23d.

During the ministry of Mr. White, an important revision was made in the creed and covenant of the church. We have regarded all these expressions of belief as declarations of the minister only; and we suppose this new enunciation of Christian doctrine and duty to be the production of Mr. White. It was undoubtedly drawn by him and assented to by the church, the people generally having so much confidence in their minister, and so little in themselves, that they did not attempt to qualify their creed by any thoughts which came up in their own minds. Most Christians take an interest in these pronouncements of religious doctrine, and find satisfaction in comparing them with those of other churches. And, therefore, we insert this new creed entire.

"Confession of Faith, and covenant adopted by the First Congregational Church in Wells, Oct. 11, 1811.

You believe there is one God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, who created, upholds and governs all things.

You believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be a divine revelation from God, containing all the doctrines which we ought to believe and all the duties which we ought to perform.

You believe that God first made man in his own image, consisting in knowledge and holiness.

You believe our first parents sinned, and by sinning lost communion with God, and became exposed to his just displeasure.

You believe that Adam's posterity, in consequence of the union constituted by God between him and them, are born destitute of holiness, with hearts inclined to sin and under condemnation, and must perish unless saved by Sovereign grace.

You believe that God sent his only begotten son into the world to

make an atonement for sin, and hereby open a door of mercy for our fallen race.

You believe regeneration necessary to eternal life, and to be the foundation of every Christian grace.

You believe that God has established a church in the world, and that none ought to be admitted to its ordinances except those who give evidence of faith in Jesus Christ.

You believe there are two sacraments in the church, Baptism and the Lord's supper; and that it is the duty of professing [parents to devote their infant offspring to God in Baptism]." This clause between the brackets was afterward stricken out, and the words, "Christians to observe both these ordinances," inserted in their place.

"You believe in the doctrine of justification by faith, the resurrection of the dead, and final judgment. You believe that the whole world will be assembled before God at the last great day, and be rewarded according to their character; when the righteous will be received into everlasting life, and the wicked punished with endless destruction.

These things you profess to believe.

Covenant. You now in a serious and solemn manner choose the Lord Jehovah, Father, Son and Holy Ghost to be your God.

You engage, by Divine grace assisting you, to walk in all his commandments in a blameless manner.

You engage to maintain the worship of God in his house on the Sabbath, and as you have opportunity, to attend upon his daily worship in the family and in secret; to observe the Sacraments in the Church, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and to support church discipline faithfully, according to the rule prescribed in the Gospel.

You engage to watch ever your heart and life in the fear of the Lord, and guard against everything that may bring dishonor upon the cause of the great Redeemer; to seek the prosperity and enlargement of this church as far as you have ability and opportunity.

This you covenant.

We now consider you a member (or members) of this church in communion and fellowship with us, and engage to treat you with that affection and watchfulness which your sacred relation to us requires. And we earnestly desire that by our faithfulness we may as-

sist each other in the service of our Redeemer, that we and you may obtain mercy of the Lord, and finally be prepared to enjoy his presence forever."

The following was afterward added as the second engagement: "You engage to study the Scriptures in a careful and prayerful manner, in order to learn the duties you owe to God, to your neighbor, to yourself, and to your offspring."

Mr. White did not adhere strictly to the practice recommended by the synod of 1662. He would not baptize the children of those who were not members of the church in full communion. For the half-way covenant he had no respect; believing that one could not be honest in that profession who would not, also, come to the Lord's Supper. This refusal to baptize the children of non-professors or half-way Christians, touched the hearts of some of his society very severely. They had long been accustomed to witness this ceremony in the church in its free ministration, and felt that it was a great sin to withhold its beneficent influences from any one. The sight of even the most unworthy dedicating their offspring to the Lord, took strong hold of their sympathies. They could no longer find peace and comfort in a church which had thus failed to sanction this sacred and endeared custom. William Boston and his wife Elizabeth, though childless, requested to be discharged from the church, and to be recommended to the church of the Rev. Mr. Fletcher. James Rankins and Ruth Boston, also, for the same cause, left the society. These, also, had no children for baptism.

After the dismissal of Mr. White, Rev. David Oliphant was invited to take charge of the society. He had been some years in the ministry and was a very popular man. To secure his services the parish offered him four hundred dollars and the use of the parsonage. But the position did not meet with his acceptance. Yet he took advantage of the opportunity, presented by the invitation, of preaching to the people an effective discourse. In his answer he states that his health is feeble, the climate of the seacoast unfavorable to his constitution, and the labor of a large scattered parish too hard for him; and also that the offer of a salary was unreasonable, and he regretted "that a people so long distinguished for their ardent desires to have the Gospel preached to them, should at this time, when

they need its sacred instructions more than ever before, set up so strong a barrier against the enjoyment of its blessings as the refusal of a proper support of it." It is somewhat questionable whether this reply was in good taste, and prudent as became a servant of Christ. Mr. Oliphant had been living in a larger and richer community, and his notions of the appropriate salary for a minister were the offspring of the associations which he there enjoyed. But in all these border towns the people were limited in their means, and business paralyzed by the exigencies of war, and no one could feel that it was a time for the increase of salaries. Beside, the salary offered was as liberal as that received by neighboring ministers. We believe that the profession should be so well remunerated for their services, that no anxiety for family support should be allowed to prevent the clergyman from giving his whole heart to his people.

Jonathan Greenleaf was afterward invited to preach as a candidate, and his services were so acceptable that the Parish unanimously concurred with the church in inviting him to the ministry, and making to him the same offer which was made to Mr. Oliphant. Mr. Greenleaf, by letter of Feb. 13, 1815, signified his acceptance, adding that it was no part of the plan of his life to become a parochial minister, but that Providence had ordered otherwise; and, in consonance with this Divine direction, he should speak plainly. That he should not cry peace to all, but should proclaim everlasting joy to the good, and misery to the evil. He was ordained on the eighth day of March, 1815. Rev. Mr. Mittenmore, of Falmouth, made the introductory prayer; Rev. Mr. Brown, of North Yarmouth, preached the sermon; Rev. Mr. Sweat, of Sanford, made the ordaining prayer; Rev. Mr. Fletcher, of Kennebunk, gave the right hand of fellowship; Rev. Mr. Calef, of Lyman, the charge, and also offered the concluding prayer.

All the council were not in full accord with the doctrinal views of Mr. Greenleaf, and some little controversy was awakened by his expressions. But in the main, the members concurred. In his preaching he fully carried out the programme prefigured in his acceptance. He was independent and decided in his theology, adhering strictly to the doctrines assumed and declared by the early Synod in Boston. Under him the old custom of baptizing the children of non-professors who assented to the baptismal covenant, was revived. He revered this practice of the forefathers, "believing that no person

would assume this covenant without faith in Christ, and that the church was bound to receive the children of such to baptism, and themselves to full communion whenever they desired it, if their lives were such as become the Gospel;" such persons so offering their children to be regarded as putting themselves specially under the discipline of the church. How this discipline was to be exercised, does not appear.

From this time during the remaining years of this history, there was much trouble in the church by the unfaithfulness of some of the members. But the principle of forgiveness to the erring brother or sister was still adhered to, in forgiving offenses upon mere confession and alleged repentance. In our view, this was a most baleful practice, and had little tendency to restrain subsequent aberration. The same persons in a very short time after forgiveness, again dishonored their profession by going astray from the Christian path. We have already expressed our opinion of this practice.

But a position was assumed in one case which, we think, cannot find support in a sound Christianity. A member neglected to attend public worship with this church for nine months, and in the meantime attended a Baptist meeting, and had a Baptist minister preach in his own house, whereby the church say, "religion was wounded, and its enemies had occasion to blaspheme." We cannot concur in such a judgment. Christ has but one church in the world, and all Christians are members of it. Going from one meeting to another, or from one church to another, or having any Christian minister preach in one's house, is no departure from the law of Christian duty, and the enemies of religion are never led to blaspheme by any such action. It is the denial of religious freedom, the intolerant spirit which provokes blasphemy in disbelievers. We hesitate not to say that if the delinquent had attended another Congregational church, and its minister had preached at his house, no such grievous charge would have been made against him. The offense was in thus manifesting his sympathy with another denomination; and we believe in the view of the common Father, it would have been a much more acceptable charity to have continued to sympathize and love him as an anxious and earnest disciple, than it was to receive one back into the church who had been guilty of a criminal offense, upon the mere declaration that he was sorry for his offense, and asked forgiveness. We pretend not in any part of this work to express any opinion on the theology of any

class of Christians. But religion is a personal matter, interesting the individual more than any one else. His own conscience and reason must guide him in the use of the means for its growth in his spirit. If he has come to believe that the teachings of the Baptist are better fitted for his improvement than those of the Congregationalist, then it is his right to avail himself of them, and by the change no dishonor is brought on the Church of Christ. But it should be made a serious question with the church of departure, whether its denunciations of such an one have their sanction in the law of God.

In a former chapter we have given a history of the various embarrassments and difficulties attending the building of the meeting-house of the Second Parish. The work was protracted twenty-five years, and then not completely executed. After all this delay, and the exciting controversy to which it gave rise, it was found that the house was not large enough to accommodate all the people. New residents had come in and the population was largely increased. A young minister, with a clear voice and a mode of address more captivating than that of the old pastor, had been settled over the Parish, and more of the townsmen were attracted to the sanctuary. It now became necessary to make a material alteration to provide pews for all. Accordingly, at a Parish meeting held on the 20th of June, 1803, it was voted that the meeting-house be enlarged, by making an addition on the back side, not exceeding 28 feet, and not less than 24, with the addition of a belfry, and that before proceeding, the pews should be sold, as located according to a plan drawn by Thomas Eaton; but that no such work should be done if the sale of the pews did not meet two-thirds of the expense. Tobias Lord, William Jefferds, Jacob Fisher, William Taylor, and Joseph Moody were appointed a committee to carry the vote into effect. At a meeting on the third day of April, 1804, it was voted to purchase a bell.

The pews were sold at auction on the 21st of September, 1803, bringing sufficient prices to authorize the committee to proceed with their work. A contract was entered into with Thomas Eaton to make the contemplated alterations. But, notwithstanding this plain vote of the Parish, it was determined to saw the building in two, lengthwise, and move the rear half back twenty-eight feet, so as to make the additional pews in the centre of the church, and leave all the old pews uninjured. This was, we presume, more satisfactory to

the owners of the pews in the portion to be moved, as it would leave them in precisely the same relation to the pulpit as before. The rear half of the building was accordingly moved back, and the intervening twenty-eight feet filled with the new pews. Previously to this change, there were but three long pews on each side of the broad aisle. These had been built a short time before the change. Ten more were added on each side, and about sixteen square pews in the other part of the house. The old roof was taken off and reconstructed, with the end of the attic toward the road. The steeple was erected in 1804, and the bell soon after raised to its position in the belfry. It was first rung in the fall of that year at nine o'clock in the evening. This was the third in the District of Maine, that of Mr. Smith's church, in Portland, having been obtained in 1753, and that of the Congregational church, in York, on the 20th of September, 1788. In its outward aspect, excepting the painting, the meeting-house remains now as it was then completed. The contract with Eaton was a hard one, and being satisfied of that fact, the Parish subsequently gave him five hundred dollars.

Having thus erected a house of worship, not only satisfactory to the people, but inspiring them with some degree of pride by its magnificence, far excelling in beauty and symmetry any other in Maine, they felt the importance of taking care of it, and in accordance with the narrow view of religious instruction which then prevailed, and still rules in many minds, the Parish voted "that no orations should be delivered in it." Notwithstanding the increased light which a progressive civilization is shedding on the world, great moral darkness still hangs over a large portion of the race. Thousands yet feel that religion has no need of knowledge or education. Men cannot be made to comprehend the postulate that learning is the handmaid of virtue; that all the sciences even are ministering angels to a healthy and substantial religion; that ignorance has been the bane of godliness in all ages. Orations at that period, perhaps, more than now, were an important agency in the diffusion of knowledge. The orator labored hard to make his subject instructive and valuable to his auditors. The house of God should always be open for benevolent purposes, for every object involving the well-being of humanity. But this old vote still remains on the record of the Second Parish in full force. For one occasion it was suspended, but for many years it has been disregarded.

As the internal arrangement of this house has been recently so modified that it bears little resemblance to that of which we have been giving an account, it may interest the descendants of the builders to have some further description of it. In the house as erected in 1774 there were no long pews; they were all square, with seats on the sides and ends. All the ancient churches were arranged in the same way. Over the pulpit, three or four feet above the head of the minister, was the sounding board, octagonal in form, about eight feet diameter and a foot or fifteen inches deep. This was hung at the centre from the ceiling, and was supposed to give a louder intonation to the words of the preacher, causing them to reverberate more distinctly through all parts of the house. Being neatly moulded and finished, it was rather ornamental to the house. It was continued in its place many years after the alteration in 1803. These sounding boards were a part of the internal structure of all the ancient churches. There were three aisles for access to the pews, the broad, and the right and left; a pew for old men on the left, and one for old women on the right, of the broad aisle. These two pews were moved forward with the rear half of the house. The front part of the galleries was painted, but no other portion of the house, except the pulpit, the deacon's seat, just under it, at the head of the broad aisle, and the pew of Dimon Hubbard. The exterior of the house and steeple was painted a dark yellow, not expressive of a very becoming taste in the people.

One memorable feature in the construction of this church, common to all churches of olden time, and regarded as indispensable to the comfort of the worshippers, cannot be forgotten by the survivors of that period. The seats were all furnished with hinges, so that in rising for prayers the seat could be raised, and be sustained against the back of the pew until the prayer, sometimes long enough to weary the soul of the Christian, was ended; when simultaneously all were let down, most of them dropping a few inches, and many of them, especially when occupied by children, slammed down with an impetus somewhat exceeding ordinary gravitation. So that any one living within half a mile would have the clearest evidence that the minister had ended his devotions; and the preacher himself, especially after one of his long prayers, would have a response from the seats tending to bring back his attention, at once, to things terrestrial. There was also another little arrangement well adapted to

wake up the sleepers, and parenthesize the sermon. Every pew had one or two rests hanging down on the front. These the lazy and sleepy could raise up to a horizontal position, sustained there by a prop, and lean the head on it for a comfortable nap. Of the great number of these in the house, at least two or three, by some motion of the nervous sleeper, during the sermon would have the props knocked from their places, causing the rests to fall with a detonation which would startle not only the sleeper, but everybody else in the house.

The part of the service belonging to the singers has always been regarded as material to an effective public worship. In ancient times it was a voluntary offering in all the churches. Men and women united themselves in choirs for the purpose, because they enjoyed sacred music. They sung with the heart, and sometimes, perhaps, with the understanding. It has been but a few years since this Christian custom has given way in any of our towns to a select choir, paid in whole or in part. No such change had taken place in the societies in Wells, down to the time when our history closes, and it is believed that even at the present day, of the large number of churches in the County of York, but very few have been compelled to resort to a measure so fruitful of dissensions and so inconsistent with the best interests of any religious society. With much more consistency should the people be called upon to pay for their services, all such as take part in the exercises of the conference or prayer meeting. The mode of singing in all the churches of New England, previously to the present century, was very uniform. The custom had been for one of the deacons to read a line, which would be sung; then another, which would be sung, and so on to the end of the hymn. Such was the usage in both the churches of Wells, all the congregation uniting. But in 1787, the people of the Second Parish presented a petition to the Society, that some new action might be taken in regard to the singing; that they would determine whether they would have the psalm read, or whether it should be sung without reading. On this petition it was "voted to Act Quia with the vote in the church the 22d of Nov. instant; that is, to sing the Fore Noon with Reading Line by Line. The Afternoon Vears by Vears." Jacob Fisher and William Jefferds were appointed a "Committee to Advise and Regulate the Singers." But it was a difficult labor which was thus put upon them. The singers would

not be regulated. The difficulty appears to have been that some were lazy, and chose to sit down and sing, while others preferred to stand. The choir still occupied the seats on the lower floor. One would suppose that the sitting posture, whereby most of the singers were out of the sight of the audience, would not be the most acceptable to intelligent musicians. But the committee, being unable to bring the parties to satisfactory terms, appealed to the Parish, and, at a regular meeting, it was voted "That it is the Desire of the People in General that the Singers should keep their Seats." But this arrangement continued only a few years. The singing seats were very unfavorable to the freedom required in the performance of their duties. There was then no organ in the church. The bass-viol was the usual accompaniment or guide of the voices. Sometimes the fiddle came in to enliven the music, especially after Dr. Emerson came to Kennebunk, when its sharp, shrill strains constituted a material part of it on all special occasions. Sometimes the clarionet was added. It was not until about 1812 that the bassoon was introduced. This was played by Daniel Whitney. With these several instruments, the seats were very poorly adapted for the accommodation of the choir. A special meeting was called, in 1796, to see if the Parish would move the singers into the front gallery. It was voted to do so. To avoid all cause of complaint, as no very acceptable provision was made for them there, it was further "voted that the singers should not be disturbed until there is a handsome seat built for them in the front Gallery;" and to make the position more satisfactory, it was decided that they should have the whole front gallery. But this did not entirely meet their wishes, and in 1813, the Parish voted to "alter the front gallery to accommodate the singers." Such was the posture of the music of this church until 1819, when it was voted "that the proprietors of the organ may have liberty to set up the same." This instrument was manufactured by Dr. Furbish, of Wells, and was obtained by subscription among the members of the society. It was not of great power, as may well be supposed, and on one or two interesting occasions, the bassoon and bass-viol were summoned in as auxiliaries.

As a general postulate, it may be said that this religious society has always been ambitious, perhaps beyond its ability, to make its house of worship vie in beauty and convenience with that of any neighboring parishes, so that advancing time has been continually

suggesting improvements. While such an ambition evidently existed, it is remarkable that, for seventy years, in our cold New England climate, the people should have left their hearthstones, where they enjoyed the blazing heat of the old-fashioned fires, and traveled, some of them, six or seven miles, in the severity of winter, to sit in the church, and remain there sometimes two hours, enveloped in a rigorous atmosphere, untempered by any artificial warmth. Such an exposure now would be regarded as a manifestation of insanity. But somehow or other, the people of that period had come to feel that the severer the trials and endurances to listen to the word of God, the more acceptable and profitable was the attendance on the service of the sanctuary. The fires of the spirit were considered sufficient to sustain the necessary warmth of the body. For anything that the author knows, the pious and the godly of those days, with their firm constitutions, may have enjoyed these hours of sacred worship with interest and composure; but the memory of his own experience, in his youthful days, yet reminds him that they were not very grateful to sinners, neither can he be made to feel that they were very profitable to souls. But even the older part of the audience, hardened as they were by the returning rigors of fifty winters, had not become sufficiently callous to withstand all the severities without some artificial heat. This was furnished by the hand-stove, always carried to meeting in the winter by the women to keep the feet warm. Most of the men were in the habit of taking some internal stimulus to wake up the blood to a more lively action during the hours of worship, and if that proved inadequate, they assisted the circulation by knocking their feet together. But the younger part, who were not in the habit of availing themselves of either of these means, satisfied that they could worship a little better when the earthly tabernacle was not trembling than when it was, suggested the propriety of introducing some more effectual heating apparatus. Accordingly, in 1821, on the petition of Edward E. Bourne and others, the Parish consented that two stoves might be set up in the meeting-house; and from that period, church-goers, even the most spiritually minded, have never complained that warming the house of God was any impediment to their edification, or to the growth of an acceptable piety.

In 1820, the house was repaired and thoroughly painted. In this

satisfactory condition we here leave it for the consideration of facts of more vital interest.

Toward the close of the century, Mr. Little's health began to fail, and in 1799, in consequence of his infirmities, he was unable to continue the regular services of the church. It then became necessary to make provision for the supply of the pulpit. Jonas Clark, Richard Thompson, and Joseph Moody were chosen a committee for that purpose. Benjamin Green, who afterward became Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, preached three Sundays. After him Mr. John Pipon preached several Sabbaths. His services were very acceptable, and at a Parish meeting, July 8th, it was voted to give him an invitation to settle as colleague with Mr. Little; but being invited to a more acceptable position at Taunton, he declined the call. William Jefferds, Jonas Clark, and Joseph Moody were afterward chosen a committee to continue the supply, and Nathaniel H. Fletcher was invited to preach as a candidate. His services met the approval of the people, and it was voted to extend to him a call to settle as colleague pastor. Four hundred dollars were offered to him as a salary, with the use of the parsonage property. On the 5th of July, 1800, he signified his acceptance of the invitation, and the first Wednesday in September was appointed for the ordination. John Taylor, William Jefferds, Jacob Fisher, Thatcher Goddard, and Joseph Moody were chosen "a committee for securing the meeting-house, providing for the Council, and making arrangements for ordination."

An Ecclesiastical Council was holden on the third of September. Mr. Fletcher's theological views were read and adjudged satisfactory, and it was unanimously voted to proceed to ordination. The usual services were then performed agreeably to assignment. Rev. John Thompson, of Berwick, made the opening prayer; Rev. Dr. Tappan, of Cambridge, preached the sermon; Rev. Dr. Hemmenway made the ordaining prayer; Rev. Silas Moody, of Arundel, gave the Right Hand of Fellowship; Rev. Jonas Clark, of Lexington, gave the charge, and Rev. Edmund Foster, of Berwick, made the concluding prayer. Mr. Little was unable to take any part in the services. Satisfactory arrangements had been made with him whereby he was to receive his stipulated salary during life, relinquishing all claim on the parsonage property.

Mr. Fletcher's theology as read before the council, recognized one God as the Creator, the Holy Scriptures as a revelation from God, given for instruction in righteousness; and declaring the doctrine of universal depravity, that Jesus was miraculously introduced to the world, and that in him dwelt the fullness of the Godhead, that by his death he atoned for the sins of mankind; after his ascension he sent the Comforter, the Holy Spirit, whose assisting influences are necessary to our conviction, conversion, and salvation; that Baptism and the Lord's Supper are Christian ordinances, one a seal of initiation into the household of Christ, the other to be kept as a memorial of his death; that Jesus Christ will be the final judge of the actions of all, and from the righteous will divide the wicked, who shall go into everlasting punishment, while those who exercise a living faith in Christ, he will place on his right hand and crown them with unfading glory.

After the close of the ordination services, Mr. Fletcher read the following address to the church:

"Under a deep conviction of Divine omniscience, I now, in this public manner, renewedly declare my acceptance of your invitation to settle as colleague pastor, with your present aged minister, the Rev. Daniel Little. The full but singular unanimity which has marked your proceedings, united with the consideration of that friendly attention you have ever shown your aged pastor, calls forth my thanks, renders my prospects delightful, and demands my highest exertions for the happiness of your immortal souls. Partaking of human frailties in common with other men, I ask the remembrance of me in your daily prayers to the throne of victorious grace, that I may be directed by the God of wisdom, and be faithful to my trust.

Relying on your usual candor and friendship, and the promised aid of our ascended Saviour, with mingled cheerfulness and humility I engage in the sacred office, to the reputable and successful discharge of which I solemnly consecrate my labors and my life. May that endearing connexion which the transactions of this day are to sanction, be continually ripening, till we shall all be triumphantly gathered to our fathers, and be joined indissolubly with the redeemed of the Lord."

At this time the following was the creed in use in the church, as drawn up by Mr. Little, and which has been continued to this day:

"You (and each of you), profess a serious belief in the Christian religion, as taught in the sacred Scriptures, which you acknowledge to contain truths of Divine inspiration, and to be the only perfect rule of faith and duty.

You acknowledge the Lord Jehovah to be the only true God and your God.

You own the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, to be the Redeemer and Saviour of mankind. And you expect the remission of your sins and final salvation through him in the way of faith, repentance, and that obedience to his command which the Gospel requires.

You acknowledge the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper to be of Divine institution and command, and that you will yield obedience to them and to all other Divine commands, so far as Divine assistance shall accompany and prosper your endeavors.

Upon this your professed belief of the Christian religion, we declare your right to the privileges enjoyed in this church, and we expect as you shall have opportunity, and a conviction of duty shall direct you, you will give your attendance and testify your Christian fellowship.

In this view of your relation to this church, we wish you a mutual blessing from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ."

From the inauguration of the church, many people availed themselves of a scheme of partial redemption, whereby they were lifted up half-way from earth to heaven; not feeling free, as it was their wont to say, to come up to a full acknowledgment of Christian discipleship. This scheme was termed the half-way or baptismal covenant, in assuming which the covenanter only acknowledged the truth of the Christian religion, and the validity of its ordinances, for the baptism of his children. This plan had a great many zealous advocates and friends. The people generally revered this mode of dedicating the young to God and the Christian life, and most parents presented their children for baptism when but a few weeks old. But it now began to lose its hold on the affections of the people, and the ministry to feel that the ordinance administered upon such a confession merely, was of no real benefit to parent or child. Mr. White, of the First Parish, as stated in the preceding chapter, came to the conclusion no longer to follow the practice of baptizing the children of such partial religionists, giving thereby great offense to some of his society.

Mr. Fletcher entered on his ministry under very favorable circumstances. The society was large, and the people prosperous. Many were soon added to the church. Cheered and encouraged by the prospect before him, and having full faith in the Divine inspiration that it is not good for man to be alone, very soon after his ordination he took upon himself the covenants of the most intimate earthly relation, in a union with Miss Sarah Storer, daughter of John Storer, Esq., of Wells.

Mr. Little continued to attend public worship when able, occasionally taking part in the services. On Sunday, the third day of October, 1801, he was at meeting in his usual health. The next day, October 4th, while sitting in his chair conversing with some of his family, a paralysis came over him, and his life was suddenly closed. An immense concourse of his parishioners and friends attended his funeral. He was interred in the burying-ground adjoining the store of Henry Kingsbury, where a monument was erected to his memory. This monument, with his remains, has lately been removed to the new cemetery in the village.

It is well known to all readers of ecclesiastical history, that from the year 1810 onward to 1820, a very important change took place in the relations of the New England ministry. Discord began to break out in the churches. Clergymen uttered widely different theologies. Spiritual feuds were thereby increased, and some of the regular parishes were rent in twain. Sectarianism received new impulses, and thence went forward, daily gaining strength in the formation of new barriers against any reunion. This division of the standing order was a Godsend to those who had no affection for it, who maintained that a free religion was the right of every man; that any one had the right to preach the Gospel as he understood it; and that no one should be compelled to pay for the support of a ministry of which he did not approve. These men, and predecessors of similar views, had been proscribed by Congregationalism, and prohibited from preaching within its boundaries. Civil or ecclesiastical authority can never repress or subdue one's religious convictions, or prevent the open expression of them. Opposition openly imparts to them new strength. At this time all were obliged to pay taxes for the support of some regular ministry. Excepting the Baptist societies in Wells, there were no other than the original Congregational. Strong feelings were now cherished by many against these older

societies, on account of this compulsory support which they were annually rendering, and it was an easy task to inflame the passions of such persons to the adoption of any measures which might rid them of this grievance. In the enthusiasm engendered by religious excitement, men frequently imagine that all things are possible to them, and artful adventurers may easily stir up their feelings to some aggressive movement. They may be led to feel that they are fighting the battles of the Lord in doing what they can to overthrow the strongholds of their enemies. At this time, one Joseph Smith, a Free Will Baptist, came to Wells, and went about from house to house preaching this free religion, and endeavoring to arouse the people and inspire them with a deeper interest in the things of the spirit. To many, his words came with power. The passions of his hearers were excited. He was wrought up to such a frenzy by his successful labors, that he believed his mission was to overthrow all error and destroy the works of the devil. Thus infatuated, and perhaps sustained by the faith of some of his converts (having appointed and given notice of the day and hour), he came to the village with a determination to upset the meeting-house. He evidently had a full conviction that power would be given him from on high for that purpose. Some of the people of the Parish were present, but no one attempted to interfere. He went along the eastern side of the house and stopped midway, where he had a fair opportunity to bring his power to bear. He had read what Samson had done by Divine help, in pulling down the main pillar of the temple and destroying the thousands there gathered; and why should he not have the same help in accomplishing a lesser work for the overthrow of error? Having appealed to the source of all strength, and full of the faith that his prayer would be heard, he applied his hands to the sill, and straining every nerve and muscle to its utmost tension, endeavored to lift it. But the building would not move. Again and again he grappled with all his might; all his exertions were powerless. Either he had miscalculated the power of faith, or the character of his mission. He might, indeed, by perseverance have removed mountains (small ones), but the meeting-house was founded upon a rock, and all his efforts were in vain. He was obliged to abandon the great work to which he had come with so much confidence, and go away humbled and dejected by his failure.

One of the wags of the day endeavored to immortalize the story of

this great effort, by clothing it in the garb of poetry, only the first two lines of which have survived the "wrecks of time," viz.:

"Joseph Smith, the Baptistical rover,
Upset the whole town and turned the meeting-house over."

Enough of the poem remains, however, to settle its historic value; for in the very commencement he seems to have availed himself of the "poet's license" in stating as a fact that which never occurred, namely, the overturning of the meeting-house.

Notwithstanding this egregious folly, the zeal of the followers of Smith was in no degree abated. Though all intelligent and considerate men looked on with wonder, that rational beings could become the subjects of such a delusion as to be drawn after this fanatic, multitudes of men and women followed Smith in his wild vagaries, attending his meetings and receiving his words as the inspirations of one specially sent to awaken them to the great business of life. Meetings were holden at private houses and in the fields, where the frenzy of the assembly was roused to such an extent, that strangers, never before having witnessed such manifestations, would have been led to believe that they had fallen into a company escaped from the mad-house. The admonitions and warnings of considerate and reflecting men, and the jeers of the thoughtless, were alike ineffectual in subduing the mania which was thus degrading the humanity of so many. In the midst of a sermon of Mr. Fletcher on Sunday, one of these females came in, and rising from her seat in the gallery, poured out her exhortation to the congregation, until her tirade was cut short by the "muscular Christianity" of two or three of the congregation.

But this delusion was only the introduction or first stages of a still greater which grew out of it, and made sad havoc of the virtue and peace of many families in this and the adjoining towns. In 1815, one Jacob Cockran came to Kennebunk, holding himself out as a preacher of the Gospel. We do not know that he claimed to belong to any existing denomination of Christians. We presume that he did not, for the religion which he enunciated was entirely original. Of his previous life we know nothing, and his disciples were probably as little acquainted with it. He contrived to get himself introduced here, like Simon the sorcerer, giving out that he was some great one. He appears to have been invested with some extraordinary power, whereby he soon succeeded in bewitching some impressible hearts and drawing them into sympathy with him. The

followers of Smith very readily fell in with, and took to heart, his ministrations. He visited specially among the people in the lower part of Kennebunk, holding meetings in various places. His services found so much acceptance there that he was encouraged to take a broader field; and he came into the village and held his meetings at Washington Hall. It is impossible to give any description which can fully represent the character of these religious manifestations. Though without education, Cockran was evidently possessed of intellectual power. He knew the way to bring the sensibilities of the unlearned into fellowship with him. The hall was crowded night after night, though it was considered dangerous for the young to come under the influence of his sorceries. He stood upon a table where he could see all the countenances of his hearers, and there went through with his exercises. One after another was led to cry out and fall upon the floor. In the progress of the meeting many were brought down in the same manner, some crying one thing, some another. We do not suppose that there was any deception on the part of these prostrates. The effect was actually produced by some power in him which he wielded very adroitly; all his subjects manifesting the intensity of their impressions by some strange utterances or unnatural contortions. Some fell into trances and continued so several hours; whether rapt in heavenly vision or not we cannot say, as we never made enquiry of any of the subjects. A considerable number of respectable citizens, as well as young females, were drawn into, and gave countenance to this movement. Some were finally brought into complete subjection to him. Meetings were holden at some of the houses in the immediate vicinity of the hall. Here a larger liberty was enjoyed, and the vociferations of the disciples came to the ears of the outer world with greater force. A stranger in his carriage was passing one of these houses when the spirit of the meeting was at its height, and was so startled by the screams which issued from it, that he directed the driver to stop and run to the next house and notify the people that a murder was surely being committed there. At another time, six or seven young women gathered on the meeting-house steps, and waving their handkerchiefs, cried out, Glory to God! Glory to God! and, with other ejaculations of a similar character, astonished the neighborhood. Some of these females were of respectable standing in society, and had had the benefit of a fair education.

If Cockran's operations had had their limits in these meetings, no very material injury might have resulted from them. But this would not have satisfied his designs. The associations here were not sufficiently familiar to meet the demands of his religion. He must have a place which would be abiding, where the community of his disciples could enjoy a common home and have all things common. He accordingly found an impressible disciple in a neighboring town, owning a large house, who was willing to open his doors and receive the brethren and sisters under his roof. To make the home fit for more complete freedom, some of the partition walls were taken away, converting the rooms into one, so that day and night they could enjoy all the communion and fellowship which they desired. Here he broached the new doctrine that spiritual men should have spiritual wives. This enunciation opened the eyes of a few of the converts, and they withdrew from the community. For causes of which we have not trustworthy recollection, a new project was started, and Cockran and his coadjutors determined to build a house fitted for their special accommodation. A lot of land was obtained on the Buxton road, five or six miles from Saco, and a house erected with the conveniences which the newly enunciated religion required. Some females from Kennebunk became associates and part of the great family. Here, under his own roof, Cockran and his disciples preached, and carried out this religion. How large his community was, we have not learned. But while here, in the exercise and enjoyment of his spiritual freedom, violated law took hold of him, and he soon found himself an inmate of the State's prison. We have no further knowledge of him.

But the Parish was not disturbed by any such madness as this. In 1817, a more serious matter engaged the attention of the people of both parishes. No event in the history of Kennebunk has created such an excitement as did the revelation, at this time, of an anonymous letter from Rev. Jonathan Greenleaf, minister of the First Parish, to the Rev. Nathaniel H. Fletcher. This letter was received by the latter a year before; but Mr. Fletcher being of a discreet and careful temperament, and anxious to discover the author, made no disclosure of its reception to any one, even of his most intimate friends. His ear, however, was always open to every utterance which might shed a ray of light on the mystery. He could not, for a moment, entertain the thought that it was the production of any one not a mem-

ber of his society. He knew that there were a few of the Parish who were not in full sympathy with his public ministrations, and very naturally supposed that they might have been in some measure accessory to this manifesto of dissatisfaction, and his eye was more especially on their religious movements. By unremitted quietude, and constant vigilance, from revelations which it is here unnecessary to mention, a little light beamed on his mind, leading to the thought that the letter might have been the production of some one who had misrepresented his relationship to his society. In the council which had gathered for the ordination of Mr. Greenleaf at the First Parish, Mr. Fletcher manifested his non-accordance with some of the responses which were made by the candidate; more especially with that in relation to the atonement. Mr. Greenleaf had said that he believed that God himself had died on the cross. Mr. Fletcher immediately added, "you mean, Mr. Greenleaf, the Son of God." To which, Mr. Greenleaf rejoined, "No, sir, I mean God himself." This little episode indicated a wide difference of opinion, and it occurred to Mr. Fletcher that its effect on the mind of Mr. Greenleaf might have been adverse to good fellowship; and thence, harboring the feelings which not unusually grow out of such a ministerial collision, that he might have been the instigator of this aggression on his personal prerogatives. Having this thought on his mind, the field of vision became much more limited, and he confined himself to watching more closely the language and operations of a few persons, whose views he knew did not well harmonize with his own on religious doctrines, and by steady, persevering vigilance, he soon obtained light sufficient to satisfy him as to the author of the communication, and communicated the letter and all the facts to John Low and another gentleman, two of the most efficient members of his Parish. These persons immediately went to Mr. Greenleaf's house in Wells, exhibited to him the letter, and charged him with being the writer. Mr. Greenleaf at once acknowledged himself to be the author. We have no remembrance of having been informed what further took place at the interview. The purpose of the visit was fully answered in this acknowledgment by Mr. Greenleaf.

There immediately arose great excitement in Kennebunk, while a feeling of regret to a corresponding degree came over the people of Wells by this development. Communications denunciatory of Mr. Greenleaf were handed for publication to the editor of the Weekly

Visitor. But very wisely he declined their publication, on the ground that it would embitter feelings already too intense on the subject, and subserve no good purpose; although the little paragraph had a place in his next paper, that the great serpent had appeared in Wells a little to the eastward of the meeting-house. Such was the indignation of the Kennebunk Parish, and such the feelings of his own people, and we may add, such was the position in which Mr. Greenleaf found himself by the disclosure, that he deemed it necessary to write another letter to Mr. Fletcher, setting forth and explaining the motives and objects which led him to the unfortunate procedure. As the whole transaction is within the memory of many still living, and as we well know the strong feelings with which the religious views of the people are cherished, we forbear comment on any part of it. Mr. Greenleaf's explanatory letter, dated Aug. 8, 1817, is too long to be embodied in these pages. But in explanation of the act which now brought upon him such severe denunciation, he writes to Mr. Fletcher that he in conversation with him had signified his assent to the principles of Calvin—that he had avowed the same at the ordination of Mr. Payson; and yet, that at home and abroad his sermons were not marked by any such principles; that pious people were not satisfied with his preaching, and that “he prayed like a man who had no experience of grace in his heart;” and further, that he was making additions to his church of people who gave no evidence of piety, and that he was far from being satisfied with the evidence of his personal piety; and he thought he ought to be apprised of his errors. But how to do this, was the question which troubled his mind. The thought of a secret letter finally suggested itself as the only expedient; and after some further remarks, not by way of explanation, but in acknowledgment of some error in his statements, and reaffirming other statements, he proposed that the whole matter should be hushed and these letters destroyed.

To this Mr. Fletcher replied, that he had submitted the whole affair to his society, and could make or concur in no proposition for the adjustment of the controversy.

When the facts had come to the knowledge of the people, a petition was presented to the assessors, signed by many of them, requesting that a meeting should be called to take the whole matter into consideration, and to adopt such measures as justice to their spiritual teacher, and to themselves as a religious society, might require.

A parish meeting was accordingly holden on the first day of September, 1817. A large number gathered on the occasion. After being duly organized, the letter of Aug., 1816, and that of Aug. 8, 1817, were read. The first of these letters was as follows:

August 1816

“Rev Sir

you will excuse me for troubling you in this manner when you understand the motive from which this communication springs you will believe me when I say that I am one of your verry best friends, and that i take this way of sending this letter by dropping it secretly into the Post office and have disguised my hand writing in order to save my feelings and your virtue while your enemies have said many things against you your real friends have long felt anxious that you should know something of their minds and I feel safe in saying that I speak the sentiments of the greater part of your people and among them of your best friends within a few years past the publick opinion has changed in regard to doctrines and in regard to religious things generally — This is strikingly the case in this society the doctrines generally called calvinistick which 7 years ago were not well received are now the most popular hence you may account for the desire which no doubt you often hear expressed that you should exchange with calvinistic ministers, and not with such as Mr Webster the people have begun to see that you do not preach as other Ministers do. when Mr Calef or Mr Greenleaf preach here or when they happen any where to hear other preaching they do see that there is a difference with your real friends see these things and lament them they see with sorrow as you must also, as soon as any become verry serious they leave the meeting and either go to the baptist or stay at home and when they can go either to wells or Arundell this is not the case at Arundell & Wells. In these places when people become serious they go to meeting the more when people here are asked the reason of this they say they cannot be edified by your preaching that you do not preach like a converted man yourself they say that in your preaching you seldom or never insist on repentance for sin or the necessity of a change of heart in order to salvation they say that the chief strain of your preaching has of late been to perswade people to Join the Church and not to become new creauteers I must confess their is too much

truth in this your preaching seems to rest in the outward works while the heart is left out There is an other thing which to us looks mysterious, the people have understood that at Mr Payson's Ordination there was some difficulty and that you appeared to be satisfied & acted with the Orthodox part of the council but you does not preach as Mr Payson does—dear Sir believe me your people are all eyes and ears to see and hear all they can about this matter all your movements are verry narrowly watched both by friends and foes not however for the sake of putting you down but to discover what will take place. they have tried to find out the opinion of the neighboring ministers of the calvinistic stamp and are anxious to know whether any of them will change with you. Mr Greenleaf has preached here several times though very much against the will of his people, and as far as we can learn he does it from a sence of duty and perhaps will continue so we cannot find that Mr Cogswell Mr Payson have ever said that they would not exchange though from what I can hear they will not untill they can find you preach out something which in private conversation with them you pretend to hold as for what I can hear they are pretty well satisfied with your conversation in private and did you but preach openly the same sentiments. they would gladly be In Fellowship with you will you not dear sir be advised by one who is really a true friend to your best Interest If you do beleive in the total depravity of the heart the necessity of its being changed and other doctrines of the same kind as in private conversation with other ministers you pretend to why do you not preach something about it — the opinion of the bulk of the people has changed in regard to these things and did you desire to be popular you would not take a more ready way than to preach as Mr Cogswell Mr Greenleaf or Mr Payson does — It grieves and mortifies your Friends to see you becoming unpopular as you certainly are—and this society going down while others are rising this certainly is the fact scarce ever a sunday but more or less of this congregation go either to wells or Arundell meeting or to the Babtist but when do any of them come here scarce ever when you are at home do think if it is not so. whence is it but that there is a difference in the preaching. It is true that there are many Joining your church but this by the more discerning part of your society as well as out of town Is construed against you we see no alteration in many of those who Join your church and we cannot find that they are any

more religious than they were before still we find that to get people to Join the church is the great point both of your late preaching & of your conversation with the people these things stagger the minds of some of your real friends. this has Induced me to advice you in this manner I entreat you not to be offended nor to try to find me out these are things that I beleived it necessary you should know and I could not say them to your face they are In substance what i beleive are in the minds of three fourths of the people do I entreat of you consider whether it is not as I have stated and whether there is not a material difference between your preaching and the preaching of those ministers I have mentioned and whether theirs is not more agreeable to the scriptures and whether you can expect them to have fellowship with you or your parish long hold together when you pretend to one set of sentiments in private conversation & preach others ——”

The foregoing is an exact copy both of the tenor and literature of the letter. After the reading, George W. Wallingford, Joseph Dane, and John Low were appointed a committee to take the letters into consideration, and to make such report thereon as they should think expedient. The committee, after due deliberation, reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted :

“Resolved, That this Parish deem it their solemn duty to guard with vigilance any attempts, from whatever source they may originate, to wound the peace or violate the rights of the man who has been called by them to discharge the high and important duties of instructing them and their children in the great truths of their holy religion.

“Resolved, That we view with sentiments of surprise and alarm the conduct of a neighboring minister, the Rev. Jonathan Greenleaf, who has, through the medium of an anonymous letter, undertaken to interfere in the parochial concerns of this Parish, to slander and defame our pastor, and to alienate the affections of the people from him; to charge him with duplicity in his sacred office; to libel and traduce the church, by representing the persons who compose it as devoid of piety, of Christian faith, and purity of life; who has the temerity to affirm that ‘within a few years past the public opinion has changed in regard to doctrines, and in regard to religious things

generally,' and that this 'is strikingly the case in this society;' that 'Calvinistic doctrines are now the most popular,' whereby plainly intimating that the revelation of God to man, which for eighteen centuries has been the Christian's best hope, is a creature of fashion subject to constant change, and that it is our duty, in our belief and worship, to make popularity our polar star.

"Resolved, That we highly approve the temperate, dignified, and independent manner with which the Rev. Mr. Fletcher has treated the aforementioned letter; that our confidence in him remains not only unshaken and undiminished, but that in this new proof of his correctness we have much to admire and applaud.

"Resolved, That we cherish feelings of friendship and good-will towards our neighbors and fellow citizens of the First Parish in this town, and ardently hope that no 'root of bitterness will spring up' to interrupt that harmony and social intercourse which has so long been maintained between the two societies collectively, and the persons who compose them in their individual capacity.

"Resolved, That we consider it due to our reverend pastor, to ourselves, and to the due preservation of civil and ecclesiastical order in society, to take such steps and adopt such measures as will discover our marked disapprobation of this sinister, though we fondly hope impotent, attempt, under the guise of friendship, but with motives which we believe hostile to that liberty of conscience which is the natural right of all, and which is guaranteed by our Constitutions of Government, as well as in open violation of the best principles of the Christian religion to produce schism, a spirit of rancor, and unchristian feelings amongst us; and believing, as we do, that the before mentioned letter contains matter highly false, libellous, and defamatory, though weak and imbecile in its style and manner, the Parish assessors are hereby authorized and empowered to pursue such a course in relation thereto as the laws of our country, the best interests of society, and their wisdom shall direct.

"Resolved, That the letter of the Rev. Jonathan Greenleaf, of the 8th of September last, written, as the author declares, with a view to explain the motives which produced the one without a name, dated August, 1816, and to make suitable apologies for any incorrectness therein, is of the same class of the first; that it has much of the leaven of insolence and detraction; that it only serves to devel-

op the motives of the one without a signature, and proves, beyond the reach of doubt, an officiousness and intermeddling, without excuse or apology.

“Resolved, That the clerk be directed to furnish and present Rev. Mr. Fletcher with a copy of the above mentioned resolves.”

The result of this unfortunate action on the part of Mr. Greenleaf was very unfavorable to the peace and well-being of the town. What effect it produced in his Parish we are unable, with any confidence, to state; but the union which had prevailed between the people of the two Parishes suffered much under its blighting influences, and it was probably one of the material agencies which, in a short time afterward, sundered the connection which, for more than an hundred and fifty years, had been so harmoniously maintained.

This interference with another's sphere of duty is seldom productive of good to the Christian church. Religion is a matter between one's self and his Maker. Freedom of thought and action, unrestrained by what others may do and say, can only indicate the true state of the heart. We look back now on the action of churches a half century since, and wonder at much of their discipline and attempted dealing with professed disciples; but our opinions and feelings are only the result of an advanced stage of civilization. We cannot help condemning some of the proceedings of the church of the Second Parish. Mrs. Mary Jefferds, a friend of Mr. Greenleaf, in 1818, asked a dismission from this church, and a recommendation to the church in Arundel. This request, we feel, should have been granted without hesitation; but instead of this liberal answer to her application, Daniel Sewall, John Low, and the minister were chosen a committee to wait upon Mrs. Jefferds, and learn from her the reasons upon which it was based, and the causes of her absence from worship with this church for nine months. Her reasons were readily given, that she had somewhat changed her religious views, and she thought she should be better edified under the ministrations of Mr. Payson. There is no doubt that she would have been, and as it is the duty of Christians to aid in building up others in the Christian life, this church should have bade her God-speed in her proposed change. But the committee were not satisfied with this plain expression of her feelings, and requested her to give them her reasons in writing, so that they might lay them before the church. This she

refused to do, and we think very wisely. But the committee reported that this refusal was "contrary to the commands of the Gospel and the spirit of the covenants," and therefore they would not report that her request should be fully complied with. "But desiring to exercise Christian charity, and considering the many imperfections of human nature," they recommend that she be dismissed. The church unanimously voted to accept this report. But we do not see in the action of Mrs. Jefferds anything contrary to the commands of the Gospel or the spirit of the covenant which she had assumed.

The same practice which prevailed in the First church, of requiring a public confession, before the whole congregation, of those who had been guilty of a violation of the seventh commandment, was engrafted on the rules of this church, and was continued until the present century. A practice more adverse to the growth of the Christian character cannot well be conceived. What benefit was to accrue to such confessors, or the public, by the disclosure, is not readily perceived.

In the year 1819, Mr. Fletcher, on an exchange with Rev. Dr. Parker, of Portsmouth, took the opportunity of visiting his Sunday School, which had been in operation two or three years, and satisfied of its aptness as a means of promoting the Christian religion, on his return, suggested the organization of one in his own Society. For this purpose, he enlisted the services of two energetic men, John Low and Daniel Sewall, deacons of his church, and on the 1st of May, 1819, the following notice was published in the Kennebunk Gazette:

"To all who regard the sanctity of the Lord's day, and the importance of instructing youth in the principles of the blessed religion of Jesus Christ,—

You are invited to send your children to the Meeting House in this Parish, to receive instruction in the Scriptures of truth, in a manner best suited to their ages, circumstances, and capacities. Those who are able are desired to bring a Bible, or testament and primer, or any book containing the Assembly's Catechism, and any other Christian catechisms on hand. Books will be provided for those unable to procure them; and for such this instruction is more specially designed. Kennebunk, May 14, 1819."

The people all over the town responded to this notice, and on the sixteenth day of May the boys and girls flocked to the meeting-house, to inaugurate the first Sunday School in Kennebunk. This being then the only religious society in the village, every denomination, Trinitarians and Unitarians, Baptists, Methodists, Universalists, saints and sinners, all united in the proposed work. Teachers of all speculative beliefs, if they were sound in Christian life, were allowed to engage in the business of instruction. Rev. Mr. Fletcher had the leading agency in its management. John Low and Daniel Sewall were directors. The teachers with their classes were located in the wall pews all around the meeting-house. These being filled, the balance were placed in the square pews on the opposite side of the aisle. There were upward of thirty teachers and 216 scholars. Every teacher was at liberty to follow the suggestions of his own mind in his teachings. The Bible and New England Primer were the only weapons put into their hands, with which the Devil was to be fought. It was then the generally received opinion, that a personal devil was at the bottom of all the iniquity which ruined so many of the race. Before the end of the year, Cummings' Questions were added. The general course of instruction, we think, was limited to question and answer, and committing to memory verses in the Bible and Watts' Hymn Book. As a consequence, the ambition of the scholars was for pre-eminence in the amount committed to memory. The result of all the labors of the year was thus footed up at the end of the school in November:

Number of verses recited from the Bible,	31,725.
Number of verses from Watts' Hymns,	22,652.
Number of answers from different Catechisms,	63,519.
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Total,	117,896.

How much benefit accrued to scholar and teacher from this mode of instruction, we leave to the judgment of the reader.

We here close our ecclesiastical history. It is very imperfect. Records have failed to give us the needed information. But we have availed ourselves of all the facts with which years of diligent search have supplied us. In some particulars, perhaps, we have erred—very

probably in the opinions expressed. But in our historical statements, we have confidence that there are no important mistakes. The early history of Wells, with years more of added labor, might have been of deeper interest and more satisfying to its inhabitants. But, having given to it all the attention consistent with our other duties, we must here leave it, however imperfect it may be.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

AGRICULTURE—THE CROPS—CORN AND POTATOES—THE STOCK—DESCRIPTION OF THE EARLY HOUSES IN KENNEBUNK.

WE have been unable to obtain satisfactory data, from which we could give any special account of the agriculture of the town. The municipal officers, from the initiation of the settlement, have been very negligent in the preservation of papers which should have been in its archives. We have several times before alluded to the narrow sphere of the husbandry of the first settlers. During the course of the Indian wars, there was nothing which could be regarded as the regular annual culture of the earth. Sometimes all exertions for the purpose were entirely fruitless. At other times, particular sections succeeded in gathering some moderate harvests, while other portions were defeated entirely by the devastations of the enemy. After the close of the third war, the people were more confident of reaping some fruit from their labors in the field. Additions were made to the settlement. Many of those who had been driven from the east by the ravages of the Indians, decided to remain in Wells and vicinity. The Scotch Irish came into town in 1720 in considerable numbers, and soon became active and useful members of the settlement. Those who had been living here had been obliged to fight their way through trials and oppositions of which we have had no experience, and therefore cannot well describe. They may, perhaps, well be said to have been almost tired out. But the new comers brought with them strong physical constitutions, and hearts eager for work. Many places of protection or garrisons were now provided in the town, in the event of a renewal of the war with the natives. These immigrants inspirited the old settlers, and thus all entered with zeal upon their various branches of employment. As we have stated in another chapter, Judge Wells regarded the soil in Wells as very unproductive, and but illy fitted to give to the husbandman any encouraging return for the care bestowed upon it. But the testimony

of facts, a few years afterward, seems to us very much against this judgment. It will be remembered that during the whole of the last century none of the machinery, now so useful in agriculture, had been brought into use. Everything must be done by the hand. But in 1748, so successful had been the husbandry that the farmers gathered their hundred fold. They did not give their attention to a great variety of crops; their corn, hay and flax being the principal articles on which they depended for the support of their families. They had yet no market abroad for any of their vegetable products. Their lumber was the chief article of merchandise sent to other marts. In the year named Nathaniel Hill raised 150 bushels of corn; Joseph Sayer, 280; Nathaniel Wheelright, 150; Eleazer Clark, 200; Nathaniel Wells, 250; Samuel Clark, 200; Joshua Wells, 100.

Potatoes had not been a common article for cultivation. The Scotch Irish had brought them into town in 1720, but as the people were not familiar with their use and value, they probably did not at once adopt them as edibles for the table, and perhaps the new comers did not feel sure that the soil was adapted to their culture. But on this subject we cannot speak with confidence; although we know that it was many years before they came to be regarded as an important crop. In the adjoining town of Arundel, Bradbury says, they were not cultivated until after the settlement of Mr. Prentice, which was in 1730.

Though lumber was the leading article of commerce, we suppose the people relied somewhat on their dairies and their beef as sources of income. They evidently could not make use of these for domestic use only. They were as remarkable for their large stocks as for their crops of corn. Nathaniel Hill kept nine cows and six oxen; Joseph Hill, eleven cows; Sayer, thirteen cows and nine oxen; Clark, nine cows and six oxen; Francis Littlefield, 3d, fifteen cows and five two-year-old heifers and six oxen; Nathaniel Wells, eight cows and eight oxen; Richard Boothby, seven cows; Richard Kimball, seven cows and eight oxen. In 1751 there were between four and five cows for every house in town. Our knowledge in relation to the cattle of the ancient townsmen is very limited. But we have no doubt that many more of the people kept stocks as large as those which we have named. Neither have we any doubt that there were others whose crops of corn equaled those which we have mentioned.

But immigration had now become so extensive in other parts of

New England that the demand for lumber rapidly increased, and the material for sawing was so abundant that farmers found the manufacture of boards more profitable than tilling the soil; and they resorted to milling and marketing their boards. Kennebunk had not yet done much in the way of agriculture. The twenty-five families there at this time had come in principally for the purpose of building and operating mills and supplying the lumber market; coasters coming into the harbor very freely to obtain cargoes of boards and other materials for the erection of buildings at the West. But as soon as the land was sufficiently cleared, they planted enough for family needs. Still, this was considered as a corn region, and farmers who relied on agriculture for income, gave special attention to that crop. In 1784, the first year after the close of the war, potatoes had come to be regarded as having a claim to a share in the husbandry of most of the planters. The population had so increased that milling furnished business for only a small proportion of the people. Farming and ship-building began to have their appropriate share in their labors. Public sentiment in Kennebunk concurred in that of Wells, 40 years before, that the corn crop was the most profitable; and accordingly they made it their leading article of culture. Potatoes had acquired a character for usefulness; but it was many years after this before they reached the position which they now have. In this year John Gillpatrick and son raised 180 bushels of corn and 30 of potatoes; Richard Thompson, 180 bushels of corn and 140 of potatoes; John Taylor, 150 of corn and 100 of potatoes; Isaac Kimball, 50 of corn, 35 of potatoes; John Mitchell, 50 of corn, 50 of potatoes; Samuel Mitchell, 40 of corn, 20 of potatoes; John Gillpatrick, jr., 150 of corn, 40 of potatoes; Obadiah Littlefield, 150 of corn, 40 of potatoes; Eliphalet Walker, 30 of corn, no potatoes; Benjamin Day, 30 of corn, no potatoes; James Smith, 80 of corn, 70 of potatoes; James Hubbard, 40 of corn, 20 of potatoes; Thomas Boothby, 40 of corn, 20 of potatoes; Stephen Larrabee, 52 of corn, 20 of potatoes. Most of these persons raised from ten to thirty pounds of flax.

It will thus be seen that the people then relied on a harvest of corn, and were successful in planting it. The evidence is strong that the crop is as reliable here as anywhere else, if farmers would give their attention to it. It, perhaps, requires more labor and more manure than in the Western States, but the expense of transportation from the West to Maine is fully as much as the expense of its culti-

vation here exceeds that of the West, and we think more. A good farmer can become independent by the products of his farm, as well as the mechanic or merchant, if he abhors the evil indulgences which have counteracted the benevolent influences of Providence in his favor, as we believe most of our farmers now do.

The people of Kennebunk relied on their dairies, as well as those in the older part of the town. They kept large stocks of cows. Nathaniel Kimball had 6; John Gillpatrick and son, 8; Richard Thompson, 6; John Taylor, 6; Israel Kimball, 6; John Mitchell, 7.

The iron mills created a great deal of business, and the farmer came in for a large share of it. Many of them found employment in the transportation of the ore, which was obtained in various places. Others had ore on their own land, and hauled and sold it by the bushel, or ton, to the manufacturers. Others hired the mill and made their own iron, paying the rent by the product of their labors. In this way, much of the leisure time of farm life was occupied; but still greater benefit accrued to farmers from other needs of the mills. Great quantities of charcoal were necessarily consumed. The material for this was then found on almost every farm, and most of them, we think, occasionally employed themselves in making and carrying it to market.

After the Revolutionary war, the people seem to have looked less to their labors in the field for a support of their families. Their lands were, in some measure, neglected for other employments, which the new state of things presented. The lumber trade, ship carpentry, and sailor life presented attractions to many of the young men, and thus the needed labor was taken away from many of the homesteads, and the corn crops began to diminish. Though respectable harvests continued to be gathered till about the time of the war of 1812, or two or three years after, when a severe frost in August destroyed the entire crop, yet still they had become small in comparison with those of the earlier years, and from that time many farmers have even bought the corn required for their families. The crop is small now for each individual, when contrasted with that of 1750.

It is remarkable that some of the names given to oxen have been retained for two hundred years. John Wadley called his Spark and Berry; Francis Littlefield, 3d, called one yoke Star and Colyer; another, Mark and Lyon; the third, Swan and Sweeter. Spark, Star, Lyon, and Swan are yet common names.

In the early period of the town's history, beyond the year 1750, the people appear to have had little regard to personal comfort. The sweat of the brow was not given to the building of fine houses, or to any of those domestic arrangements which modern progress has made almost indispensable to comfortable and decent living. The young of the present day can with difficulty be made to believe that the first settlers in Wells made such limited provision for their families as has been described in a former chapter. But a hundred years afterward, household accommodations, aside from furniture, appear to have advanced at a very slow pace. The one hundred and seventeen houses in 1748 were valued by the assessors at only twenty dollars each. In this number there were, perhaps, one or more houses of two stories; but there were, probably, a good many log houses, not worth even the value here put upon them. The late William Butland, who lived almost through a century, and whose memory in his last days was as reliable as many of our records a hundred years ago, because he not only knew what he stated, but could always state clearly what he knew, wherein the maker of the records frequently failed, stated to the author, that in his boyhood there was not a house in the limits of the present town of Kennebunk which had a square of glass in it, all being lighted by block windows only. Such a device for illumination in the winter season, it appears to us, was not very congenial to frail humanity. In 1795, fifty years afterward, the house where Miss Elizabeth W. Hatch now lives, on the top of Zion's Hill, had in it but thirty-six squares of seven by nine glass. These were embraced in seven windows, probably all having but four squares, excepting the two front. Houses were valued then by the squares of glass, or the degree of light which they enjoyed, the number and size of the windows being an important item in fixing their value. But a great change was now working its way into the aspirations of the people. Mr. Little had built a two-story house at the Landing, in 1753; a few others followed his example. The war, however, prevented any rapid progress until its close. A spirit of enterprise then seemed to prevail again among all the people. Tobias Lord built a house of three stories at the Landing. We think the village of Kennebunk had come to be somewhat in advance of most of the towns in New England. Mr. Little about 1790 had built a second house, the same lately owned by Paul Stevens. Rev. Caleb Bradley, in his diary,

under date of April, 1798, says, "Left Judge Sewall's April 9th; rode through Wells and arrived in Kennebunk and put up with the worthy Mr. Little, a man of a thousand, 19 miles. Kennebunk is a beautiful place, and Mr. Little has one of the most beautiful ministerial situations I ever saw. He has a very convenient house, a fine garden, through the middle of which a small brook meanders, and in the summer season, in the morning, a person may divert himself by catching salmon trout." This house of Mr. Little was a very ordinary building, without symmetry, painted red, and yet this worthy man from Dracut regarded the house and its appurtenances as "the most beautiful" establishment he had ever seen, thereby clearly suggesting the fact that in all the towns through which he had passed but little progress had been made in the style and architecture of houses. Zion's Hill, now adorned with so many fine houses, had upon it then but two ordinary two-story houses. Most of the people were content with what we should now call very humble accommodations for their families. The earliest settlers had lived through years of hardship and endurance, and had become so accustomed and attached to their cheap dwellings that they had no disposition for any change. Many of them thought much more of the house of God than of their own, and would deny themselves comforts for an honorable seat in it. James Wakefield, who lived near the McCulloch house, died in 1779. His house, after his death, was appraised at thirty-three dollars, while his pew in the church was valued at sixty-seven.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

VOTE OF THE INHABITANTS ESTABLISHING THE PROPRIETARY OF THE TOWN—ORGANIZATION OF THE PROPRIETORS—BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN WELLS AND COXHALL RENEWED—GRANT TO PROPRIETORS OF COXHALL—PROPRIETARY LAW SUITS—VOTE OF PROPRIETORS TO DIVIDE—LOTS ASSIGNED BY LOTTERY—CONTROVERSY IN RELATION TO THATCH-BEDS—DONATION OF CERTAIN LOTS BY THE PROPRIETORS—VOTES CONFIRMING TITLES—CARRIAGES INTRODUCED.

WE do not find in early history any clearly defined and established right to the Plantation of Wells in the town, or in individual inhabitants. The act of incorporation does not imply title in the occupants of the territory, neither do we find any grant of it by Gorges or Massachusetts. The authority given to Wheelright, Boade, and Rishworth, does not invest them with the fee. But in subsequent years, those who had here taken up their residence, and maintained their hold on the land which they occupied during the first three Indian wars, seem to have come to the conclusion that they had acquired, by their several possessions, the title to all the other lands within the limits of the town. We cannot deny that by the exertions which they had put forth for its protection against the inroads of the savages, and by the severe trials which they experienced in the defense of it, they well merited property in the soil. They had saved it by their sacrifices and their labors, and thence we do not feel called upon to make inquisition as to their strictly legal claims to it. The lands had not hitherto been regarded as of material value. All that was required of settlers, at the first attempts at settlement, was that they should pay five shillings annually for every hundred acres. Afterward, instead of this payment, the condition of the grants was that they should occupy and make improvements, unless prevented from so doing by the Indian enemy. But the war being now closed, and the hopes of the people revived that a permanent peace might follow, the townsmen began to regard the lands as

of more material value. Accordingly, on the 20th of March, 1715-16, they voted themselves to be owners in common of all the ungranted land, as is stated in another part of this work. This vote was the introduction of the proprietary of the town, and from this period they and their heirs or grantees assumed the title of the soil, and made grants according to their pleasure. To manage safely and judiciously their interests in the township, it was necessary that a proper organization should be effected, and on the 14th of May following, a meeting of the proprietors was called, and Joseph Littlefield was chosen clerk, and William Sayer, Joseph Hill, and Samuel Hatch a committee to call meetings as often as might be needful. It was also voted that an annual meeting should be holden on the second Tuesday in February. Thus the town, as such, was divested of all control of the lands from this date, and all legislation in regard to them and all grants were thenceforth at the will of the proprietors. Records of all subsequent action are to be found in the proprietors' books.

But a great many grants had previously been made by the town. These were all subject to conditions of improvement, and it was no easy matter to determine those which had been made effectual to the grantees by the fulfillment of the conditions. Many of these grantees did nothing toward a compliance with the terms of their grants. The terrors of Indian warfare, and the consequent hopelessness of any successful improvements, led many of them to neglect their lots altogether, and others to leave them, even though they had made some progress toward reducing them from wildness to the purposes of agriculture. John Wheelright, Jonathan Harmon, and Samuel Emery, were chosen a committee to "search the town book relating to the former grants, and report the forfeitures;" and John Wheelright, Daniel Littlefield, and Moses Wells, "a committee to run the land lying between the land granted and Kennebunk river, and renew the bounds between Wells and Coxhall."

The last-named committee, in regard to the boundary of the adjoining plantation, reported May 25th the line to be as follows: "On a white Oke tre at the head of a guley at the upper gorner of the guley above the greate falls where the saw mill formerly stood with the letters W & C, and so from said tree due South West to Mousam river, and Northwest to Kennebunk where we marked Elm tree with letters W & C, bounds were fixed Nov. 5, 1701."

The proprietors of Coxhall many years previously had asked for a grant of a portion of this land between Kennebunk and the Mousam river, next adjoining their Plantation. We have been unable to ascertain the motive for asking or making this grant, and we do not see any good reason why it should have been made. But it seems that in 1691, a mile of this land between the two rivers was thus granted to the proprietors of Coxhall. But, for the same reasons, we suppose, which prevented the occupation and settlement of the lands in other parts of the town, the Coxhall proprietary failed to settle the lot which was transferred to them. But now, willing to encourage the settlement, the proprietors of Wells, who were anxious to have the adjoining territory occupied and improved, regranted this same land to Coxhall, "excepting any grants which may be made, mill privileges and lots, and rights of flowing, and rights to lay logs and convenient way for hauling logs, that may or have been built on Alewife Brook; also, privilege of cutting timber on said land; and also on condition that proprietors of said Coxhall settle four families within two years, or two families in each year, and afterwards as many families as there are hundreds of acres. And, if said proprietors shall build mills on the river, then to leave sufficient passage-way for logs down the river to mills in Wells on the river." If all the conditions were not fulfilled, the grant was to be void.

It does not appear that the purposes of this grant were carried out by Coxhall. The line of Kennebunk is straight from York to Kennebunk river. Such a jog as was here contemplated, extending into Kennebunk a mile between the Kennebunk and Mousam rivers, would have materially disfigured the town of Wells, as then existing; and the town of Kennebunk have lost a large tract of valuable land, and, if measured by its present status, many valuable citizens, with the Great Falls, the most important mill-site within its limits. It is probable that they were unable to induce any one to settle on it within three years. Men did not feel confident that peace was so firmly established with the tribes that they could with safety locate themselves at a place so remote from aid and protection. The saw-mill which was built here had been burnt by them, and it was almost presumptuous to attempt to rebuild and renew the manufacturing of lumber. But some of the Wells settlers were not easily disheartened, and in 1720, the proprietors granted to Col. John Wheelright, Samuel Hatch, and the heirs of Joseph Taylor, two hundred acres on

the northeast side of Mousam river adjoining Great Falls, and four acres on the west side. Under this grant the mill was rebuilt.

In 1722, the committee who had been appointed to make an examination of the records, and ascertain upon what conditions grants had been made, reported to the proprietors that it was expedient for every grantee to prove his own fulfillment according to the terms of his grant. But their report does not seem to have been satisfactory, and a new committee, consisting of Joseph Hill, Samuel Emery, John Wells, and Samuel Hatch, and the clerks of the proprietary and of the town, was chosen to search the proprietor's and town records, examine what lands had been granted on conditions, what the conditions were, and whether they had been complied with. This committee made the same report as the preceding.

The proprietors now began to place a little higher estimate on the value of their lands. A great deal of valuable timber had been wasted in various ways. Men had been driven or cut off from their work from the pressure of various causes, and, in consequence, a great deal of lumber was found perishing on the commons; and it was voted that where logs had lain on the ground four months or more, any proprietor might haul them away and convert them to his own use. A committee was also chosen to prosecute any persons who should thereafter be found trespassing on their lands.

A few years after this, in 1732, it became a subject of complaint that the settlers cut logs and hauled them to other towns to be sawn into boards. If these logs were taken from one's own land, and hauled into other towns for manufacture, these proprietors certainly had no right of objection to such procedure. Every man had a right to do what he pleased with his own. If the logs belonged to the proprietors, they could, of course, encumber the sale with such conditions as they thought proper. It was undoubtedly for the interest of the town that its own citizens should have the benefit of the labor to be bestowed on the timber cut on its lands; and when the owners were exerting themselves to enhance the value of their proprietary, the vote might be excusable as helping forward that object.

At this time, the proprietary became involved in several law-suits with Capt. Elisha Plaisted, William Eaton, Samuel Emery, and Francis Littlefield. Of the precise nature of these suits we are not informed. But, as is generally the effect of judicial investigation,

they created some considerable excitement, and as a necessary consequence, some bad feeling was engendered. A meeting was holden to take the necessary measures to ferret out the money which had been paid to the clerk by the collector; and to ascertain why the expenses of the suits already incurred had not been paid. Fifty pounds had been raised for that special purpose. It seems to have been supposed that there was sufficient money in the hands of the clerk to meet all these expenses. But the agents who had charge of these suits and paid the necessary expenses, now sued the proprietors to recover their bills. The charges of lawyers in those days were small in comparison with those now made by the profession. The expenses of the suit with Plaisted were nearly \$300. We know not how this sum was paid. But it would have required the sale of a large tract of land to discharge it. At a subsequent meeting, they voted to pay Eaton £16 6s., Emery, £20, and Francis Littlefield, £24. These payments probably settled these suits.

These lands, though increased in value, were of no direct profit to the proprietors, but on the contrary, were a source of unceasing dissension and complaint. We suppose that those who had come into the town since the usurpation of 1716, claimed that they had as good a right in them as those who were inhabitants at that time. Many changes of ownership had taken place by death and assignment, and it was now difficult to ascertain who the proprietors were. It was therefore determined, at a meeting in 1734, that a careful examination should be made and the true ownership established and recorded. Accordingly, John Storer, Samuel Stewart, and Samuel Treadwell, were appointed a committee for this object, and, as if this committee could not adjudicate honestly in regard to their own rights, Samuel Wheelright, Joseph Sayer, and Nathaniel Wells were chosen a committee to determine their interests. At the same meeting it was voted that every person having a house and land in the town should be a proprietor. This vote must have quieted all the malcontents, who had not before been recognized as stockholders of the common estate. The committee reported the names of one hundred and eight proprietors, owning three hundred and sixty-seven shares, several owning from one to sixteen. According to this report, there were at this time at least one hundred and eight houses in the town.

The proprietors continued for many years to lay out lands and

make grants, on condition of improvements in two years, and occupancy for five years. But, as the proprietary had been managed, it was of little or no value to the owners. They began to tire in the the care of the lands, which, while it brought to them no profit, was a source of vexation. Men laid out lots to which they had no right. The stockholders in the concern therefore came to the conclusion that it was not desirable to hold them any longer, and began to talk of dividing the remaining lands among the proprietors. By the division, each man would have a tract which would be his own, and worth more to him than any interest in common. At a regular meeting in 1764, it was voted to divide six thousand acres, and Joseph Sayer, Joseph Storer, Nathaniel Wells, John Wheelright, Capt. James Littlefield, and Richard Kimball, were appointed a committee to make the division.

The next year, 1765, this committee reported that the lands between Kennebunk and Mousam rivers from the head of the township, three miles downward into the town, and all the lands by Baker's Spring and on Berwick line, extending three miles from said line, be laid out into lots, three quarters or more of which should be laid out into lots of one hundred and twelve acres each, making proper allowance for the quality of the land, so as to make "each lot nearly of equal goodness," and the rest to be laid out "in such lots as the committee allow, and will best suit the proprietors; and that two able surveyors be appointed for the laying out and making and numbering said lots;" and, also, a committee to give them instructions. There does not appear to have been any final action for dividing this six thousand acres. There would be a great deal of land left which would still be a source of care and trouble; and in 1771, it was voted to divide twelve thousand acres. The committee fulfilled their duty and divided the quantity into lots. The lots thus divided, the proprietors determined to assign by lottery to the various persons owning legal rights in the common. Joseph Storer, Nathaniel Wells, and Nicholas West, were appointed a committee to prepare for the drawing. The lands were embraced in three divisions, designated as North, Centre, and West. The North Division contained common and some other lands between Kennebunk and Mousam rivers. The Centre Division, lands between Mousam river and the Sanford road; and the West Division, lands between Berwick line and Bald Hill marsh, and three lots adjoining York line. There were now one

hundred and twelve proprietors, some owning three, others two, and one, some only parts of a right. On the first day of February, 1773, a proprietors' meeting was holden at the house of Pelatiah Littlefield for the purpose of drawing the lottery. It was an interesting day for the people. Every man was sure to draw a prize, as there were no blanks in the scheme. Though the committee were required to make the lots as nearly as possible of "equal goodness," they were necessarily of somewhat different value from their location, or their adaptation to individual purposes. Of course, every one awaited the result with anxiety. Stephen Titcomb and John Cole were chosen to draw the lottery. All needed preparations having been made, the committee proceeded in their work, and the various lots as marked out and numbered were thus assigned to the various owners. We have but little knowledge of these proceedings, excepting that which the record affords. But we have no doubt the day was a memorable one to the proprietors of the township of Wells.

Previously to this division, a lot of two hundred acres had been granted to the Second Parish, also one set apart for a parsonage in Merryland. There had been a controversy about some thatch-beds in Ogunquit river, and Michael Wilson, Samuel Curtis, and John Cole had been appointed a committee to settle it. A thatch-bed had been granted to Gershom Maxwell, which had very much increased. The committee were of the opinion that this increase ought to belong to the lot, and that the thatch-beds which had been given to Josiah Winn and George Jacobs, by the Providence of God, in covering them with sand, had been greatly diminished, and that it would be well that others, which had come up in said river to the value of about five acres, should be divided between the heirs of these two owners now deceased. "Nevertheless, as there is about two acres and a quarter of said pieces which lays between the thatch-bed of Mr. Maxwell and his land, we think it best and most fit that the heirs of said Mr. Maxwell have free liberty to purchase the same of the heirs of said Mr. Winn and Mr. Jacobs, for the value of it, if they see fit, which value, we think, is about ten dollars."

After the division had been completed, there remained some land in the ownership of the proprietary, of no great value at this time. The several holders of common rights were very indifferent as to their disposition. They voted to give fifty acres to Rev. Mr. Hem-

menway, fifty to Rev. Daniel Little, thirty to William Day, as stated in another place, for his enterprise in destroying wolves; and as they had become thus liberal in their benefactions, others took advantage of the opportunity and applied for grants. John Huston, jr., petitioned for a donation to help him support his father and mother, and fifty acres were allowed to him. James Boston, with a presumption for which it would be difficult to find a parallel, petitioned for a grant on account of his suit against John Stevens, which had excited such commotion through the town, by which he endeavored to disturb the boundaries and land-marks of all the lots which had been peaceably acquiesced in for a hundred years, and they gave him fifty acres. Others asked because their lots were not so good and convenient as they wished. The petition of Richard Hill, a negro, will not be uninteresting to our readers:

“To the proprietors of lands in the town of Wells. The petition of Richard Hill humbly sheweth that he has a piece of common land enclosed in his field, belonging to said proprietors, that would greatly accommodate your petitioner, who is poor but wishes and strives for a honest living among the free born sons of America. Therefore prays that the spirit of benevolence, which so generally dwells within the breast of the proprietors of said town, may burst forth with so much compassion to a poor African, although happy in having a dwelling, poor as it is, in such a community where freedom and happiness reign, as to grant him and his heirs the small and uncultivated tract of barren soil prayed for, which will greatly add to the happiness of your petitioner when he is toiling and sweating to obtain a honest self-support for a numerous family.

WELLS, April 11, 1796.

RICHARD ^{his} X HILL.
mark

In response to his petition, a grant was made of all that land on the south side of the brook, between the land of Rev. Daniel Little, and the land which he bought of Major Cousens, and the Sanford road, “reserving a road through for black Chance.” Chance lived on the eastern side of the brook. This was part of the lot on which Nathaniel Bragdon now lives.

The lands of the proprietary were now reduced to a very small amount. A grant was made in 1778, to the heirs of Samuel Wheel-

right, of one hundred and fifty acres. This grant was satisfied on small lots in no less than twenty-three different places between that year and 1812. The tract of two hundred acres which had been reserved at Merryland for a parsonage, had not been given to that society until 1808; when a hundred acres were given to it; the use or income of which was to be applied to the support of the ministry; and the other hundred was donated, with the right of selling it and investing the proceeds in other lands; or of retaining it as a fund, the interest of which might be applied to the same purpose. At the same time Nathaniel Wells, Jonathan Hill and Joseph Gilman were appointed a committee "to make a survey of the outlines of the proprietors' lands which remain undivided and return a plan of the same." On the nineteenth day of June, 1809, they confirmed all former proceedings of the proprietary according to their true intent and meaning, regardless of all formality; and at a meeting on the thirteenth day of July, 1812, it was voted that "the copies and records of the three plans of the common lands heretofore surveyed, copied and recorded by Nathaniel Wells, jr., clerk of the said proprietors, be and they are hereby accepted and confirmed as authentic descriptions of the lands laid down on them, and as being of equal authority with the old original plans;" and it was further voted, that "the committee for dividing the commons, be directed to cause all the lands already surveyed to be divided into lots, and to prepare for drawing the same." These instructions do not appear to have been complied with. The corporation never afterward gathered together. The committee have all gone to their graves. All the offices of the association are vacant, and the few little ungranted tracts of land remaining in the different parts of the town are either tenantless, or have been taken up by some persons who have thought it best not to permit them to run to waste.

From its organization to 1803, the corporation had but two clerks; Joseph Littlefield from 1715 to 1760, and Benjamin Littlefield from 1760 to 1803. Nathaniel Wells, jr., followed till 1809, from which time Judge Wells held the office until his death in 1816.

We have before remarked that all the traveling in the early years of the settlement was on foot or on horseback. Such was the crude state of the roads that no other method could well be adopted. Possibly this was not the only reason that prevented any change to what we might deem a more convenient mode of locomotion. The settlers

had for an hundred years enjoyed the ride on the saddle and pillion. The old are invariably conservative. Things to which they have been accustomed through the various stages of life, take strong hold of their sympathies. It is difficult to reconcile them to a change. The old-fashioned way of riding was peculiarly pleasant to them; and even the young men and young ladies found it so congenial that they were not ambitious for any innovation. But public convenience, and the necessities of life, with commerce and business rapidly increasing, led to the use of some kind of carriages. A horse-back conveyance for men and women in storms or severe cold, did not answer the wants of the people. Joseph Storer had a chaise before he moved from Wells to Kennebunk. Judge Paine, in 1755, passed through the town in one of these new vehicles and stopped at Kimble's tavern. All the village rushed there to see it. In consequence of the bad state of the roads, Storer seldom rode out in his. The old fashion still had charms not easily got rid of. It was a light task to prepare the horse for the ride. But in a few years, chaises passed through the village very frequently. The incumbent was generally some one of note on account of his wealth, office, or professional standing. Soon an ambition for distinction in traveling in the style of the *grande*es of the country seized upon others of the inhabitants, which could not be satisfied but in the acquisition of the chaise. The old and affectionate mode of riding, must give way for the new conveyance adopted by the leaders of fashionable life; and, strange as it may appear, Mr. Little, the minister, was the first person in his Parish who presumed to break in upon this venerable usage. At a meeting of the Parish in 1792, it became important to obtain a discharge of his claim for the income of the Parish lands; and he proposed to them that if they would give to him enough to obtain a good family chaise, he would give them a receipt in full of all claims which he had on the lands. To this proposition the Parish acceded, and voted to give him twenty pounds for the purpose. Mr. Little, though a humble man, had some of the ambitions of common life. He had also traveled on horseback more than any other one of his Parish, and at his age, might well be wearied with that mode of conveyance. His exchanges, also, rendered it necessary for him to have some protection from the severity of the weather. His wife was old, and suffered much from sickness. It was well, therefore, that he should make this provision. But the action of the minister was con-

tageous, and soon others followed his example; though the old custom of riding on the saddle and pillion was continued by many of the inhabitants, nearly to the year 1820. Horses were then almost universally relieved from the double burden of male and female; though men and women continued for several years to use the saddle and side-saddle. Old Ruthee Boston, as she was always called, came from Wells to Kennebunk on horseback, bringing in her saddle-bags "good cornfed eggs," for market, as long as she was able. The light wagons, now so common, were a subsequent institution. The only carriage for a horse was the horse-cart, used almost exclusively for carrying lumber and materials for all the purposes of life.

CHAPTER XL.

ROADS—WHEN AND WHERE LOCATED—PRICE OF LABOR ON ROADS IN VARIOUS YEARS—BY-LAW OF TOWN RELATIVE TO CATTLE GOING AT LARGE.

WE have given an account of several of the early located roads in other parts of this work. We subjoin a brief sketch of those which have been subsequently established. In the first century of its existence, the town was evidently not very anxious for the increase of its highways. Each man had provided for himself a path, and when all his labors were needed for the necessary support of his family, he did not feel disposed to build roads for the accommodation of others. The bridge over the Ogunquit river was not built till the people were compelled to do it by indictment. So also, when the king's highway was extended through Kennebunk to Saco, the inhabitants of the towns were very backward in yielding to the order of court. The bridge over Kennebunk river at Littlefield's mills, where there would seem to have been great necessity for it, for the benefit of the inhabitants and mill owners, was not built till several years after it was ordered. We suppose each town excused itself by the neglect of the other, and that Wells was successful in casting the delinquency on Arundel, as in 1736 that town was indicted for its neglect. But Wells then failed to do its part, and neglected to furnish the bridge for three years after, and the people then took hold of the work only because they were forced to do so by an indictment, a very effectual specific for a disregard of municipal obligations. How hard it was, at this period, to draw even a very small sum from the pockets of the people, may be understood from the fact, referred to in another place, that in this same period several of them got up a petition to the selectmen to call a town meeting, "to see whether our town book shall be a charge to the town, or whether the book shall support itself or not."

A reliable history of the main road through Wells and Kenne-

bunk is not now to be had, from the fact that the various orders in relation to it, made by the court, could not be carried out, in consequence of ruptures with the Indians preventing the necessary labor; or if carried out, no return was made of the work expended on it.

In the year 1719, a jury of twelve, by order of the General Sessions of the Peace, laid out a highway from Cape Neddock river to Saco Falls, "gone the way to Wells as the road now goes till it comes near to Jacob Perkins', thence to cum out upon the left hand as the trees are marked till it comes to Josiah's river above the first falls, thence through the town of Wells as the road now goes to the corner of Nathaniel Clark's cornfield upon the left hand, and from the said corner between Clark and Cole's land till we come opposite against the head of Cousens' land, to said Cousens' land, and from thence between Cousens' and Cole's as the line runs till we come to the Little river where the old way formerly was; from thence keeping the old way till we come to Mousam river, and from Mousam river as the road now goes to Kennebunk river to the usual wading place below the mill, thence keeping the old road to Saco lower falls below the old fort, which way we have viewed and laid out to the best of our judgment."

This road was accepted at the October term in that year. In the warrant for the location, the first river to be passed was described as "Little river, called Josiah's river," so that there must have been in the town two streams called Little river.

It is very obvious that at an early day in the century a road actually existed by Littlefield's mills over Kennebunk river. This might have been a thoroughfare made by the teams daily visiting the mills. This road, located in 1719, was recognized by the court in 1726, and we are of the opinion that it was at least partially made soon after it was laid out. There was, evidently, before 1731, a road above the mills, which, we think, is the main road now traveled, and has in some instruments been called the old road to Saco. From Wells to Kennebunk, through Harrysicket, it was called the Saco path.

In 1730, a road was laid out, eight rods wide, on the western side of Kennebunk river, beginning eighty rods above the saw-mill, and running down to the common flowing of the salt water, at the "Upper Landing Place," or to the Pool, which was in the bend of the river at the foot of the falls. Boards were here landed on the top of the hill and sent down to the water in slips made for the purpose.

This road had been reserved in a grant of land and mill privilege in 1680, and was laid out now by request of David Littlefield and Joseph Littlefield, who had acquired a right in the mill and privilege. This road, we think, from its uncommon width, was laid out more for the purpose of landing logs or lumber than for travel. Four rods would have well answered all the objects of a road. It was absolutely necessary for John Storer's mill below the Pool to accommodate all the teams from Arundel and the mills above. It has not been open to the public for many years.

In 1731, a road was laid out "between John Wells' and William Symonds', beginning at the Great Swamp, commonly called Gooch's Swamp, and running northwest to Mousam Path," thence "to the head of John Wells' lot." The Great Swamp was down by Theodore Clark's.

In 1735, a road was laid out from the highway leading to Berwick, beginning at the house of Job Low, and by several houses in Merryland to Samuel Hatch, jr.'s, land, and from Hatch's to Capt. John Storer's, as the old Merryland road then went, and then down to the king's highway, near the house of Francis Sayer.

In 1752, the road from the bridge in the village at Kennebunk was again located, running by the meeting-house (then at the Landing), by John Mitchell's to the sea, and from the Boothbys, as it now runs, to old Susa Butland's, where it turned off across Lake Brook, and came out at the Landing to the sea and Port road, near Nathaniel Wakefield's. In 1760, the road from old Susa's was continued upward, to James Hubbard's, making the present sea road.

In 1761, the road from Cole's Corner, through Harrysicket, by the house of the late Luther Stevens, to Cat Mousam bridge. In the same year, road "from the top of Cole's Hill, by Samuel Clark's line, northwest till it comes to the road that leads to Little river mill, and thence as the road then ran that leads to the bridge above Little river mill." In 1776, the following vote was passed at a regular town meeting: "Voted that the road between land of Samuel and Daniel Clark and land of John Cole, from the county road down to the Spruce Swamp, be given to John Cole in exchange for a road laid out through his land above Little river mill." We do not understand the object and effect of this record, and must therefore leave it to the judgment of the reader. The road from Cole's Cor-

ner by Joel Stevens' ended at the mill or the bridge. In 1765, an addition was made to it by a road "leading from Cat Mousam bridge out to the Alfred road."

In 1760, the road from Adam Ross's house "as the old road then ran, between Deacon Stephen Larrabee's and Samuel Littlefield, jr.'s, land, then to Alewife bridge, then between John Maddox's and Richard Thompson's, then to the old road from Great Falls down to the Mousam mills, then down the east side of Mousam river to the Landing place, where salt water flows."

In 1765, "road from Lyman down to the road at Great Falls," thus completing the road from that town to the Landing.

In 1771, "road from Little river mill to the Branch mill, to the town road leading to Upper Mousam mill."

During the Revolutionary war there was no pressing occasion for new roads. The burdens on the people were sufficiently onerous without any voluntary additions to them. But there were some old settlers in the neighborhood of Cat Mousam who had, through many trials and much exposure, cleared away the forests and built themselves houses; and having timber to haul to the market, they felt that they ought to have more convenient access to the village, and in 1778, the town laid out the road leading from Major Cousens', near the almshouse, by Phillip Hatch's and Amos Stevens', to Cat Mousam bridge.

Four or five years before the war began, the people had become impressed with the opinion that there must of necessity be a demand for iron, and that this could not be met by imports from abroad, and there being abundance of ore in this vicinity, several persons in Kennebunk, desirous of securing a water power on Mousam river, applied to the town for a grant of the bank, and a discontinuance of a part of the road on the eastern side. At the meeting in 1771, the subject came before the town. But the record is so imperfect, that it is uncertain what was done. It was voted to discontinue three rods of the width of the road down to the Landing. But whether the subsequent refusal to grant the land embraces also the discontinuance of the road or not, cannot be determined. The action of the town in 1811, implies the continued existence of the six-rod road as originally located, and as extending down to the Landing. It is impossible to define the Landing by precise boundaries. It has been considered as extending down to the great stump, which was the relic of a large

white pine mentioned in some of the deeds. This stump stood on the bank of the river, about a rod from the large round rock lying in the edge of the river.

In 1785, as business began to revive, it was found necessary to have a public landing by the river in the middle of Wells village, and application was made to the selectmen for such a location near the Sayer house, since owned by Joseph Gilman. The town complied with the request, and a lot was laid out for the purpose, and a road leading to it from the main highway. The following roads were also established:

In 1792, a way from the main road near John Storer's store, between the Mills lot and Storer's land, running back to the Merryland road.

In 1794, a "town way at Upper Alewife, beginning at the main road and running between Joel Larrabee's and Ebenezer Coburn's lands, to Joseph Cousens', about a mile, then between Cousens' and Joseph Gillpatrick, thirty-nine rods to Thomas Jones', then to David Thompson's."

The same year, a town way by the dwelling houses of Pelatiah Littlefield, jr., and Ebenezer Gilman, and land of Jonathan Littlefield, Major Daniel Littlefield's heirs, and Joshua Getchell on the north, and Samuel Curtis' land on the southerly side; then by Abraham Littlefield's to the road, to be two rods wide, and to be used with bars.

Another road, "Beginning at the road near William Littlefield's, and running between him and Capt. Jonathan Littlefield." The petitioners to make the road and keep it in repair.

In 1796, a "town way from the village bridge over Mousam river, down by John Bragdon's, to Gould's causeway."

Also, "a road from James Bragdon's and Samuel Trafton's at York line by Jacob Littlefield's house, school-house near William Hilton's, Edward Hilton's house to near Josiah Littlefield's grist-mill, Miriam Littlefield and Solomon Stevens to Ebenezer Gilman's land."

In the same year, the short piece of road from Ebenezer Coburn's, by Ezekiel Wakefield's, to the bridge over Kennebunk river.

1797. The road to Sabady Point. Beginning at Wadley's Landing, and running south sixty-nine ——— east, sixty rods to the small creek, then down on the marshes, then turning round and running up by the great ditch, then round to the left to the road.

Road, beginning at the County road near Benjamin Morrison's, and running to the town road, near Robert Getchell's.

Road, where Burnt mill road connects with the County road leading to Berwick, then fifty-four rods over the bridge, then thirteen rods to Jeremiah Storer's fence on the mill privilege; the road three rods wide.

Road from Jeremiah Littlefield's Landing, through Samuel Curtis' field to the top of the hill, seventy-six rods, to the County road.

In 1805, the main road now traveled, called the turnpike, from Wells to Kennebunk.

In 1807, road from Joshua Furbish's store, near Pelatiah Littlefield's, to the Neck at the sea, and the old road discontinued.

In 1810, the selectmen were directed to open the town way from burnt mill to the town way leading to the Baptist meeting-house.

In 1811, the road on the eastern side of Mousam river, six rods wide, was again opened. So, also, in 1813, the road from Ebenezer Cushman's and Joel Larrabee, jr.'s, by Thomas Jones', to the Alfred road. In 1814, the road from Abial Kelly's, now Joseph Sargent's, to the sea.

In 1814, a road was located, beginning at Bald Hill road, near Capt. John Hatch's, and running to Oak Hill road.

In 1819, the road over Great Hill was opened. This ancient traveled way about this time became the subject of much excitement among parties interested in the use of it, and a great deal of testimony was taken in regard to its boundaries. It was a part of the only traveled way from the west to the eastern part of the Province, during the first hundred years from the initiation of the settlement. Travelers passed from the beach across the lower part of the hill, the road at the eastern end turning round and running by and near the Gillespie house, as it was then termed, which stood at the end of the point of upland as it now remains, and thence turning northeasterly it crossed the "Two Acres" to the bathing beach. The house built by Dr. Sawyer stood on the Hill near this road, and was afterward occupied by John Burks. In various deeds and instruments it is called the Burks house. The Gillespie house previously, we think, was the house of Nathaniel Spinney, which had been built on the site of the John Webber house, a little below the present public house of Owen Wentworth, and was from thence moved down

to the Neck, as the Point was then called. Here Spinney lived when the Mousam river canal was opened. He was an eccentric character, taking advantage of every opportunity to manifest it. Soon after his house was located here, a large whale came on shore near Boothby's house. The jaw bones were secured by him and put up before his front door, where they remained many years, in order that every person who called to see him might be able to say that he had been in the jaws of a whale.

Another house, which we suppose to have been the first, was built on this point by Ephraim Poke. The ancients thought that this was identical with the Burks house. It may have been so. But if so, Burks occupied it before Sawyer. Poke was one of the Scotch Irish, and the Neck derived its name from him. From what reason, the writer does not know. He was always distinguished by the name of Grandfather Poke, though we must infer that he was a young man, from the fact that when he moved into this house in 1731, he had just been married to Miss Margaret McLean. In attempting, a few years afterward, to ford the river on horseback, when the tide was higher than he had supposed, he and his horse were drowned.

The subject of roads has always been one of deep interest to the town. Convenient passage-way from one's homestead to the various places to which his business or pleasure might call him, has always been and always will be, a ruling motive in the action of men. This principle is so universal, and, withal so reasonable, that every wise legislator or townsman should have made it an important question, how it could be responded to to the greatest extent, and at the same time the town or the State receive the least detriment. In the days of the early settlement of the country, when lands were of so little value, that one without money could locate himself almost anywhere, sites were selected for dwellings and convenient agricultural labor, without regard to what others were doing, had done, or would do in the course of time. They built their houses on hills, or on necks projecting into the sea, or in valleys adjacent to intervalles, and made paths for their own convenience. These paths by use gradually acquired the character of roads, and other pioneers located themselves in reference to a convenient use of them, and this custom has prevailed with settlers in most of the old towns, even down to the present time. So that the face of these towns is as unsymmetrical as possible, exhibiting no order or beauty in the aspects

which human hands have given them. The town has suffered exceedingly from this irregular growth. The burdens which it has imposed have been on the increase from the time when the first tree was felled. A single instance will exhibit the effects of this irregularity on a large number of the inhabitants of York county. From Kennebunk to Alfred, the most direct road would be over an entire plain. No hill would intervene. Yet one man had established himself on Taylor's Hill, another on the next, and their paths were made to give them the most convenient passage to and from their dwellings. When it became necessary to lay out a highway between the two towns, an old-fashioned rumseller, who regarded himself as a public benefactor in placing himself there to minister to the thirsty souls of hard laboring teamsters who were working their way by him, had built his shanty on one of these hills, and was there waiting to supply them with the needed stimulus; and when the committee came on about a hundred years ago, to locate a way between the interior and the seaboard, this man urged and entreated them to take this route up and down these hills, lest his benevolent business should be destroyed, and the public deprived of his kind ministrations. The commissioners yielded to his entreaties, and laid out the road now traveled; and, as a consequence, the people of this and the other shore towns have been obliged, for a hundred years, to travel over these long hills, and probably must continue to do so for a hundred years to come.

While yet any of our towns or plantations are not so far settled as to make the arrangement impracticable, the authorities should exercise their wisdom in marking out the roads over them, crossing each other at right angles, so that every settler in determining his location, in seeking his convenience for travel, should so locate his dwelling and other buildings as to have the best accommodation by the highways thus established; and not find it necessary afterward to ask the public to assume burdens which his own free choice has caused. Our towns will then make some show of wisdom in their organization, and at the same time give every needed facility to the residents for intercourse with other places. The towns of Wells and Kennebunk are cut up by roads leading in every direction, many of which would have been entirely useless if a few appropriate ways had been established earlier in the history of the town.

There does not appear to have been any uniform price for labor in

making or repairing roads. The rule for the year depended very much on the persons present at the annual town meeting. Some who had to pay money, it may well be presumed, would have the price fixed, and the amount of money raised as low as possible. In 1771, the town voted not to repair the roads by a tax, intending that every man should turn out and do his portion of the labor. In 1786, two shillings a day were allowed for a yoke of oxen. In 1795, three shillings a day for a man and two for oxen. In 1800, when business was prosperous, it was voted to double the prices and allow a man ten cents an hour, and six shillings a day for oxen. This continued till 1815, when seven and a half cents an hour were allowed for a man.

In 1786, to make the traveled road more definite, or the track more uniform, the town voted that all sleds should be four feet wide. This vote has been adhered to substantially to the present time. In 1801, a by-law was adopted that no horse or cattle should go at large between the meeting-house, John Low's (now Mrs. Swan's), Joseph Burnard's (now Daniel Curtis') and Durrell's bridge. This being a by-law of the town it still remains in force; the modifications of the law by the Legislature not affecting any by-laws legally adopted by the town. They can only be repealed by the action of the inhabitants, at a town meeting legally called for the purpose.

CHAPTER XLI.

INDUSTRY OF THE EARLY SETTLERS—AMUSEMENTS—DANCING—ESQUIRE
BROWN'S SCHOOL—THE FIRST BALL—HUSKINGS—CARD PLAYING—CHECK-
ERS—KEELS AND BOWLES—COSTUME.

IN looking through our history from its commencement, the intelligent and discriminating reader will perceive a marked distinction between all the different generations which have followed each other from that time. The first settlers were very ignorant men, having neither time nor opportunity for mental culture. They had no books, and, for many years, no schools. The knowledge of all, both young and old, was such only as they acquired by experience. They knew the needs of their cattle, and understood the means necessary to meet them; the use of the axe, the plow, the rake; how and when to plant their corn and grain, and when to harvest them; how to construct their boats, how to fish, how to load their guns, how to prepare their tinder and strike their fire; and how to do all things, in doors and out, necessary to sustain life. But all of them in council together, for days and months, could not have made the most common article now in every house, and indispensable to domestic life—the friction match. Modern improvements and conveniences were so much beyond their conception, that one suddenly transferred from 1660 to 1870, would almost feel that he had been transplanted from earth to a higher state of being; and in this respect he would not be much mistaken. He would not know the use of innumerable implements, domestic, agricultural, and mechanical, which would meet his eye at every step.

But we have already, in another chapter, spoken of the habits, manners, customs, socialities, superstitions, knowledge, and life generally of these settlers, and their successors for more than a hundred years. We propose now to give, as well as we can, an account of life in Wells in all its aspects, in the later period through which our history extends.

We are inclined to the opinion that the intervening time between the Revolutionary war and the embargo of 1807, was the most remarkable for the industry of the people. The war had exhausted whatever finances they possessed. Every man had been obliged to do his utmost for the common cause in the way of contribution; but now an ambition to recover their lost position, to restore the wastes of the seven years' neglect of farms, resulting from their absence in the service, to re-surround themselves with the comforts of life, and even acquire a pecuniary independence, found its way into almost every heart. The people, male and female, were alive to the general purpose of acquisition; the first grand instrumentality for the accomplishment of that object was industry. This was the marked characteristic of the day; every nerve and muscle was made to do its appropriate work; the housewife and the daughters were up long before the sun, and each in her assigned sphere, was putting her skill and power to the test, in compelling whatsoever her hands were upon to come up to its full measure of work. They had no occasion to paint the rose on the cheek; it bloomed there from natural physical culture. All the blandishments which now require even wearied skill and labor, clustered about the person without the ministry of female fingers, or female pride. Nature was the artificer of all that the mother or daughter desired in this regard; neither man nor woman then complained that God's sun shone fifteen hours in a day, for the labors of life. The thought of six or eight hours diligence in business as all that life required, had not yet entered the minds of the people; the music of the spinning wheel, whirling at the rate of fifty miles an hour, and chanting the beauties and praises of activity, greeted every one who entered the threshold, with its cheering and enlivening salutations. There was no time for family discord; all were in the height of enjoyment, in the rapid progress of their work. We attempt occasionally to sketch or portray the domestic life of the olden time; but any description that we can give, is but a poor representation of it. We have a dim recollection of it in our childish days; the music of a happy industry is still sounding in our ears, from all parts of the house. The loud beatings of the loom; the dashing of the churn; the whirl of the spinning wheel, with the accompaniment of the merry song, are all yet fresh in our memory. We will not attempt a description of it; we may apply our utmost skill in getting up the "old folks' concert," yet the best that we can

do is but an invention of the imagination. The action of the age cannot be brought back; the music of ancient industry had charms which cannot now be revived; we must have the inspirations of those days, if we would comprehend the enlivening activities of the household. Females must renounce the frivolities of dress, and dive with their whole soul into the work of the ancients, if they would realize the satisfactions and joys of their domestic industry; if they would bring home to their own hearts the solid pleasures which the wives and daughters of Dr. Hemmenway, Mr. Little, Judge Wells, Dr. Sawyer, and the solid farmers of the last century experienced, when they presented to them their new clothing wrought out to completion by their own hands. These leading men of that day were proud of appearing before friends and the public in the homespun coat and trowsers. With a salary less than three hundred dollars, what could these ministers have done without these ministering angels to provide for them? Industry was a habit of female life; it required resolution, sometimes, to bring it into subjection. There was an old Mrs. Goodwin, living just beyond Kennebunk river, who was accustomed frequently to walk to the village, and who always took her knitting work with her, and plied her needles all the way from her home to the stores; she said it was not worth while to idle away her time when she could work just as well as not.

But the habits of men were not less firm in the same direction; the sexes did not differ much in their ambition for an amelioration of their condition. We suppose that one-half of the men had been trained in the school of actual war; in the terrible conflict which they had gone through, they had learned to bear labors and severities of every character. Many of them had gone into the service at an early age, and had thereby trained their constitutions to the endurance of almost any amount of bodily exertion; so that, to rise before the sun, and work till darkness forbade prolongation of labor, required no extraordinary resolution. There was now nothing in the way of activity and enterprise; the mills were being driven with the utmost speed, all around the axe was being laid to the root of the tree. The ship-yards were scenes of bustle; and all manifested the intense desire of retrieving their condition before the war, and availed themselves of the means to that end. Thence industry and frugality were the watchwords of the hour; to carry on a work of any kind, the laborer must have his rations of liquor; out of his bed before

sunrise, he must have his sling of rum and molasses before proceeding to his work; at ten o'clock, and at three in the afternoon, he must have his grog. Without these ministrations there was no work; if the employer failed to furnish the stimulus, he could not have the labor; in fact, no one thought of securing it, without making proper provision of this kind. The grog was regarded by all as the effectual agency for labor; bone and muscle without it were thought to be unfit for any heavy work. With most laborers, the regular supply was all that was necessary for the day; but some few were just as regular in supplying themselves with extra glasses.

Still, exhaustion seldom followed the close of the day's work; in the evening, in doors and out, all was cheery; the men would gather together, generally out of doors, and would amuse themselves with the songs, not remarkable for their poetic beauty, or high-toned morality, which were sung one after another, in the old-fashioned melody; or by the rehearsal of some story, generally accompanied with some gesticulation, to give it effect. We are of the impression that the day's work, on the whole, brought to these industrious men fully as much good cheer as comes to the workmen of the present day. In this account we have had in view principally the workmen in the ship-yard, in which we were accustomed to spend so much time in our youthful days.

In the house, the evenings were not less fruitful of enjoyment; the mother would generally protract her labors into the evening hours. The knitting work would be seized upon; but this was regarded as a recreation, rather than a labor. The girls were at liberty for the dance, the play, or the romp. The games of these years were few; the inventive powers of the race had not then been turned in that direction. Bat and ball, cricket, firing at a mark, gunning, skating, sliding down hill, were about all the out-door amusements of the age. But the dance is an institution which has never lacked friends; young and old alike have had their part in it. The contra dance, the waltz, cotillion, and polka had not come into vogue in the early part of the period of which we are speaking; the dancing propensities of the people previously to the war were exhibited in the lively Scotch reel. Esq. Brown, as he was always called, came to Wells in 1784; he was an active, energetic man, full of life and merriment; and being disposed to infuse life and animation into the hearts of the people, he got up the ball. Dancing had before been confined to

private houses, and of course but a small number could participate; the ball was to be more comprehensive; people from far and near were invited to share in its joys. It now became an important institution; one was holden every fortnight, and all had the liberty of attending. The contra dance was introduced as the general exercise and amusement of the evening; the cotillion was a subsequent addition, not used till within the present century. The British hornpipe may have been previously in use, but we have no record or tradition to that effect; the French rigadon and German waltz soon followed the contra dance; the Hungarian polka did not come into the catalogue of dances until after 1820. Balls during this period commended themselves to the almost universal public sentiment; parents vied with each other in dressing their daughters for these interesting occasions; and young men felt the importance of cultivating such a demeanor and acquiring such graces of manner, and so familiarizing themselves with the punctilio of fashionable life, as to be sought as the partners of the most fashionable and polished females. Much of the courtly amenity, courteous suavity, easy and attractive carriage of the gentlemen of the old school, was learned and acquired in the associations of the ball-room. Vulgarly found no countenance among the attendants of these amusements.

But the institution, as then conducted, was not without its tendency to demoralization. The customs of social life were pressed beyond a safe and reasonable limit. Wines and liquors of the various kinds then in use were an indispensable part of the provisions for these occasions. Politeness required at the close of every dance that the wine-glass should be presented to the lady partner; and the thirst engendered by the exercise must be ministered to by all engaged in it. The result was, that in continuing the entertainment to a late hour in the night, some of the assembly were in a condition not very creditable to one made in the image of the Infinite. The closing up of these popular amusements did not improve until many years afterward. While the love of, and fellowship with, intoxicating liquors were gaining strength in the community, the ball-room indulgences kept pace with it. So that it became at least doubtful whether the morale of those dancing assemblies was what every good citizen should wish. This exhibition of their effects and dangerous tendencies, led the church of the First Parish to take the matter into consideration, and May 1, 1811, they "voted that we will bear

testimony against the practice of attending balls." But the people generally have never concurred in this expression. The abuse of the amusement was condemned, rather than the amusement itself. This abuse was sustained by the customs of society. When the doctrine of total abstinence was accepted by the public, the dangers of the ball room were materially obviated. Ardent spirit ceased to be an element in the preparation made for them. We suppose that the man who should now attempt to introduce any of the old stimulants into the ball room would have but little respect from the company.

As the dancing school has never been one of our public institutions, we have no sure resort to obtain the knowledge of its introduction in Wells. The first of which we have any account was kept in the winter of 1798. From that period they have been very frequent. Children at an early age have had the benefit of them. Scholars have attended from all parts of the town, and the associations to which they have been inducted have led to many of those marriages, whose results have been so auspicious to the parties as well as to the public.

But our predecessors at this period were accustomed to make most of life's *labors* matters of enjoyment. Some of them specially so. The husking was almost as captivating as the ball. Much larger crops of corn were then raised than at the present day. Several failures in the seasons, years ago, discouraged farmers from much reliance on this crop. The rapid settlement of the Great West so increased the supply, and thence diminished the price, that it became more profitable for farmers in this section of the country to turn their attention to other products. The large crops of former years made the husking assembly a very beneficent institution. The mass of corn sometimes gathered into the barn would have been appalling without it. Every preparation was made for the important occasion. Pumpkins were baked, pies in abundance prepared, and the men and women of the neighborhood, with the young men and maidens, were invited to join in the activities and festivities of the evening. Never did they come together in greater glee or with hearts in better mood for enjoyment. We may talk of the interest and excitements of the levees of modern times, and of the magnificent displays and enticements of the tables, overburdened with nuts, almonds, figs, raisins and fruits of every clime, jams, jellies, julips, sweetmeats, mints, cakes of all descriptions, and the *et cetera* which make up the parade on

these occasions; but the anticipations and realizations, we believe, do not take hold of the heart as did those of these evening gatherings in the olden time. Men and women were not then overburdened with the cares of life. Such was the limited province of their daily labors, that they were not troubled about the results of business complications or the safety of stocks, bonds or notes. Their farms, cattle and dairies having been attended to, the work of the loom and spinning wheel well done, they were ready with their whole souls for any sport that could be got up. The restraints of modern refinement had no place here. The work went on. Stories were told, songs sung, and merry jokes passed; and occasionally toward the close of the work, the plump and rosy cheek received that tribute for which Providence designed it, and which it so well merited; the coyness and bashfulness of that age seldom interposing any objections to its full fruition.

After the work of the husking had been accomplished, all resorted to the house, where they partook, with good appetites, of the abundance which had been prepared for the occasion; closing up the whole entertainment by the four-handed reel, led by the music of the fiddle, the only instrument then in use for the direction of the dance. While we are sure that these gatherings were valuable aids in the routine of the farmer, we are very confident that no immorality had a part in them. The neighbors separated and went home in good humor, feeling that they had done a good work, while at the same time, the hours had been spent in jollity and frolic.

Among the amusements which have had their day in Wells, we think card-playing is the oldest. This was probably introduced here by the first settlers. John Cousins was indicted for playing cards on Sunday in 1667, on the complaint of one William Haynes, though the jury found him not guilty. This game has maintained its place in society through all the years of our history; sometimes being the principal amusement of the evening, and keeping that position for years; then losing its interest and for a long period seldom resorted to; then coming again into use, and so continuing, perhaps, for a generation, and again losing its attraction. In the period of which we are speaking it was a very common pastime of the evening. The men of business were accustomed to meet at the neighboring houses for the enjoyment. The game of checkers was also one of the contemporary amusements. Backgammon, we think, was not known re until within the present century.

In ancient times another game was in use, of the character of which we have no knowledge. It bore the name of Keeles and Bowles, but we have been unable to find the explanation of it. It may have been the ancient designation of bowling. It was resorted to in the days of the Indian wars; when one would suppose that men, shut up in the garrisons for years, would be permitted to avail themselves of any amusement which could wear away the weary hours of their imprisonment. But no one was allowed to enjoy it or have the benefit of it without license. Even John Wheelright and Joseph Storer, the leading defenders of the town against the savages, spending their property and time in this good work, were indicted for keeping Keeles and Bowles at their houses in the worst stages of the war in 1693, when their garrisons were crowded with men and women, taken off from their work and obliged to spend their days in the weariness of idleness. If this game represents that of the bowling alley, it lost its prestige for several generations, not recovering its place until the war of 1812, when it was again revived in Wells.

No other amusements, as historical, occur to our mind. There were up to this time but few books in the town, and only two or three newspapers taken. The novel had yet no place in our literature, so that the evening enjoyments were found principally in the stories told by the father or mother, in riddles or songs which people more readily learned in those days than at the present, when so much and such various matter crowds upon the intellect.

We suppose that the great conflict for independence, though extremely burdensome and distressing to the people, was yet productive of much good. Some useful lessons were taught by it. Not only could there have been little tendency to anything like extravagance in the general management of households, for few had the means for any such folly, but some profitless and unnecessary customs even lost their hold on the public mind from the deprivations which all experienced. Few people had the ability to make the parade at funerals so general before the war, and, in consequence, the unreasonable and inconsistent expense for these occasions ceased to be incurred. While the incentives to industry were so great, motives to frugality were not less urgent. The war taught them the habit of saving, and the simple diet to which the people were forced during its pendency, was continued many years afterward. As a

general postulate, we think, we may affirm that the farm furnished almost the entire edibles of the family. It has always been said that the people of Wells lived much on hasty pudding. This, we know, was a very general article of food. Some of the leaders in social life were well satisfied with this provision for their tables. Dr. Palfrey, in his *History of New England*, says that "baked beans and indian pudding was almost the universal dinner for Sunday." We have been unable to trace this custom more than a century back, but we know that it has long prevailed in Wells, and have no doubt that it was coeval with the first settlement. The custom was a Christian one, designed to give all opportunity to attend public worship on Sunday. Salt fish on Saturday was also the dinner universal. This last, not being based on any such necessity, has failed to retain favor in modern times. Tea and coffee now began to be used freely by all, and so continued till the war of 1812, when they were abandoned by many families, and children began to be educated to the use of cold water, which many now prefer to either of these articles. The horrors of war are not without alleviating influences. Probably the whole cost of that struggle, in a material view, has been more than paid by this change in the domestic economy of the country.

The costume of females was generally of domestic manufacture. The girls clothed themselves from the work of their own hands. Gingham was most commonly worn, though pressed woolens were frequently a part of the wardrobe. It was seldom that a girl was seen dressed in silk. Some of the prosperous heads of families appeared in the magnificent brocade furnished by the loving husband, who was not willing that his wife should be behind any of her neighbors in the adornment of her person. These dresses were seldom worn, and were objects of special care, so that they have come down even to the present day in a state of good preservation. Many a young lady of fashionable life has appeared to great advantage in the rich and costly habiliments of her grandmother; but these vestures were the exceptions to the general rule. It would do one good to go back nearly a century and enjoy for a while the intercourse of families where the skill and taste of young ladies were manifested in neat and comfortable dresses, entirely the work of their own hands. There would be more early marriages if those days could again dawn upon the people, and more happy homes.

But what can we say of the boys? They were then generally given over to nature, permitted to go where, and do as, they pleased. In the enjoyment of this liberty it was matter of little importance what were their vestments. Their recreations were such that their garments were in continual peril. The cheapest suits met all their wants. Climbing trees and fences, wrestling, fishing, and the like sports of entire freedom, then as now, made sad havoc with jacket and trousers. Strength of texture was the "main point" in the selection of the materials. As we have stated in another place, leather trousers were very common for boys. But as a general rule, economy was the order of the house, and all had to be satisfied with garments of home-made cloth. The author very well remembers that he had no other than a homespun coat till he had been two years in college, when he was invested with what was termed a "boughten one," and he imagines that he was as happy in his earlier outfit as he was in this. The smaller boys were clothed almost entirely in the cast-off garments of their fathers or elder brothers. Young children were not accustomed to wear shoes or stockings during the warm season. This remark is true of rich and poor. Within the present century, boys and girls living in the outskirts, would start from home on Sunday with their shoes and stockings in their hands, and not until they were coming into the village, did they stop to put them on. The habit, we think, was more from the pleasure of traveling barefoot on the part of the children, than from any economical impulses on the part of parents. These were the days when boys and girls were trained for the labors of life; when constitutions were built up impregnable to the necessities, exposures, and labors which all humanity must meet.

This general frugality, in connection with the habits of the people, saved the town almost entirely from the burden of pauperism. Previously to the present century, it was never deemed necessary to raise money specially for the support of the poor. We have in a former chapter mentioned one or two cases where, by misfortune, persons had become chargeable; but until within this century the burden on the town from this cause had been very light. Pauperism is, to a great extent, the legitimate result of the extravagance and free living of the people generally. The example of those who are abundantly able to provide for themselves all the comforts and even luxuries of life incites others, who are not able, to imitate them

in their expenditures. Every family seeks to appear as well as its neighbors. This ambition is an instinct of the race. Many thus live beyond their income, and thereby, when some unpropitious event transpires, fall into poverty and distress. Men of large wealth think little of the effect of their example on the community in which they live. The town of Wells had but little property at the time of which we are now speaking. Nearly all the inhabitants lived on a very moderate income, and pauperism was almost unknown. In 1767, Mehitable Danforth fell into distress and in need of assistance. If there were any others supported by the town, the fact has escaped our observation. So that in 1800, only one thousand dollars was raised for all town expenses, excepting highways and schools. At this time the whole population was about 4,000. But business now began to be prosperous, men enlarged their operations, and thus, increasing in wealth, began to adopt a more expensive mode of life. Tables were now liberally furnished. The cupboard was supplied with the best of liquors. Others, whose income would not allow it, felt the impulse to keep pace with their more fortunate neighbors in their enjoyments, hospitalities, civilities, and dress. Thousands of hogsheads of rum, gin, brandy, etc., were brought into the Port every year, and thus drunkenness, another fruitful source of poverty, began to prevail extensively among the inhabitants. The expenses of life with many soon exceeded their receipts. The husband died, or by some accident was incapacitated for labor, and pauperism of the family ensued. We have not been able to trace this evil by statistics, but at the time of the division, the bill for the support of the poor in each town constituted a no inconsiderable item of its expenses. So few people had fallen into such distress as to need assistance from the town, that when misfortune to that extent came to one, he felt so humbled by the adversity, that he must needs make some apology for it. The following letter to the overseers of the poor will perhaps interest our readers:

“BOWDOIN, May 21, 1806. Gentlemen. I cannot express to you the sorrow I feel that I have at last unfortunately become troublesome to my native town; but accumulated sorrows continue to break on my devoted head, and I endeavor, as well as I can, to reconcile my mind to God's Providence, and hope through the strength of God's Holy Spirit I shall at last come off victorious, although

death should dissolve the body. Since I left the town of Wells, misfortunes have caused me to make several removals, and according to the best of my information I am still considered a lawful inhabitant of that town. About a year since I expect I received a wound incurable. When I thought all was well evil was nigh at hand, for a tree was accidentally thrown upon me, and when apparently dead I was unexpectedly restored to life. At present I have no other earthly refuge but the laws of the land. DOWNING GOODWIN."

Among the charges of Bowdoin for his support from March 14th to May 30th were, every week, two quarts of brandy, or nearly six gallons in the whole, and three gallons and a quart of rum.

CHAPTER XLII.

DEATH OF WASHINGTON—SERVICES AT THE CHURCHES—FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATIONS AT KENNEBUNK—DINNER TO HON. CYRUS KING—RECEPTION OF PRESIDENT MONROE.

THERE are some occasions in the progress of time, interesting to the inhabitants of a town, which cannot be classed with any of the usual themes that make up the chapters of its history, and on that account have not usually had a place in such works. But they are sometimes of value and even of deep interest to the existing population, as showing the changes wrought by the lapse of years, in the opinions of men, the usages of life, and in the characters of those who had a part in them. We propose, therefore, to give a brief account of such events as at the time appear to have excited the special attention of the inhabitants.

The Revolutionary war brought news daily to the ears of the people, sometimes of a joyous, and at other times of a sad import. The latter was regarded by many good men as a judgment, and people gathered together in the house of God for a fast. When any brilliant success was achieved, the occasion was seized upon as one for rejoicing. The sorrowful was seldom specially noticed. But the great event which came home to all hearts, was the death of Washington, in 1799. This event was duly noticed by the people throughout the United States. Every town made some manifestations of grief in assembling for eulogy, oration, and prayer. The people of Wells gathered together at the First Parish church, where services befitting the occasion were performed by Dr. Hemmenway and Elder Eaton. The former delivered an address which was published. These services took hold of the feelings of the people, and had the uncommon effect of inspiring them with the desire of rendering to their pastors some appropriate reward, which was developed in a subscription paper, as follows: "We, the subscribers, being

impressed with a patriotic sentiment and a sincere desire to encourage and reward the virtuous performances of every class of citizens, so far as our abilities may permit, do with cheerfulness contribute the small sums placed against each of our names, for the special purposes of procuring two good suits of superfine black broadcloth, and trimmings for the same. One of which to be presented to Rev. Dr. Moses Hemmenway, and the other to Rev. Mr. Joseph Eaton, by our committee that may hereafter be appointed to carry our said wishes into effect. Requesting each of them to accept it as a token of our respect for their sublime services when convened with our fellow citizens on the 22d of February last to express our heartfelt sorrow for the death of Gen. George Washington." The amount required was raised, and the committee chosen for the purpose carried out the object of the subscription. The coats were made by Stephen Tucker, of Kennebunk, for each of which the charge was 16s. 6d. The materials for Hemmenway's were \$20.33; for Eaton's, \$20.30. It is well for ministers to be assured that their public services are acceptable; but whether an expression of the public feeling in this mode is wise, we think, admits of some question.

In the Second Parish more extensive preparations were made for the solemnization. The pulpit was draped with mourning, and a large urn, four or five feet in height, was placed in the deacon's seat in front, and covered with black broadcloth. It was continued there a long while, and then transferred to the attic, where it remained many years. At the time of the celebration all the little girls were dressed in white, with a black belt round the waist, on which was inscribed in large letters, "Washington." Some of the ladies also had similar belts round their muffs. All marched in procession to the meeting-house, where an eulogy was pronounced.

We suppose that the Fourth of July may have been commemorated in Wells in some of the years of the last century. But we have been unable to find any record or memoranda of such a celebration. In 1803, great preparations were made for the occasion. The people of Arundel united in the arrangements, and "all around who felt glowing in their bosoms true patriotism and a love of country," were invited to take part in it. All assembled at the hotel of Major William Jeffers, in Kennebunk, and marched to the meeting house, where, after prayer, an original hymn was sung. This was

followed by an oration by Dr. Samuel Emerson, and an ode by Stephen Sewall. The oration and ode were published. The former we have not at hand. The ode we have in our possession. The last verse is as follows :

“ But where is the Hero, our Sire, Guardian Head,
 In wisdom unrivalled, in arms all victorious !
 Are his counsels forgotten ! He, lost with the dead !
 And perished his deeds, so transcendently g'lorious ?
 No, our heart is his tomb,
 There his virtues shall bloom,
 Till the last trumpet sound, and creation consume.
 For he was the angel sent down from high heaven,
 With the Charter of Rights by Omnipotence given.”

After these public services, the procession returned to the hotel, where a large number partook of one of the substantial dinners of the olden time. The toasts drank on the occasion have been taken care of by oblivion, and are beyond our reach. We suppose that it was the crowd gathered on this occasion in the newly finished meeting-house, that led to the adoption of the vote of the Parish, that no orations should be delivered in it.

The day was also celebrated in 1809. Jacob Fisher having previously been chosen president, and Capt. Nathaniel Frost, marshal, a procession was formed at Jefferd's hotel, and marched “to the meeting-house, led by a band of music.” Prayer was offered by Mr. Fletcher, “and an oration delivered by Joseph Dane, Esq., which for elegance of diction, richness of metaphor, and correctness of sentiment, was unrivalled by few compositions of the kind.”

The following were some of the toasts drank on the occasion :

Fourth of July, 1776. And the people said, let there be Independence, and it was so. Yankee Doodle.

James Madison. President of *all* the United States.

Song, Jove in his chair.

Embargo Policy. It cuts down the tree to kill the caterpillars.

Downfall of Paris.

Great Britain. A speedy and honorable treaty. No splitting on “Point no point.” British Grenadiers.

Beauty, Bravery, and Bumpers.

Rural Felicity.

By the President. False patriots and street spouters. They have

yet to learn that "in cooking a calf's head, the *brains* and tongue ought to go together."

By Col. Mitchell. When insulted, every citizen a soldier, and every soldier a citizen.

By Mr. Michael Wise. Old Wells, always on duty.

By Dr. Emerson. Dr. Osgood, the only Christian who dared combat Apollyon.

"The hall was hung with green boughs, and much taste was displayed in the decoration of the tables." The music was under the direction of Dr. Emerson.

In 1811, the day was celebrated by the Federalists. Hon. Nathaniel Wells was president of the day, and Geo. W. Wallingford, vice-president. The American flags were displayed in several places, and guns fired. As in 1803, Dr. Emerson delivered the oration, which was published. A large company partook of dinner at Jeff-erd's hotel, where an original hymn, by Stephen Sewall, was sung. Some few of the toasts drank on this occasion may interest our readers.

The Commonwealth. She was strong like Samson; her head is now in the lap of Delilah.

Democratic love of country. Keep what they get, catch what they can, whether by right or by wrong.

The American Navy. Seventy-fours for Prebles; dry-docks and gunboats for land-lubbers.

Christopher Gore. Slander dares not wag its tongue at him.

By Judge Wells. May all join us as one, rejecting every thing tending to destroy the independence which we this day celebrate.

May all unite in the expulsion of malevolence, and in cultivating a benevolent temper and disposition of mind towards political and all other enemies, as well as friends.

May we candidly communicate the reasons on which our opinions are founded, and kindly receive similar communications from others.

May all act agreeably to the dictates of their understanding; seek

for truth as for silver, search for it as for gold, and embrace it with delight.

At this most important crisis, let all unite in adopting and pursuing such measures as are best calculated to promote the interest, the honor, the prosperity, the glory, and happiness of the United States.

By Eliphalet Perkins, Esq. The town of Wells: may it continue firm in Federal principles.

In 1814, the day was noticed by a party to the sea, where an awning was spread, toasts drank, and amusements indulged in according to the tastes of the company. The parties on their return were taken charge of and escorted from the Landing by the juvenile company, under command of John Frost, to Washington Hall, where they separated.

One of the most interesting occasions in the history of the town was the public dinner to Hon. Cyrus King, on the 12th day of May, 1814. He was then the representative in Congress, having been elected by a large majority over Richard Cutts. Wells gave six hundred and twenty-two votes for King, and forty-one for Cutts. He had been very prominent in debate in Congress, making some strong speeches against the President and his administration, which were highly satisfactory to the leaders of his party, and the dinner was tendered to him as a manifestation of their high appreciation of his services. It was provided at Jefferd's Hotel, in his best style; Jacob Fisher presided at the table. Samuel Emerson, Eliphalet Perkins, and John U. Parsons, were vice-presidents. Many toasts were proposed, but as none were remarkable for wit or pungency, we quote only the following:

Gov. Strong. The bulwark of our constitution.

Our Army. Gen. Dearborn, unfit for service; Gen. Wilkinson, Hull'd in storming a gristmill.

Remarks were made and sentiments given by King, Judge Thatcher, Judge Wells, Thomas Perkins, Esq., John Low, and others. At this time some of the people had been experimenting with merino sheep, just introduced here. Among others, Joseph Thomas had been testing their value; but his experience had been very unfavorable. Being urged repeatedly for a toast, he replied, "Well, if I must, I must; I give you, 'Free trade and sailors' rights; but damn the merinos.'"

During the presidency of Monroe, party spirit, the most unwholesome element of our civil life, was nearly put to rest, and all were ready to unite in rendering to the chief magistrate the honor due to him, and to the office which he so satisfactorily filled. In the year 1817, he made a visit to the Eastern States, intending to go as far as Portland; Wells and Arundel united in making preparation for his reception at Kennebunk. A meeting was holden at Washington Hall on the 23d of June for the purpose, and Joseph Dane, Henry Clark, George W. Wallingford, Simon Nowell, Horace Porter, John U. Parsons, Joseph Storer, Samuel Curtis, jr., and George Wheelright, were chosen a committee to make the necessary arrangements. The cavalry, under the command of Capt. Elisha Chadbourne, and the field staff, and platoon officers of the fourth regiment, on horseback and in uniform, were ordered out for the escort. Major John Frost, Barnabas Palmer, Edward E. Bourne, and John G. Perkins were appointed marshals. On the 16th of July the President was met in Wells Village by the committee of arrangements, where he was introduced to the chairman; after a brief delay, he proceeded under the escort of two companies of cavalry, and of the division and brigade officers, followed by a large number of people in carriages and on horseback. His approach to Kennebunk was announced by the discharge of cannon and the ringing of the bell. The procession reached Jefferds' Hotel about noon; the street was filled with the multitude of old and young. The company here took refreshments; after which the President was addressed by George W. Wallingford, Esq., as follows:

“The committee designated by the inhabitants of Kennebunk and its vicinity, bid you welcome to Maine, and particularly to that part of it in which they reside. The novel spectacle of seeing among them the chief magistrate of the Union, excites sensations of no ordinary class; and equally evincive of their strong attachment to the government of their choice, and of their high respect for the man who has been called by the voluntary suffrages of the people to preside over its destinies.

In this visit, sir, our citizens discern your paternal solicitude to make yourself acquainted with the various sections of the country and the people who inhabit them, and we are charged to assure you that they have a deep interest in the progress and happy termination of your journey.

We congratulate you, sir, upon the present peaceful state of our country, and that your administration of the government commences under circumstances so pleasant to yourself and auspicious to them; and we assure you that our citizens have the fullest confidence that the best interests of the people will be promoted; and their prayers to heaven are, that at some future period, when you shall retire from your present elevated position, you may receive the acclamations of the whole people made happy, under an administration marked for its wisdom, its mildness and spirit of conciliation."

To which the President made a very long and interesting reply, speaking of the great benefits resulting to the country from conciliation and unity, and of the great satisfaction which he found in the assurances of those whom he had met, that he had been in any way instrumental in producing this happy state of things; that we were bound together as one community, and that nothing but disunion would prevent us from attaining the highest eminence as a nation. That a perfect union among the people had been and would continue to be the highest desire of his heart.

At the special invitation of Hon. Joseph Storer, he made a short visit to his house. His accomplished wife, well versed in the fashionable etiquette of high rank, had spread her table, adorned with refreshments, prepared and set out in her best style. After partaking of her splendid hospitality, he returned to the street, his carriage having been driven beyond the meeting-house, in order that all the people might have opportunity of seeing him as he was on his way to it. The bridge was very tastefully decorated by arches thrown across, covered with evergreen, and ornamented with flowers which the ladies had gathered from their gardens. Flags also were displayed all along the street. Multitudes of men, women and children had gathered to see the President. They arranged themselves in rows on each side of the street, extending as far as the carriage, so that each had a fair opportunity of gratifying his or her curiosity. Having passed through the spectators he entered his carriage, and slowly passed on, cheered by the shouts and hurrahs of the multitudes.

CHAPTER XLIII.

PROSPERITY OF THE TOWN—NEWSPAPERS ESTABLISHED—"ANNALS OF THE TIMES"—"THE KENNEBUNK GAZETTE"—"THE WEEKLY VISITOR"—THE WELLS SOCIAL LIBRARY—THE KENNEBUNK FIRE SOCIETY—ENGINE PURCHASED.

FROM 1790 to the embargo in 1807 we must regard as the palmy period of the town's history. The people were animated with the assurances of progress, and a general impression prevailed that the villages of Kennebunk and Wells were destined to a rapid growth. The ideas of some of the inhabitants were chimerical to the last degree. In 1803, Joseph Gillpatrick advertises his house for sale, standing at the junction of the Branch and Harrysicket roads, where the house of the French Acadians stood, and recommends the location as "a most convenient stand for business, and suitable either for an Inholder, Retailer, or almost any other occupation whatever."

The general aspect of business affairs was, without doubt, highly encouraging to the inhabitants, and attractive to others seeking a settlement. This prospective advancement was one of the incentives to the enlargement of the meeting-house in Kennebunk, with the building of a steeple and the procurement of a bell of very respectable size. It also induced the establishment of a newspaper press. In 1803, Stephen Sewall commenced the publication of the "Annals of the Times." The first number was issued Jan. 13th, bearing the motto, "Illumed by truth's refulgent ray, Reason shall guide and justice sway." The terms were \$1.50 per annum. It seems to have started under very favorable auspices, so far as regarded the patronage of advertisers. Many persons in Portsmouth advertised their goods in its columns, and also a respectable number in Wells and other towns in the county. The paper of Feb. 10th contains a long advertisement of Edward Parry, of his stock of dry goods in his store on Congress street. Two of C. Pierce, of his books and stationery, on Buck street; of Brierly, of his dry goods,

on Broad street; of Joseph and Joshua Haven, of their fall and winter goods, on Court street; another of C. Pierce, of tickets in the South Hadley Lottery; Tobias Lord, jr., of Kennebunk, of "a few hhd. of excellent flavoured Tobago and St. Croix Rum by hhd. and bbl. for cash or approved credit;" of Phineas Hemmingway, of his new house and barn and excellent well, near the meeting-house; of Joseph Porter, for a smart, active lad as an apprentice to the tinman's business, with an "N. B.—A few barrels excellent Cyder still remaining on hand;" of Hale Wait, for an apprentice at the shoemaking business about the age of 14 years; of Phineas Cole, who says he is about to remove, for his debtors to settle their accounts; of Nathan Morse, of Arundel, of a similar character; a list of letters remaining in the post-office, Kennebunk, and two advertisements of the printer, of a long list of books for sale at his office. But the subscription patronage was insufficient to sustain it. It was continued two years, when its publication was discontinued. Sewall was endowed with a good intellect, but does not appear to have tasked it very severely in the management of the paper. He did not trouble himself about editorials. Occasionally it contained respectable communications on political questions and matters of local interest. Evidently he was not enamored of his profession. He did not find pleasure or satisfaction in the expression of his own views. Though imagination was one of his leading attributes, he seldom gave it play in his columns. He wrote the ode for the Fourth of July, 1803, which was sung with effect on that occasion. Some of his poetry of subsequent years, we think, is extant, though not accessible to us. His position as publisher of this paper not meeting his aspirations, he abandoned it in 1805, moved to Scarboro, and there established himself as a Thompsonian physician, traveling about and administering to invalids the "sweat" prescribed by that class of medical practitioners.

In the beginning of 1805, another attempt was made to establish a newspaper press in Kennebunk, by William Weeks. This enterprise was not so successful as the former. The paper was denominated the Kennebunk Gazette. We have a single copy of it, dated July 24, 1805. From this specimen, we are of the opinion that the people took but little interest in sustaining it. Though this was the nineteenth number, beside the postmaster's notice of letters remaining in the office, it contains but a single advertisement. The paper

is made up entirely of collections, containing nothing editorial, and no original communication, so that we are unable to judge of the merits of Mr. Weeks as an editor. It was continued but a little while, when the publisher moved to Saco, thence to Portland, then to Portsmouth, where in 1809 he became the publisher of the *New Hampshire Gazette*.

A fourth paper, denominated the "Weekly Visitor," was started in 1809, by James K. Remick. The publisher seems to have had more sympathy from the public than his predecessors. The advertising support of a newspaper, we suppose to be very essential to its success. This was very liberally given to the Visitor. A great deal of original matter was also furnished. Previous failures probably moved the people to a more active interest in its success than they manifested in the earlier enterprises. The paper soon acquired a satisfactory footing and maintained its position between thirty and forty years, though its name was afterward changed to "*Kennebunk Gazette*." By a wise and prudent management of the financial concerns of the establishment, the publisher acquired a very comfortable independence, which he transmitted to his son and only heir.

All the publishers of these papers, in addition to the work of their profession, kept a book store, supplying to the public stationery, school books, etc. To the curious in regard to the changes which have taken place since the century began, it would be interesting to examine and compare the catalogue of books then advertised for sale, with those which are now found in our book stores.

The people now manifested a greater interest in an improvement in the conveniences, comforts, and refinements of life. Accessions had been made to the population of men of different views from those who had heretofore been leaders in social and municipal action. Dr. Gates, Benjamin Brown, Dr. Frost, Joseph Moody, Dr. Emerson, Jonas Clark, Dr. Goddard, Dr. Keating, Dr. Gilman, Joseph Thomas, George W. Wallingford, Joseph Dane, Parker Webster, Stephen Sewall, Rev. Nathaniel H. Fletcher, and others, active and enterprising men, had located themselves in the two villages of Kennebunk and Wells. These men needed the intellectual enjoyments to which they had been accustomed, and in 1802 started a subscription for a social library, and succeeded in establishing one of a very respectable character, under the name of Wells Social Library, containing a hundred or more valuable works. The benefits were limited to

the owners of the shares. This library was increased from year to year till the number of volumes reached about 300. Persons interested in the study of the progress of the race, would find matter for meditation, in contrasting the character of the reading at that time with that of the present day, by an examination of the literature of this library, and any one now found for public use in the town. Such had been the change in the taste of the people that this ancient library, forty years afterward, was seldom resorted to, and the standard useful works which it contained were permitted to rest on the shelves for years, until they were finally sold at auction. Works of fiction have, to a great extent, usurped the place of those of valuable knowledge.

Another enterprise of great importance was started in the village of Kennebunk about the same time. Houses had been built, stores and stocks of goods increased, and it was felt that provision should be made to protect them from fire. Accordingly, an association was formed for this purpose, denominated the Kennebunk Fire Society. Each of the members was required to furnish himself with a pair of leather buckets, a long ladder, a roof ladder, and to be ready immediately on notice of fire, to run with the buckets to the scene of conflagration. As there was then no bell to give such notice, every one felt it his duty, as soon as he saw indications of it, to cry fire. This was repeated by all within hearing. As thus the intelligence was transmitted to every part of the town almost as quickly as it could be by telegraph, no bell would answer the purpose so well as this universal voice. But unfortunately, this practice has been superseded by the bell, and very few people now think of personally giving this timely notice that a building is on fire. Many cases have occurred, in which those living but a short distance have known nothing of it till the fire had done its work. Subsequently to the institution of this association, an engine was purchased and submitted to its control. From the organization of the society down to the present time, annual meetings have been holden for the choice of officers, and for an inquiry into the condition of the equipments of the several members, and for the enjoyment of a generous supper. Every man who owns buildings in the village should be a member of this society.

CHAPTER XLIV.

MILITARY HISTORY OF THE TOWN—THE CAVALRY—ARTILLERY—FLAG
PRESENTATION—GENERAL MUSTER.

WE have been in doubt under what head our brief military history should be classed. Perhaps it will be as appropriate in this as in any other chapter.

Some kind of militia system, designed for training all the male inhabitants to the use of arms, has been maintained almost from the time of the institution of government. The various modifications to which it has been subjected in the intervening time, we do not think it important to notice. Probably the reader would not find in its details, matter of sufficient interest to compensate for the reading of it. After the Revolution, the policy of preparing for war in time of peace was accepted by all the people, and by law, all between eighteen and forty-five years of age were enrolled in the train bands. There were six or seven companies in the town of Wells. These were required to meet at least four times a year, for drill and improvement. This liability to military duty was not congenial to many of the young men. The reluctance to drill so often, with some little ambition for military display, induced the formation of a company of cavalry in Wells and Kennebunk toward the end of the last century. About sixty were enrolled in the ranks. Dr. Keating was chosen captain; John Low, lieutenant; Robert Towne, of Kennebunkport, ensign; and Joseph Moody, cornet. We are unable to give a particular account of it. But we can say that an exhibition of this troop in full array, with their red coats and other habiliments, would not be an uninteresting spectacle to the present generation. After Keating, the captains were Nathaniel Frost, Joseph Dane, Benjamin Smith, and Elisha Chadbourne. This company was maintained more than thirty years.

In 1817, an artillery company was formed in Wells, embracing

several members from Arundel, and with the company at York, constituted a battalion. It was organized by the choice of Barnabas Palmer, as captain, William W. Wise, as lieutenant, and Edward E. Bourne, as ensign; Davenport Tucker was chosen clerk. A neat uniform was provided, so that in its marches through the streets, it made a respectable display. Two brass six-pounders were furnished for it by the government. On the 27th of August, 1818, a flag was presented to it by Miss Sarah Grant, as a donation from the ladies of Kennebunk. The communication accompanying the presentation will be interesting to our readers. "Captain Barnabas Palmer, Sir: In compliance with the request of the ladies of this town, I have executed and in their behalf, send you this standard. As a donation to you and the company of artillery you have the honor to command, you will please to accept it. Let peace be your motto. But if the awful clangor of arms from a foreign and invading foe should summons you to unfurl it in the presence of the enemy, may it be sacred to liberty, to your own and your country's honor. Let that spirit which animated a Spartan band animate your breasts, and surrender it only with your lives. If, in the hour of danger, it should triumphantly wave, and under the protection of heaven guide you to victory, remember that it was given by females who believe that humanity no less than valor, is an ornament to the soldier.

Accept, with this, Sir, the assurance of my respect and esteem, and may He who commands the grand armies above, protect you, and at last adorn your brow with the laurels of His victory.

S. GRANT."

To which Capt. Palmer made the following reply:

DEAR MADAM, In behalf of the Wells and Arundel artillery company, I accept with gratitude the standard you have sent me. Should a foreign assailant dare invade our soil, be assured that this flag and the sentiments you have expressed, could not fail to inspire our breasts with courage. Displayed in defense of our country's rights, or unfurled in the field of battle, so long as liberty is dear to our hearts, no stain of dishonor shall tarnish it. Relying on the justice of our cause and the favor of heaven for victory, may it be the rallying point of our freedom or death.

Accept, madam, for yourself, and be pleased to present the grateful acknowledgments of the company to the respected ladies, the donors

of this color. Assure them that we shall always be ambitious to deserve their approbation, and whilst we have a just regard for virtue and for ourselves, this superb testimony of their respect shall never be abased by insubordination in times of tranquility, nor inhumanity in the day of victory. May their liberties be protected, their rights defended, and their hearts illuminated, with the joys of that freedom which is eternal.

B. PALMER."

Of this company the visitor remarks: "We have witnessed with pride and pleasure their martial appearance and correct discipline. This company is a valuable addition to the brigade."

Capt. Palmer, soon after, was elected Major of the battalion, and Edward E. Bourne was appointed adjutant. William W. Wise was chosen to supply the vacancy caused by the promotion of Capt. Palmer.

In the fall of every year there was a general muster, as it was termed, all the troops of the regiment assembling on the parade ground in Kennebunk, on the easterly side of the Alfred road, just above the house of Oliver Perkins. The companies were generally ordered to be on the parade at nine o'clock in the morning. So that long before daylight some of the soldiers were on their way to the place of inspection. Girls and boys were not less earnest to be there at an early hour. Twenty or thirty tents were put up on the high ground several days before. On muster day they were well supplied with gingerbread, buns, apples, cider, liquors, and various articles attractive to the people. Men and women, in carriages and on horseback, were gathered there from all places within the bounds of the regiment. Every one felt that he must leave his labors and go to the training. We speak of the early periods of the institution. The exhibitions of the occasion will never escape from the memory of cotemporaries. The captains and all the officers, with the exception of those of the cavalry and artillery, wore the cocked hat. This, with the other uniform and trappings with which they were invested, and their official position, inspired them with a dignity to which they were entirely unaccustomed, and the pomp and display which they manifested in marching on the parade, when the companies were forming into line, under the music of drum and fife, were generally highly elevating to the spectators. The author was

an officer on one or two of these occasions, and he very well remembers the thought he then had of the importance and dignity of the military office. During the day, in some of the neighboring houses, there was music and dancing, which was kept up to a late hour in the evening.

How much profit the public derived from these gatherings for inspection and review, we have no means of estimating. But that the cause of temperance and morality was not materially advanced by them, we have little reason to doubt. The sympathies of the people at length became estranged from them; and the attendance on the muster was gradually lessened, until they were finally dispensed with as not favorable to the public welfare.

CHAPTER XLV.

DIVISION OF THE TOWN—KENNEBUNK INCORPORATED.

THE town of Wells, as incorporated, contained about 40,000 acres ; being too extended a territory for a single township. Six miles square, as a general rule, is sufficiently large for our ordinary municipalities. It is desirable that all inhabitants should have convenient access to the places of public meetings ; and that these places should be so near the centre of population, that the people may gather together with the least trouble and inconvenience. Townsmen, for the common good, should endeavor to promote a kind, friendly, and frequent intercourse ; those whose interests are common, and to be affected by the same administrative action, should be acquainted with each other, and understand something of each other's condition. In large places, whether in territory or population, these objects cannot always be effected ; the geography of a town may be of such a character, or the population so numerous, as to preclude any such desirable knowledge. The town of Wells was commenced in the vicinity of Webhannet river ; and here a village had grown up many years before any successful attempt was made to settle what is now the territory of Kennebunk. This village had become a place of considerable business ; while at the eastward of it, for three or four miles, the forests had scarcely been touched by man. The lands between the Mousam and Kennebunk rivers were not occupied till about seventy-five years after, excepting by the erection of three or four saw-mills. After the close of the principal Indian wars, the villages in Kennebunk started into being, and soon had a population of hundreds. The people began to avail themselves of the commercial facilities of Mousam and Kennebunk rivers, and soon lumber tended toward these places for shipment ; so that in a little while Kennebunk and Wells were distinct places of business, four or five miles apart. There was thus a tendency to separation ; lumber would seldom be

transferred from one place to the other; trade from the surrounding settlements centered at one place or the other, as most convenient; the inhabitants of the villages traded at home as far as they were able to do so. Thus the acquaintances and sympathies of the two sections were materially hindered. Men of the same town did not know each other; and therefore the interests of all did not come home to the hearts of the townsmen. Neighborhoods, and free and familiar intercourse, are very material to promote liberal and generous relations. Indeed, the institutions of the Sabbath came in to qualify in some measure, the estrangement which must be a consequence of this non-intercourse in business. There is a no more certain bond of union and interest among intelligent and considerate men, than that which has its basis in frequent religious communion. They thus are made to feel, that as travelers in a strange land, they have a common journey to accomplish; and their hearts are ready to respond to mutual wants and to proffer needed kindnesses. But here the house of worship was from six to ten miles distant from those living in Kennebunk, and a part of the time the route was beset with appalling dangers. There were no well-traveled roads, and the people had no carriages; it was a tedious journey much of the time, for one-half of the town. In the winter season it was impossible for the distant villagers often to appear in the house of God; in consequence of this, many of them attended worship only so far as was necessary to escape the penalty of the law.

In the course of a few years after the commencement of the settlement in Kennebunk, the people there began to feel that it was not right for them to pay a tax for the support of schools, and at the same time be shut out from their benefit; and a vote was obtained at the town meeting in 1741, that the school should be kept four months at the house of James Wakefield, at the landing. The next year they were authorized to procure their own school-master, the town agreeing to allow them all that they paid of the school tax. This was the first distinct recognition of different sectional interests. Having succeeded in this one measure, the next year they petitioned that they might be set off into a separate precinct. This petition was not granted; but the town voted to pay them thirty pounds toward what they had expended in schools and for the ministry of the Gospel. But the time had arrived when the people began to feel their importance, and the next year they pressed for still higher

privileges, claiming that the town should help them build a meeting-house, and allow them six months' preaching yearly, or set them off into a distinct precinct. The town was not satisfied that they were entitled to so much consideration, and refused to comply with their wishes. The people of Kennebunk would not rest easy under this refusal; and in 1746 petitioned again for an allowance for the support of the Gospel, and that they might be set off as a distinct Parish. In this application they were unsuccessful; not wearied, they applied again in 1747 for aid in building a meeting-house; but, as before, the town declined to accede to their proposition. These unfavorable results did not in the least diminish the sense of their own importance; they had grown rapidly, and perhaps thought more of themselves than they ought; but they now determined to resort to a different tribunal. In 1749, they petitioned to the General Court to set them off as a distinct Parish; the town voted to oppose the measure, and chose Samuel Wheelright agent for that purpose. But it was learned that any further opposition would be unavailing, and at the meeting in May, 1750, the town gave its consent to a division of the Parish. As the people no longer attended public worship in Wells, the reasons for a division of the town now became stronger than before; but this one important object having been accomplished, the people, for a long time, were content to continue the union. There were many persons in Kennebunk who had previously been inhabitants of Wells, and their attachment to the old town they were unwilling to sunder; it was also felt that a larger town carried with it a greater prestige, and more commanding influence, than towns of minor extent. The Revolutionary war, also, with its deprivations and depressing influences, shut out the subject altogether from the thoughts of the inhabitants; though some few persons in Alewife, in 1777, petitioned the Second Parish, then embracing all Kennebunk, that a committee should be chosen to petition the General Court that this Parish might be "set off from the town as a precinct or district, to do their own business, in a measure, by themselves." The Parish complied with the prayer of this petition, and chose Stephen Larabee, Richard Thompson, and Benjamin Stevens a committee for that purpose; but the Legislature of Massachusetts had then much more important business on hand, and nothing was done respecting the application. The town does not appear to have taken any action in reference to this petition. All felt the need of husbanding whatever

they had and of avoiding any expenditures not absolutely demanded. The administration of the municipal affairs of one town could be carried on at a much less expense, than if devolving on two separate governments. But in 1755, the Parish determined that they ought to have a portion of the parochial funds, and made application to the old Parish for that purpose. The petition met with a favorable reception, and two hundred acres were obtained; this was appropriated as a parsonage. Thus stood the relations of the two Parishes till some years after the war. In 1787, another vote was taken looking toward a division of the town. One-third of the town meetings were to be holden at Kennebunk. This vote satisfied the present demands of the people of that village, and the subject of dividing the town was quieted until the close of the century, when, in 1799, some of the inhabitants again mooted the inquiry whether the people in the eastern part ought not to insist upon a separation. Kennebunk had now about eight hundred inhabitants. They were almost entirely separated from the western part of the town in business and intercourse, while the woods between them remained about as it was a hundred years before. They were as much separated from each other by unsettled land as though they were much farther apart. But a majority, including some of the most influential citizens, were opposed to separation. A petition was presented to the town praying for a division. Wells opposed the petition, and John Storer was chosen agent for the town to resist it. A committee, consisting of Nathaniel Cousens, Benjamin Titcomb, Samuel Burnham, Jeremiah Hubbard, and Nathaniel Wells, were appointed to prepare a remonstrance. Three of this committee lived in Kennebunk. The prospect of success was therefore not very encouraging. The Parish, at its annual meeting in April, voted "that it is the desire of the inhabitants of this Parish to be set off from the town of Wells, and to be incorporated into a separate town by themselves, agreeably to the prayer of a petition for that purpose now pending before said town of Wells, seventy-six voting for and four against this motion."

Col. John Taylor, Jonas Clark, Esq., and Dr. Thatcher Goddard, were appointed a committee to lay the matter before the town, and urge their assent to partition. They were also directed to petition the General Court for an act of incorporation. The committee failed in obtaining a division, and the subject was dropped for many years.

In 1814, the friends of the measure renewed their exertions for division, and at the May meeting succeeded in obtaining a vote, instructing the representatives of the town to prepare a petition to the Legislature for that purpose. But at the adjourned meeting in May, it appearing that many of the inhabitants of the Second Parish were opposed to the procedure, the vote was reconsidered. This was in war times, when the spirit of the people was much depressed, all business stagnant, and no prospect of speedy amelioration presented itself.

In 1819, some further progress was made toward municipal independence, by a vote that one-half of the town meetings should be holden in the Second Parish. In 1820, the war being over, various circumstances combined to create a different state of feeling, and all the inhabitants of Kennebunk joined in the movement for division. Unexpectedly to them, inhabitants of the town voted unanimously for it. Kennebunk now contained 2,145 inhabitants, and Wells was satisfied that the time for separation had come. The people had dwelt together in harmony for a hundred years, cherishing the kindest feelings toward each other until the year 1816, when these relations were sadly wounded by an event which the intelligent reader will have learned from another chapter, though the influence of this painful occurrence had now in a great measure ceased. The disruption of the municipal tie came over the people of the old town with somewhat of sorrow, yet they came to the conclusion that the interest of harmony and good-will would be subserved by it, and that it would be doing injustice to those dwelling in the new town any longer to withhold their assent to separation, and thus the long connection sustained through all the common labors and trials of the later Indian, French, and English wars, was mutually dissolved.

In conformity with the vote of the two parties, all opposition was withdrawn, and the first Legislature of Maine, on the twenty-fourth day of June, 1820, ratified their agreement by the following Act :

“An Act to divide the town of Wells, and incorporate the northeasterly part thereof as a town, by the name of Kennebunk.

SEC. 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in Legislature assembled, That all that part of the town of Wells, in the County of York, lying northeasterly of the following line, viz.: Beginning at the sea, at the mouth of Little river; thence running

up the middle of said river to the mouth of the Branch river; thence up the middle of said Branch river, to the line between said Wells and Sanford, with the inhabitants thereon, be and the same hereby are incorporated into a separate town by the name of Kennebunk, and vested with all the powers, privileges, and immunities, and subject to all the duties and requisitions of other corporate towns agreeably to the constitution and laws of the State.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That the inhabitants of said town of Kennebunk shall be holden to pay the arrears of all taxes which have been legally assessed on them, together with their proportion of all assessments which may have been voted by, and debts due from, said town of Wells at the time this Act may take effect; said proportion to be ascertained by the last valuation of the respective towns. And the said inhabitants of Kennebunk shall be entitled to receive their proportion of all assessments voted by, and debts and taxes due to, said town of Wells at that time; and also their proportion of the personal property (except as hereinafter mentioned), to be divided according to the valuation aforesaid.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That all persons belonging to said town of Wells, who shall be chargeable, as paupers, when this act may take effect, or shall afterwards become chargeable, shall be considered as belonging to and having their settlement in said town of Wells or Kennebunk, respectively, accordingly as their settlement may have been gained on the territory of the one or the other, at the time this act may take effect, and in future shall be chargeable to such town only; and the unascertained expenses up to said time of all paupers residing out of said town of Wells, but belonging thereto, shall be paid by said towns in proportion to the valuation before mentioned.

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, That the real estate owned by said town of Wells, shall belong to said Wells or Kennebunk according to the local situation thereof within their respective boundaries; and the town's stock of powder, balls, flints, guns and camp equipment on hand at the time this act may take effect, shall be divided between said towns in proportion to the number of men borne on the rolls of the militia of the respective towns at said time.

SEC. 5. And be it further enacted, That the privileges of obtaining clams, seaweed, and rockweed from the beaches and flats in said

towns, which the inhabitants have been accustomed to use from time immemorial shall continue in common as heretofore.

SEC. 6. And be it further enacted, That any Justice of the Peace for the county of York is hereby empowered, upon application therefor, to issue his warrant, directed to any freehold inhabitant of said Kennebunk, requiring him to notify and warn the inhabitants thereof, qualified to vote in town affairs, to meet at such convenient place and time, as shall be appointed in said warrant, for the choice of such officers as towns are, by law, authorized and required to choose and appoint at their annual meetings.

SEC. 7. And be it further enacted, That this Act shall take effect from and after the thirty-first day of July next.

Approved.

WILLIAM KING."

JUNE 24, 1820.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF

EARLY INHABITANTS OF WELLS AND KENNEBUNK.

PREFACE.

AN alphabetical arrangement of the following biographies would seem to be the most natural and convenient, and my first intention was so to arrange them. I found, however, upon examination, that they were not written immethodically, as might at first glance appear, but were classified according to the several professions and trades—generally in the order in which they became citizens—and in many instances, were so connected by reference from one to another, as to render it necessary to carry out the original plan of the author.

The inconvenience arising from this arrangement is obviated by an index, by reference to which the name of any person can as readily be found as if placed in alphabetical order.

The index may, perhaps, be fuller than might, to the general reader, seem necessary. I have endeavored to note every allusion to the names of persons, however incidentally mentioned, in order that the citizens of Wells and Kennebunk, and others interested in the genealogy or history of the early inhabitants, may readily avail themselves of all the information here given in relation to them. I could not fail to notice, as I went along, how these oftentimes slight allusions to an individual, showing his peculiar characteristics; his acts in town and private affairs; his family and business connections; when taken collectively, furnish a concise history, and show at once his private worth and capacity, and his value as a citizen.

That the index might be as concise as possible, I have, in the main, made merely a general reference to the page, leaving to the reader the task of hunting out the special matter in which he is interested.

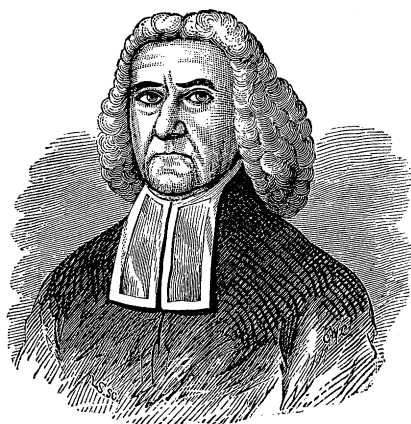
E. E. B., JR.

DANIEL LITTLE.

Died Dec. 5, 1801, REV. DANIEL LITTLE, aged 78. Mr. Little may well be classed with the eminent men of the last century; not so much on account of any intellectual prominence, as from his unwearied devotion to the great object to which he had dedicated his life. We cannot claim for him uncommon mental vigor; for clearly that was not an element of his character. But he was an earnest, vigilant, industrious and faithful watchman over the great interests of humanity; a true disciple of his Lord and Master. He was one of the working men of his age. He had not the benefit of a liberal education; but was favored with an intellectual culture, which gave him confidence, and qualified him for an effectual teacher to the great body of men who fill the land. The honorary degree of A. M. was conferred upon him by Harvard College in 1766.

He began his mature life by teaching school, the best employment to qualify him for the work of his future years. To be a successful preacher, one must be versed in human character, as forming in early life. He was employed as a teacher in Kennebunk in 1748; and in the autumn of that year he supplied the pulpit several Sabbaths. He studied divinity with Rev. Joseph Moody, of York, and preached at Portsmouth, Berwick and York. At the former place he was a prominent candidate for the pulpit. He had engaged to supply the desk at York on a certain fast-day. Moody, who had taken a deep interest in him, learning that he was to preach that day, took pains to ascertain where he was to lodge; and rising early in the morning, went to the window of his bed-room and cried out: "Daniel Little! Daniel Little! The birds are up and praising God, and you are here asleep. You have the sins of a whole nation to confess to-day and yet are asleep." Having thus started the slumberer from his bed, he instantly disappeared. Little rose and opened his window, but no one was to be seen. He thus received some useful instruction as to the value of time, which, as his after life manifested, he never forgot.

His action as a school teacher, and his services in the pulpit, had made a very favorable impression on the people of Kennebunk, and in 1751, he was invited to settle with them as their minister. The position thus tendered to him was not a very desirable one as regarded compensation. But, as he observed in his answer, he "had witnessed such a happy degree of charity and brotherly love among the people,



REV. DANIEL LITTLE.

he was drawn toward them, and with a ready and cheerful mind accepted their call." In those days but little notice was taken of one's special views of religious doctrine. Congregationalism was the dominant religion; and, in fact, almost the exclusive religion of New England. But he was educated and graduated, as to his theology, from the Assembly's Catechism. The business of the preacher then was to exhort and lead men to righteousness. Seldom was anything said about those matters of speculation which, in later years, occupied so much of the attention of Christians. There was not an educated man among his thirty parishioners, and it required no uncommon ability to preach to them the word of a true life. It was said that he was "uncommonly gifted in prayer." He visited much from house to house, never leaving without commending the inmates to the Divine blessing. As was said by one of his parishioners, he "would pop in and pray with the family, and be off in a moment."

By his familiar intercourse with his parish, he acquainted himself with their various characters, and thus learned what kind of religious instruction was needed.

Having acquired the reputation of being an active, common-sense minister, well versed in the human life, and the varieties of human nature from which it proceeded, he was early selected for a broader field of labor. In 1772, he was appointed by the "Trustees for the Eastern Mission," for missionary service in the eastern portion of the District of Maine. That part of the Province had just begun to be settled. His labors under this appointment were very arduous. There were no roads, and he was obliged to travel on horseback through forests, and much by boat among the islands, and on the rivers, and was occasionally in much peril. Under the inspirations of a lively faith, he was not disheartened by the difficulties of his mission; but persevered in his work with a cheerful heart. "The more I labor," he says, "for the good of others, the more peace and comfort within." Of the result of his labors on this first tour we have no definite information.

He went again in 1774. The scene of his labor was about Union river; at Gouldsborough, Bluehill, Mount Desert, Castine and Belfast. He preached and baptized in barns, private houses, and wherever convenient and accessible places could be found. The people left their homes and traveled twenty or thirty miles to hear him. Children walked seven or eight miles to attend public worship. He

was zealous in urging the people to the Christian life, and was more especially diligent in combating the free use of intoxicating liquors. During the three months of this mission he baptized 253 persons, and admitted several to the Christian church, beside attending several funerals, and uniting several couples in marriage. This last service was performed without pay, considering that it was inconsistent with the benevolent intention of his mission to receive any compensation for any special labor here performed. He was treated with great kindness. The hospitalities of every house were freely tendered to him.

While on this mission, he was deeply afflicted by the continually recurring scenes of wretchedness and ruin brought upon the families by the rumseller; and he denounced his murderous traffic with all the ability with which God had invested him. Beside the services of the Sabbath, he appointed other days of the week for religious conversation and for public instruction. He preached at Deer Isle to crowded congregations. During his former mission he had instituted a church at Blue Hill, and it was now in a prosperous condition. Twenty-seven families had united, and persevered in the support of public worship. Among all the families in the vicinity there was but one horse. Mr. Little occasionally had the use of him, but most of his journeying was on foot; so that his labors were very arduous and exhausting. He passed an interesting Sabbath at Deer Isle, baptizing on that day twenty-five persons; admitting three to the church, administering the communion service, and occupying four hours in conversation with interested inquirers. After this he went to Camden; preached, and baptized six children. The next day he walked five miles, and preached, and baptized as many more. Here he closed this mission, having traveled in boats 500 miles, and having been subjected to such severe exposures that his health was materially impaired; yet he said that he had been "specially cared for by a kind and gracious Providence," and that he drew from his preservation from danger the encouraging thought that his life was preserved to redeem time and do more for the glory of God.

On his way home, there being no bridges, he was frequently obliged to swim his horse. He reached Kennebunk on the eleventh of October, where, he says, "I found my dear wife and children comfortable, except my very dear daughter Peggy, whose fits still continue. I have been absent from a tender, loving family and

friendly, affectionate people three months and eleven days. To find them and my house and interest under the care and preservation of Divine Providence, to this day, calls aloud for devout thanks. But one death since my absence in the Parish, and but one person for whom public prayers have been offered in affliction. These blessings of heaven at home, together with the numerous signals of the Divine care and benediction in journeying home and on the waters abroad, and especially my various tokens of success to my various public and private labors as missionary, I hope will be remembered, without period, to the honor of the blessed God and his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. And may the dear people to whom (though infinitely unworthy) I have been called to preach the everlasting Gospel, and the dear churches of Christ who have no minister, be supplied with faithful servants and pastors, that the numerous sheep and lambs may be led in the footsteps of the Redeemer's flock, to the praise of God and the Lamb forever and ever. Amen."

So satisfactory had been Mr. Little's success on this mission, that his services were demanded several times afterward for similar labors. We have particular account of these labors on some of his expeditions. He was thus engaged, we think, in 1782. The embarrassments of the Revolutionary war precluded any missionary action in distant parts of the State. In 1786, some charitable, public-spirited individual employed him to go on a mission to the tribe of Indians on the Penobscot river, "to instruct them in the knowledge of the Christian religion, and their children in useful human literature." To aid him in this work, he had, in addition, a manifesto from Gov. Bowdoin, recognizing the importance of the enterprise, and calling upon the citizens to give him their assistance in a work of so great interest.

He left his home on the 31st of July, and traveled on horseback through Falmouth, Bath, Wiscasset to Warren, and from thence to Bagaduce or Castine. At Warren he preached in the old meeting-house, where the rain poured down almost as freely on the minister and congregation as though they had been out of door. From Castine he went up the river to Bangor. He was received very favorably by the Indians. He had designed to establish a school among them, but he soon satisfied himself that the Catholic priests were opposed to any such institution. He had also been requested

to attend Gen. Lincoln, Gen. Putnam, and Dr. Rice, commissioners, to negotiate a treaty with the Indians for the purchase of some of their lands on Penobscot river. On this occasion he had a free conversation with the tribe, and soon after started his school; but the priest discouraged the Indians, and he was obliged to abandon it, though they were at first highly delighted with it. Mr. Little took this opportunity to learn the language of the natives, having the aid of one of them, who had acquired some knowledge of the English. Devoting his spare time to this study, he soon was able to repeat their numbers. He afterward prepared a full vocabulary, which is said to be in the library of Harvard College. He translated the Lord's prayer into the language of the Penobscots.

But his principal business was the instruction of the people in Christianity, and his labors, in the main, were to that end. He thought but little of forms in his appreciation of the public needs. He felt that religion was of the heart, and the one thing needful. In surveying the field of duty, he saw that the ministry of the Gospel was the great instrumentality by which men were to be trained to the true life. A church near Bangor had given a call to a man of the name of Noble to settle as its minister; the invitation had been accepted. The prominent act of his mission at this time was his installment. Forms and decrees of councils were not allowed by him to override the welfare of his fellow-men. The only inquiry with him was how the services should be performed. There were no ministers to be invited for the occasion. He did not hesitate, but determined himself to induct him to the sacred office. The candidate had an orchard, in which, besides his fruit trees, were several oaks affording shade. Under these Mr. Noble had erected a platform upon barrels, for the purpose of the installation. A large assembly gathered to witness the ceremony. Mr. Little took upon himself, and went through, all the services of ordination, offering the prayer, preaching the sermon, and giving the right hand of fellowship. The whole was completed without other council than that of his own conscience. Though we enjoy and reverence the long-used custom of consecrating a minister to his responsible and solemn work, we cannot but admire the independence and resolution of Mr. Little in forming his own judgment as to the merits of the candidate, and bravely ordaining him to the work of the ministry. He soon after-

ward returned home, preaching the Gospel at various places on the route, baptizing children, and advising, comforting, and praying, as was expected of ministers of that day.

In 1787, he again went on a mission, having Rev. Abial Abbot as an associate. They went to the Kennebec and Penobscot, through all the villages, and returned to the Ossipee town, in York county, and to Sanford, preaching and baptizing everywhere, and admitting people to the church.

In 1788, he was appointed commissioner to complete the treaty with the Indians, which had been initiated the previous year, to remove themselves to another place, the rapid extension of our population rendering such removal necessary. They received him with a great deal of ceremony and in a kind and respectful spirit; but all his labors with them were unavailing. They insisted that God had placed them there for his service; that they had no knowledge of writing, and therefore should not put their names to the paper he offered them. "All we know," they said, "we mean to have a right spirit and a right heart." Orsong was the leader in the conference on the part of the Indians. He was evidently a man of strong intellect, which by some means he had labored to cultivate. He had acquainted himself with three or four different languages, perhaps by the aid of the French priests. In a conversation with him, Mr. Little inquired in what language he prayed. After repeating this inquiry two or three times, he gravely and reverently replied, "No matter what. The Great Spirit knows all languages." He was in advance of the age, having imbibed some of the current sentiments of a much later period. Having concluded his speech, he turned to the interpreter and said, "Is this Mr. Little a minister?" Having received an affirmative reply, he turned to him and said, "Brother, ministers ought not to have anything to do with public business about lands. To-day is Saturday. They ought to be preparing for the Sabbath. There are other gentlemen who might act in this business." So persevering were the Indians in their determination not to perfect the treaty, that Mr. Little, after telling them as they had refused to do as they agreed, they must not expect any favor from heaven, or from government, left them and returned home.

He had been so much engaged in these Christian missions to the new settlements in the east, and so much to the satisfaction of the governor and council, that he was called the "Apostle of the East."

Nearly all the children, probably, then dwelling in the places where he labored, were baptized by him, and if there are at this day any abiding there who were among the children of the first settlers, perhaps they owe their long lives to their early consecration by him to the great principles of temperance and Christian morals.

We are inclined to the opinion that Mr. Little enjoyed this frequent roving abroad more than the continued routine of ordinary parochial life. He was disposed to a life of activity, enterprise, and even difficult labor. This feeling led him in 1784, with Dr. Belknap, Dr. Cutter, Dr. Fisher, and six others, to visit and ascend Mount Washington. This, in those days, was regarded as a noteworthy feat. Up to that year, few had attempted it. There were no accommodations for the purpose. They met, by agreement, at Colonel Mullen's, in Conway, on the 23d of July, where they obtained pilots and axemen. They arrived at the foot of the mountain about four o'clock in the afternoon, near a meadow, where the Saco and the Androscoggin take their rise. Here they built a camp and tarried through the night. This was on the easterly side of the mountain, and about half a mile from New river, which, they stated, commenced far up in the mountain, and in its course down acquired at the base power enough to carry a saw-mill. The next morning early, the main body of the company set out on the ascent. Dr. Belknap being very corpulent, and Dr. Fisher of feeble constitution, did not attempt the exploit. Two-thirds of the rise was covered with a dense growth of wood, which then for a mile dwindled in height and size, till the trees disappeared, and nothing was met with but short moss and grass, which was soon passed by, and all traces of vegetation disappeared. Thence they climbed over loose rocks till they reached what they called the "Sugar Loaf," which, they stated, rose about three hundred feet. They attained the highest point in about six and a half hours. "Here," said Mr. Little, "is grand prospect. The heavens clear upon our first arrival. The houses on Connecticut river open to view with the naked eye. Numerous large mountains on every side, but the northwesterly sometimes appearing in rays of very clear sun, and very soon shut out from sight by the ascending vapor and thickening clouds, and then appearing again. This diversity of scenery closed in a thick fog, and as cold as November, which prevented our return to our camp at the foot of the mountain, any further than the first growth of wood, large enough for a good fire

for the night." The next morning they reached their camp at an early hour, but not so much fatigued as to prevent them from starting immediately on their return home. At this time, the mountain and wilderness around it were entirely trackless, and therefore they were not able to make the ascent and return in a day, as proposed. Dr. Fisher and Mr. Belknap, we think, must have passed rather an anxious night. The next night they camped at Coos, and after traveling through bushes and over windfalls, returned home through the Notch. Mr. Little speaks of the Notch as "a place grand and curious, where the Creator has marked a central road through an extensive and fertile country to the Province of Canada. This Notch of the mountains, so called, is the termination of the northwesterly side of the great, and the easterly end of a less mountain. The nearest approach is thirty feet, and the rocks of each side nearly perpendicular, from twenty to sixty feet, and some places one hundred feet in height, and nearly half a mile in length, through which the westerly and main branch of Saco river passes, a small stream except in a great freshet. Here the State of New Hampshire has shown the boldest works of art in New England, and, by removing the loose rocks, and blowing into the side of the mountain to widen the passage sufficient for the water and the road, have made a road smooth and almost upon a level, fit for any carriages, by which a way is opened from Upper Cohos to Conway." The party estimated the height of the mountain above the sea at nine thousand feet.

This was one of the first concerted ascents of Mt. Washington by a large party, and, therefore, though not necessarily a part of the history which we have undertaken, we have thought it well to give a detailed account of it, for the use of others who may have occasion for it in any future description of this now famous place of summer resort.

We have before stated that Mr. Little was not eminent as a preacher, but as a working man, ever looking to the welfare of society, we think, there were at that time few who were his superiors. The missionary labors of which we have given a brief account, had their counterpart in the life which he passed in the more limited sphere prescribed by his parochial settlement. He was always employed in devising some means for the promotion of the good of his parishioners. He took the lead in all measures suggested for this purpose, his opinions being entitled to great weight. He was much in the

habit of visiting, and holding free and familiar conversation with his people, enquiring into all their worldly affairs, and advising with them as to the best method of managing their farms, their domestic concerns, and business of whatever character. His inventive powers, and propensity for some useful discoveries, were very prominent elements of his character.

It is a little remarkable that, previously to 1770, no sleigh had ever been used or ever seen within the bounds of his Parish. The people had from the earliest settlement no other mode of winter travel than on horseback. Mr. Little sat about a remedy for this inconvenience, and contrived something to answer the purpose of runners. It would be difficult to give any proper description of them. From conversation with his cotemporaries, we were not able to draw any information as to their construction which would be satisfactory. All the answer which our inquiries in that direction elicited was, "I wish you could see it." This, perhaps, carried with it as much significancy as to its symmetry and beauty, as it would have been possible to have given. The whole establishment must have been a decided attraction to his parishioners.

Mr. Little was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and, as such, he liked to show out in their publications. In addition to that pride, a little of which still holds sway in the most humble heart, he felt it a pleasant duty, so far as he could, to aid in the diffusion of useful knowledge. He had imbibed the opinion that some better method than that in use could be devised for making steel, and he gave much careful attention to the subject. He concluded that he had discovered a process by which this object could be effected. He had not the materials or instruments to carry out this process, neither had he the funds by which they could be obtained. But his townsmen had great confidence in him, and were thus assured that they were to have this article manufactured at their own doors. This was at an important period of our history. We had scarcely begun to be a manufacturing people, and were in the midst of a war, cutting us off from foreign marts, so that our needs of this article could with difficulty be supplied. All were anxious that the benefit of the discovery should not be lost by Mr. Little's inability to go on with the work. The people being poor, and unable to render him the assistance needed for the completion of a shop, and the procurement of apparatus, it was recommended to him to apply

to the General Court for aid. As it was to be a public as well as a private benefit, it was considered that he was entitled to public encouragement. Accordingly, in 1778, he petitioned to the Legislature for assistance. It was believed that the project was feasible, and the following resolve was passed :

“Resolve for enabling Rev. Daniel Little for manufacturing steel.

Resolved, That there be paid out of the public treasury to the Rev. Daniel Little, of Wells, a sum of money sufficient to enable him to erect a building of thirty-five feet by twenty-five feet for the purpose of manufacturing steel; also, to build a furnace and convenient blacksmith's forge, and to enable him to purchase utensils requisite for preparing and examining the bars, provided the whole does not exceed £450, on condition that said Little shall engage to carry the art of manufacturing steel to as great perfection as possible within the reach of the present knowledge, or any future acquirements, and to communicate the same without any reserve to the General Court of this State when they judge it will be most beneficial to the public.”

The aid of the £450 thus granted enabled him to proceed in his work; he erected forthwith a respectable building, near his house, at the Landing, subsequently occupied by his son, David Little, and afterward by William Tibbets. The building was used for a long time as a joiners' shop, and stood there till within a few years. A large furnace was constructed, somewhat resembling a baker's oven; the utensils were all prepared agreeably to his instructions; the materials provided, and the operations commenced. But alas for all his calculations, and the hopes of the public! The laws of nature were against him; his philosophy was not sufficiently extensive. There was a stubborn disposition in some of the materials, which all his wisdom could not subdue, and his fond anticipations were blasted. Reluctantly, and much to his mortification, he was compelled to abandon his enterprise. He was never required, it is believed, to communicate to the Legislature any improvements which he had made in the process of manufacture. The manner in which steel was to be made is not material to state; his own account of it will be found in one of the volumes of the American Academy. There is no doubt that his scheme was well considered and digested; the theory was good for ought that could be discovered before it was put to the test; but like many plausible projects which the inventive

powers of man have suggested, it was doomed to failure, because in some of its relations it had not the support of philosophical principles.

Mr. Little was, in some measure, visionary, like the larger portion of the race; and in some cases was too hasty in his conclusions, not stopping to consider all the circumstances, which might have led to, or defeated, a particular result. He was earnest to help humanity. It may seem very strange to us of the present day, and hardly consistent with the dignity of one of high social standing, not a medical scholar, to have given such an article to one of the most respectable publications of the country; yet, in 1783, he published in one of the volumes before referred to, a communication, headed, "The effect of a clay poultice in a cancerous case." In those days, such a production might have enured to his credit with a portion of society, but would not add much to one's reputation at the present time.

He was highly respected as a man and a Christian. Though far advanced in life, he was selected as one of the trustees of Bowdoin College, at its establishment. He manifested much interest in the education of the young; and was rather sensitive to the rules of accurate and sound learning. Though frequently failing himself in a correct use of language, he could not endure the errors of others; bad grammar neutralized all the effect of a discourse; religious instruction, he thought, ought to be clothed in a pure garment. In one of his missionary tours to the eastward, he preached at Goldsboro', where a teacher by the name of Chase was then preaching to the people. He remarks in his journal: "Said teacher I invited to read the psalm, but he miscalled three words in one small portion. His attitude and blunders gave the people fresh occasion to know for what they admired him. How much grace he may have in his heart I know not; but the lowest for genius, learning, or manners, that ever I knew, who assumed the character of a public preacher. I wish his sayings among this people may not occasion some division about the subject of baptism, which is the only subject on which he can make himself popular; but how a subject so mangled and murdered can give birth to devotion, is a mystery. Such men are to be pitied and prayed for, who take the flights of a wild and disordered brain for the genuine dictates of wisdom, and the much to be desired noble elevation of the spirit of God."

Mr. Little was a staunch Congregationalist, and his prejudices, like those of the early Puritans, strong against any interference with the

principles and order of that denomination; and probably this ebullition against this preacher had its origin, in some measure, from this deep-set bias. It does not appear that he was often selected as the preacher on important occasions; he preached the sermon at the ordination of Paul Coffin, at Buxton, in 1763; there is no record of his preaching any other such sermon, excepting that of Mr. Noble, on the Penobscot. At the association of ministers of this county at Biddeford, in 1789, he preached from the text, "Now we are all here before the Lord." He preached also at the inauguration of the town of Waterboro', by the election of its first town officers, April 5, 1787, and delivered an address in 1792, before the trustees of Fryeburg Academy. When, in 1775, the political sky began to be overcast, and the stout hearts of many of the leading men began to quail at the prospect of a struggle with Great Britain, a day of prayer was appointed on the 21st of June, at York; Mr. Little preached the sermon, from Lam. 3: 6.

These comprise all his public addresses, of which we have any information, excepting his sermons in the ordinary ministrations of the pulpit. He was distinguished for his devotional exercises, and was generally selected to offer the prayer at ministerial associations, and on important public occasions. The sermon at the ordination of Coffin came very near being lost to the assembly. The settlement in Buxton, then called Narraganset No. 1, was small, and the residents far apart; the roads in the winter season were frequently so far obstructed by snow as to be impassable, even on horse-back. This winter of 1763 was of uncommon severity, and was long remembered for the great quantity of snow which fell. Mr. Little and Mr. Hemmenway, with their delegates, the day before the time appointed, started on snow-shoes to travel the whole distance, being about eighteen miles, taking the nearest route through Lyman and Hollis. After reaching the latter town, they lost their way; but finally reached the Saco river, some distance beyond Buxton. Here darkness came upon them, and they were obliged to remain during the night, suffering from cold and hunger; but by dint of great exertions in the morning, they succeeded in reaching the meeting-house, just in season to take their parts in the ordination services. Having the constitutions which the habits of those days had formed, they came out of this adventure unharmed. Mr. Little had been subjected to all

kinds of adversities in his various tours, and had thus acquired great power of endurance.

We have already given more space to this biographical sketch of the first minister of Kennebunk than may seem to some to be proper for a town history; but in the compilation of this work we have followed no prescribed rules. Our intention has been to save from oblivion historic facts, even though they may have but little connection with the subject suggested by our title page. These sketches of the men of the olden time can subserve the purpose of biography only by some degree of detail of the incidents and activities of their lives. The few prominent facts set forth, as in a Biographical Dictionary, would afford no interest, and but little profit, to the reader. The lives of the worthy men of the former ages are a legacy for the benefit of those of subsequent years. The time of their births, their professions, relationships, deaths, are matters of little consequence, unless made important by their example, their nobleness of soul, and their usefulness to the world. It is the "lives of good men" which "remind us that we can make our lives sublime."

Of Mr. Little's theology we are bound to speak. He was educated at a period when Christian polemics, or, at least, questions which have agitated and divided the church of the present day, had not engaged the attention of the religious world; the terms, trinity, atonement, election, native depravity, were not canvassed. Most Christians were satisfied to let them alone. Some other subjects more directly connected with the Christian life were beginning to awaken and excite the attention of the clergy. These afterward enlisted the intellects and zeal of Hemmenway, Hopkins, Edwards, and other eminent theologians of the last century. Mr. Little, we presume, accepted the creed of the age, not thinking portions of it material, or as affecting his action in the Christian ministry. We suppose that the covenant signed by him, and the original members of the church, at its incorporation, was drawn by himself; so also was the creed which was established soon after. These in words recognized the doctrines now received by a large portion of the church. They were, of course, by the first eighty-four persons who were then, and who became members of it under Mr. Little's ministry. But they were matters which did not take hold upon their lives, or in any way control their action; we may thence infer that they were not accustomed

to inquire into their precise import, or examine the authority for them. We may perhaps say the same of Mr. Little to the later days of his ministerial life. He had not considered it worth while to spend holy time in discussing doctrines, and enforcing them upon his hearers, when he did not perceive their materiality to a true Christian life. His heart was bent on doing good, and on awakening men to their true interests; but as the time approached in which his earthly ministrations were to be closed, he was led to examine the creed which had for so long a period been responded to by those who came into the church, and he came to the conclusion, that the doctrines of which we have before made mention, were not sustained by Divine revelation, and all of them were stricken from it. We do not know how this change was brought about; in the years of his missionary labor, and those that followed, there are no records of any meetings of the church; but during this period this great change was made. A new covenant, in the hand-writing of Mr. Little, was used, and the same has been continued to the present day. He may have assumed authority to substitute this in place of the former, or he may have been instructed to do so by a vote of the church. We have no knowledge of the theological opinions of any member previously to the present century. When Mr. Fletcher, the successor of Mr. Little, was ordained, the profession of faith, which had thus been instituted, was recognized as the voice of the church, and was afterward often repeated before the congregation; so that, with Mr. Little, the whole church virtually abjured the original creed. It does not appear that any of the neighboring ministers or churches objected to this modification of doctrinal belief; or that, at any of the conferences, the subject was even suggested. The peace of the church was unaffected; and harmony ruled in all their future councils. During his long ministry the kindest feelings were entertained toward him by his parishioners. John Storer, Esq., of Wells, gave him fifty acres of land; and his people generally were very liberal in their donations to him. In concluding his sermon at Waterboro', he says, "The parish of which I have had the honor and pleasure of being a minister more than thirty years, contained at my first settlement but thirty families. I settled with them in perfect harmony, under the influences of that love and friendship which the Gospel inspires. I have lived comfortably among them, neither rich nor poor. No contention, no complaint of the Gospel as a burden."

For many years he resided at the Landing, owning and occupying the house next above that of the late George W. Bourne. The four magnificent elms in front of that house were set out by him. Afterward he built and occupied that on the Sanford road, lately owned by Paul Stevens.

On Sunday, Dec. 4, 1801, Mr. Little attended meeting in his usual health. The next day, while sitting in his chair and conversing with his family, paralysis seized him and terminated his life. An immense concourse gathered at his funeral. He was interred in the burying-yard near the store of Bourne & Kingsbury, and a monument erected over his grave, with the following inscription:

“Blessed are they who have turned
many to righteousness.

—————
This stone
is affectionately dedicated
by the Second Parish in Wells
to the precious memory
of their first Pastor,

The Rev. Daniel Little, A. M., A. S. S.,
who was ordained March 17, 1751, laboured with them in peace and love for fifty years; and died Dec. 5, 1801, *Æ* 78.

—————
Memento mori, preached his ardent youth,
Memento mori, spoke maturer years,
Memento mori, sighed his latest breath,
Memento mori, now this stone declares.”

Mr. Little was married to Miss Mary Emerson, daughter of Rev. Joseph Emerson, of Malden, in 1751, by whom he had three children, Joseph, Mary, and Daniel. His wife died June 2, 1758, *Æ* 32.

He was again married to Miss Sarah Coffin, daughter of Colonel Joseph Coffin, of Newburyport, in 1759, by whom he had Nathaniel, Sarah, Margaret, David, and Hannah. She died Dec. 19, 1804, *Æ* 78. All the family left Wells but David, who engaged in trade, ship-building, and farming. He died July 27, 1843, *Æ* 76. His first wife was Sally Chase, of Newington, to whom he was married in 1793,

and by whom he had the following children, Hannah, Charles, Caroline, Sarah Ann, and George. The mother died Sept. 15, 1815, *Æ* 46. Charles became the leading partner of the firm of Little, Brown & Co., of Boston. George established himself at Fort Wayne, Ind., where he has carried on an extensive and profitable business. Hannah became one of the family of Charles; Caroline married Elijah Bettes and Rev. George W. Cressey; and Sarah Ann married William Lord, jr.

Mr. Little's second wife was Mrs. Mary Hovey, of South Berwick.

The remains of Rev. Daniel Little, and of his descendants, have been recently removed to the new cemetery near the First Parish church.

MOSES HEMMENWAY.

Died April 18, 1811, REV. MOSES HEMMENWAY, D. D., aged ——. Dr. Hemmenway graduated at Harvard College in 1755; and, it is supposed, studied for the ministry with his uncle, Phineas Hemmenway, with whom he had prepared for college. While at Harvard, he was distinguished for his strong and clear intellect, and for his argumentative power. He was here placed in such relations as to necessitate the continual exercise of all his intellectual ability. John Adams, Governor Wentworth, President Locke, Judge Sewall and Tristram Dalton were his classmates. During their college life, these eminent men were in the habit, when together, of testing their logical powers or training themselves for argumentation. By collisions of opinion, sometimes real, sometimes assumed, Hemmenway acquired that propensity for controversy, and that skillfulness in debate, for which he became eminent in after years. John Adams in one of his letters says: "When I was in college I was a mighty metaphysician; at least I thought myself so, and such men as Locke, Hemmenway and West thought me so too, for we were ever disputing, though in great good humor." Adams was his special friend, and kept up a correspondence with him several years after they graduated. In a letter to Judge Sewall a few months before Hemmenway's death, he says, "The melancholy news you gave me of Dr. Hemmenway, affects me very much. My affection for him, which began when we entered college, has continued and increased till it has become veneration."

As Cambridge was then the head-quarters to which towns and

parishes resorted to obtain supplies for the pulpit, a committee was chosen by the First Parish in Wells, to visit that place and obtain some one to preach as a candidate. Hemmenway was recommended to them as a young man of superior ability, and well qualified for that purpose. From the very flattering account which was given of him, he was engaged to come to Wells. He began to preach after studying divinity about a year. He had already officiated at Lancaster, Boston, Townsend, Wrentham and New Ipswich. Many of the clergymen of that day were somewhat eccentric, and inclined to exhibit this element of character in their intercourse and public ministrations. Witnessing so often this exhibition of singularity among those who were the leading spirits in the ministry at that time, his mind had become imbued with the thought that it was effective in drawing attention to the speaker; or, perhaps, it might have been a prominent feature in some one who had impressed him as a model for imitation.

On the Sunday when the new minister was expected, the people had gathered at the door of the church, when, at the regular hour, a small man, of dark complexion, passed by them into the house, without stopping to speak to any one, and went directly to the pulpit. No one but the committee had seen him, and no one suspected him to be the minister. But after waiting the usual time, when all was still, he rose, stepped forward to the desk and ejaculated, "Tongs! tongs! tongs! to take a coal from thine altar, O God, to touch the lips of thine unworthy servant, that he may speak to this people the words of everlasting life."

This odd debut was not without the effect of awakening the attention of the congregation, and in leading them to follow closely his train of thought; expecting, perhaps, every moment some similar strange enunciation. The town then contained a population of industrious yeomanry, inured more to hard labor and to the difficulties in the way of acquiring the comforts of the physical, than to meditation on matters which took hold of the spiritual nature. Most of them had had but little education. A few had enjoyed the benefit of a more liberal, intellectual culture. But as a whole, metaphysical science, scriptural exegesis, and elaborate investigation were not the elements of a pulpit service which would take hold of their affections, or captivate their attention. The direct application and exhortation were the only effective portions of a public discourse.

Though these were seldom wanting, Hemmenway's sermons were almost entirely wrought out through a train of continued argument, culminating in the establishment of some moral proposition. Such addresses are not calculated to find sympathy in the untrained intellect. On this account as well as others, his first ministerial performances were probably not of a character to draw to him the hearts of his hearers; so that he preached a whole year at Wells before he had laid a foundation in the sympathies of the Parish, for a permanent settlement. We have wondered that he could have so far ingratiated himself with the mass of the inhabitants as to have secured a settlement. But in his long probation his intellectual power was recognized by the educated portion of the Parish; and through their influence, aided by some little pride among the people in having an able man for their minister, he was invited to become pastor, and was ordained on the eighth day of August, 1759.

In this early period of his ministerial life, he appears to have had no difficulty in preparing himself for the pulpit. He wrote with wonderful facility. On any passage of Scripture a host of thoughts were always waiting their turn to meet his demands in the process of argument or elucidation. In the next month following his ordination, he preached seven consecutive sermons on the text, "The Lord is not slack concerning his promises." With an intellect so fruitful, his people might well anticipate for him a career of growing usefulness and eminence.

He not only wrote with ease, but with great confidence. In 1767, he issued his first publication, embracing Seven Sermons, on the obligation and encouragement of the unregenerate to use the means of salvation; which involved him in a controversy with Dr. Hopkins. In 1772, he sent forth another volume entitled, "A vindication of the power, obligation and encouragement of the unregenerate to attend the means of grace, against the exceptions of the Rev. Samuel Hopkins." For these works of Hemmenway there was a very great demand. The first edition of 2,000 was speedily exhausted, and a new edition issued.

A few years after his ordination, Nov., 1762, he was married to Miss Mary Jefferds, daughter of the former minister. This connection was exceedingly felicitous as to his professional advancement. The tendency of his mind was almost exclusively to study. The comforts, or even necessities of the body, seldom had any part in his

thoughts. His mind was continually absorbed in some labor, to perfect which, was for the time, the exclusive matter of interest; and when this was accomplished, another was always at hand. It was well for him, under these circumstances, that he had a connubial companion, able to supply all deficiencies in his character as head of the household. She assumed the entire care of the family; furnished the table, and carried on the domestic administration, so that his meditations were not interrupted by any demands from that quarter.

He was given to no physical indulgences, and therefore had no contests with passions, which might, in some degree, have counteracted this supreme tendency to abstraction from the ordinary cares and pastimes of life. He smoked but little, though he always kept his pipe in order for the accommodation of his guests. In conformity with the fashion of the day, and with the sentiment prevailing at that time, that alcoholic stimulants were necessary for the healthy working of the physical system, he partook moderately of the pure liquors then in use. We are not sure that it would not have been better for himself and for the world, if he had suffered his body to come in for a little larger share of that attention which men are accustomed generally to yield to it. A little more devotion to calisthenics might have infused more life into his organization, quickened and strengthened his intellect, and prolonged his days of usefulness. All history bears testimony against bodily inactivity.

Dr. Hemmenway's personal appearance did not indicate him to be a man above the grade of ordinary life. We can, with safety, say that his features and dress, to a stranger, would suggest that he was indifferent to social conventional proprieties, and was working his way onward in the world by manual rather than intellectual labor. His clothing was of the plainest and most economical character, and such as was adapted to his comfort, regardless of style or fashion. It was all of domestic manufacture, the fabric of his own house, or of those of his parishioners. He never appeared in the pulpit, even when he preached in Boston, in any other than a homespun suit. Instead of an overcoat for out of door use, whenever an extra garment was necessary, he wore a sack. Some describe it as a gown, which was of loose construction, and kept together in front by a belt buckled tightly around the waist. We do not remember seeing him more than once. That was in our boyhood, and we have ever since thought of him, as we then saw him going into the pulpit, as a fac-

simile of John the Baptist. His hat was the old-fashioned, three-cornered cocked-up, as then termed. At the present day not much ministerial dignity would be awarded to one from such a personal exhibition. But he was inclined to be independent of human ordinances, when not imperative or ministering to his comfort.

This peculiar and simple mode of dress sometimes, among those to whom he was unknown, exposed him to discomforts, as well as deprived him of that respect and attention which all would readily have accorded to one of his standing in the theological world. The common sentiment of civilization has always demanded some regard to the proper adornment of the person. He was expected to pass through Newburyport on his way to Boston to preach the election sermon. Dr. Spring called on the keeper of the public house in that town, and asked him to give his compliments to Dr. Hemmenway when he arrived and invite him to come and dine with him. The day was rainy, but the weather did not prevent him from traveling, though he performed all his journeys on horseback. Carriages were then scarce in all our country towns. Dr. Spring waited for him to a very late hour, and then called at the hotel to learn if they had had any report of him. The landlord was absent, but his wife informed him that they had had no company during the day, excepting an old man who was out in the kitchen; that he had come and put up his horse himself, and after sitting a while in the bar-room, asked liberty to sit by the kitchen fire to dry himself. Dr. Spring went to the kitchen, and, to his surprise, and the overwhelming mortification of the landlady, discovered in the contented old man the long-expected Dr. Hemmenway. She had told him, while sitting there, that she was momentarily expecting the great Dr. Hemmenway; but the remark induced no revelation of his identity with the expected guest. He was quietly waiting the drying of his clothes, which had been pretty well drenched. He enjoyed a practical joke of this character.

While this indifference to his *personale* as manifested in his apparel, precluded all prepossession in his favor, his physical imperfections were not without their influence in the same direction. In stature he was rather small, and in his mien there was nothing captivating. In the latter period of his life, he was both monocular and near-sighted, and the gestures and motions which frequently accompany such deficiencies, are not apt to secure to the subject of

them, the ready sympathies of those with whom he comes in contact. These facts in his exterior manifestations will readily explain the embarrassment of the distinguished clergyman of Boston, when he introduced him to his pulpit, as narrated in the *Annals of the American Pulpit*. "I was peculiarly tried," he remarks, "after I had invited him to spend the night with me, since I could do nothing less than invite him to preach for me next day. But would not my congregation blame me for introducing into my pulpit a minister so utterly lacking in personal dignity? But I had gone too far to retrace my steps, and accordingly my guest was invited to take my place in the public services. Still I felt ashamed of having thus committed myself; but soon after he commenced his prayer I began to be less ashamed, and before he had finished his sermon I felt ashamed of myself and my performances in the pulpit."

While he thought little of personal dignity, he was at the same time equally indifferent to his personal comfort. As we have stated, he always journeyed on horseback, and this in the most moderate way, seldom pressing his horse out of a walk. It mattered not to him what the weather was, pleasant or unpleasant, stormy or fair, the horse proceeded at the same independent, quiet gait. He was always in a deep study, whether on the highway or in his chair; even while at the washbowl, every one would observe his lips constantly responding to his unspoken thought. Being thus completely absorbed in meditation, distance was passed over without weariness or impatience, while probably he was not conscious of the lapse of time. While on a journey to Boston, on an exceedingly warm day, he was overtaken by a gentleman going to the same place, who accosted him with the salutation, "Well, old gentleman, where are you going?" The doctor replied that he was going to Boston. "You don't expect to get there to-night, do you?" "Yes," he answered, "I think I shall, if I don't travel too fast." The stranger kept along with him as long as his patience could endure the moderate pace, and then hastened onward; but before he reached his destination his horse gave out, and he was obliged to put up for the night. In due time the doctor came up, and steadily passing on, reached Boston in the evening.

The economy of his domestic administration was in harmony with his peculiar characteristics. We do not suppose him to have been in any sense parsimonious. The intellectual in him was the all-con-

trolling power; the body was little thought of. In fact, it was the complete slave to his mind. His salary was small and his family large, and therefore he may have regarded it as a Christian duty to be as economical as possible in his family expenditures. But whatever was the motive, his mode of living was remarkably abstemious and patriarchal. His daily fare was of the most simple kind. All his life his appetite in the morning, and for the most part at night, was satisfied with the bowl of porridge or gruel. His family were not, it is presumed, subjected to the same limited supply of their bodily wants.

But Dr. Hemmenway's eminence was based on his character as a divine, and it is in this aspect that history is concerned in the preservation of such memorials of him as have survived. We have not room, neither would it be consistent with the principle which we have assumed as our guide in this work, to enter into any discussion of his theological opinions. With many, our views, probably, would not find acceptance. From his published works the reader will readily learn his opinions on the controverted questions of that day. It is well known to all versed in modern ecclesiastical history that in the latter part of the last century, the Congregational ministers of New England preached Christianity almost entirely as a religion of the life. When, in the first part of the present century, religionists began to turn their attention to the inquiry whether the Assembly's Catechism, which had theretofore been the rule or standard of theological belief, was the legitimate representative of Gospel truth, it was found that men who had taken it implicitly, as a platform of faith, had widely different views of its import. The explanations of its terminologies exhibited very discordant sentiment. The creed of the church in Wells recognized the "true God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," omitting the ascription of equality in power and glory, but none other of the controverted doctrines of the present day appear in it. Hemmenway preached the atonement to the full extent of the meaning now awarded to it, bating the fact of the death of the Infinite; but we cannot assert, without qualification, that he was of the Calvinistic faith. We think he was denominated "a moderate Calvinist." Every one then had some idea of the significance of this appellation. The manuscript sermons of other cotemporary neighboring ministers which I have examined, like his, fail to recognize the death of the Infinite as the material element of the sacrifice

on the cross. We do not assert that such was not his belief, but in the many of his sermons which we have examined, we have not discovered that he entertained any such view of the crucifixion. Still, we may well claim his expositions of Scripture as assimilating him more to the orthodoxy of our own times, than to the faith of any other denomination.

The body of the sermonizing of the half century of his ministry was of a practical character, addressed to the supposed capabilities of men, to their consciousness of ability to do what God required of them. Ministers assumed that men could be Christians if they had the mind to be. But little discordant sentiment appeared, we think, in the ordinary preaching of the Gospel. One of the exciting causes of the sectarianism of the present day, did not then exist. The Parishes had by law their definite boundaries, and all residents were within the fold. A general unanimity of sentiment prevailed from the fact, that all received their religious instruction from the same desk. Or, perhaps, it may with more propriety be said, there were no clear, definite, and fixed opinions on the controverted questions of the present age, as no circumstances existed to awaken an interest in them, or excite to their investigation. Heresy had not then, as now, the opportunities of invading and pulling down the regular church.

Dr. Hemmenway was of the class of ministers who were thus striving for the promotion of practical religion. In his controversies, he was actuated by the belief that the positions of his opponents were at war with it, and tended to neutralize the effect of Gospel ministrations. His work on the church, published in 1792, when his intellectual energies were in their highest vigor, will unfold to the patient and careful reader very clearly the character of the religion that he inculcated. The whole work, and it is one of some magnitude, manifests a power of discrimination and analysis, a depth of thought, and a logical, symmetrical, and cogent argumentation, not surpassed in any theological production of New England in the last or present century, though every one may not appreciate many of his nice distinctions. This discourse recognized none of the doctrines the discussion of which, in the present century, has marred the peace of the American church. It denies the right of any one to require of proponents for admission to its privileges and fellowship, any other confession of faith than that demanded by the apostles, a sincere belief in the Lord Jesus Christ as the son of God. It main-

tains that moral sincerity, and a life not scandalous, give the right of access to the Christian ordinances. In the day of its publication, it commended itself to all denominations, with the exception of those who regarded immersion as a prerequisite to the eucharist. The practice of the liberal church accords with its leading position.

While Dr. Hemmenway's power of argumentation was unequaled by that of any one in this State, and unsurpassed by that exhibited in the writings of others in New England, his sermons were not effectual in the production of the immediate results to which this fast age is wont to look as the evidence of a minister's power. Whatever the issues of ministerial labors, gradual or immediately resulting, there was at no time any striking exhibition of the effect of his addresses on the people. They were directed to the reason of men, to bring about that mental conviction which would urge to Christian life. His Parish was much attached to him, and unbroken harmony marked the connection between pastor and people during his ministry.

Perhaps this last remark needs some qualification. The upper part of the town embracing what is denominated Merryland, was anxious to have ministrations of the Gospel nearer home, and measures were adopted for that purpose. But the town manifested no disposition to accede to any new division of the Parish. This opposition to their wishes very naturally created some dissatisfaction.

Aside from this local disaffection, as before stated, Dr. Hemmenway's ministry was not disturbed by any discordant feeling among his parishioners. The additions to his church were few. But still it is not to be doubted that the power of Christian truth was continually operating in the improvement of the moral sense, and the strengthening of the kingdom of righteousness. He had no disposition to compromise the truth in the least degree, to commend himself to any portion of his hearers. He was unsparing in his denunciations of dramshops and other iniquities. Neither was he disposed to shirk any duty that his office required of him. However difficult and laborious the matter of inquiry, his soul went into it with all the earnestness of a determination to fathom it. He sought for sound, logical conclusions. The material to carry out and sustain his points was sometimes brought out by "hard scratching." He wrote all his discourses, whether for the pulpit or the press, in his large, old-fashioned chair, with its two broad arms. This chair is still in the pos-

session of his grandson, and on the left arm are three or four indentures or abrasions, extending diagonally across it, and of considerable depth, which were made by the scratching of his finger-nails when he was in agony for an appropriate thought. During the winter season, he sat with his family by the fire, taking a box on his knees, on which he wrote his discourses. Similar marks of his sometimes difficult labors appear on the walls near which he sat. The theological metaphysics of his age demanded intense study. On most of these, it appears to us, reason was exalted above revelation, and the conflict between the contending parties was thence such as allowed free scope for the application of all their intellectual energies. In the discourse on the church, containing about as much as an ordinary duodecimo volume, no quotations are made from the Scriptures. Principles are assumed as recognized by reason and revelation, and thence by a regular consecutive train of thought, dictated and controlled by a sound logic, he is carried onward to the conclusion at which he is aiming, not being delayed by the opposition of merely verbal instructions interposed by the Scriptures. The Bible he seems to have regarded as a compilation of principles, and these he laid hold of with the assurance that they would carry him safely through whatever labyrinth he might be involved in, in the pursuit of substantial truth. Though, in his warfare with the giants in theology, with whom he felt it to be his duty to contend, he was independent of Scripture phraseology in his ministrations to his people, he frequently fell into the practice of the clergy in giving prominence and effect to every word of his text. Though such a habit lightens essentially the labors of the preacher, we do not suppose that he indulged in it from any motive of that nature. He was highly evangelical, reverencing the Gospel. Yet he probably took to heart the injunction of the apostle, "to judge himself what was right."

This method of theological warfare was adapted to train the soldiers of the cross to become intellectual athletes. The power was to be created by long-continued, careful, and far-reaching inquiry and investigation. The subjects of controversy as believed on one side, were most momentous, and, therefore well adapted to call into exercise all the intellectual ability that an all-controlling interest could excite to the work. In 1767, he published seven sermons on the obligation and encouragement of the unregenerate, of 204 pages, as we have before stated. In 1769, Dr. Hopkins issued a discourse

on the state and character of the unregenerate, in answer to Mills, in which he maintained that the unregenerate could do nothing toward the moral change demanded for salvation; that all the exercises of one in that condition were sinful, and, therefore, that the Christian should be willing, for the glory of God, to suffer eternal destruction. In answer to this, in 1772, Hemmenway published his "Vindication of the power, obligations, etc., of the unregenerate to attend the means of grace, against the exceptions of Samuel Hopkins, in his reply to Mills." To this Hopkins replied, and Hemmenway rejoined in 1774. In 1781, he published a sermon on Baptism. In 1784, he preached the Election Sermon, which was published. In 1792, he issued his work on the church. There was great demand for this work. A large subscription of several thousand was obtained for it. Dr. Emmons replied to it, in a dissertation on the Scriptural qualifications for admission to the Christian sacrament. To this Hemmenway rejoined in 1794, by "Remarks on Dr. Emmons' Strictures." This was followed by a sur-rejoinder from Dr. Emmons in 1795.

It is no part of our work to express an opinion of these publications; the views which readers would cherish as to their ability or conclusiveness would, we suppose, be determined very materially by the views which they have of the moral government of God, or of the special revelation of truth as set forth in the Gospel. But it cannot be denied that much logical power, clearness of perception, vigor of intellect, and severe mental discipline, are manifest in these works of Dr. Hemmenway.

He was so sensible of the importance of consideration, and of accuracy in the enunciation of his thoughts, that he never preached extemporaneously. His sermons were written, to the last word to be uttered; and he never attempted to commit them to memory; so that there could be no eloquence in the delivery of them, excepting that of the heart, and of a sound conviction that the propositions were based on truth; and that they were of vital interest to his hearers. The earnestness of such an assurance will lay hold of the attention of reflecting men. He held his sermon in his hand, and near his eye. Being in the latter part of his life deprived of one eye, and near-sighted, his personal appearance in the pulpit, as we have already remarked, had nothing in it to fasten attention upon him; but an intelligent auditor soon found himself absorbed in his argument. The outward was lost sight of in the manifestations of

the inner man, as exhibited in the case of the distinguished clergyman of Boston, before related.

In one respect he was specially faithful to his convictions of duty; he never left his argument half finished. However long the sermon might become by the full elucidation of his text, he was not disposed to forego the labor of its composition, or to spare the patience of his hearers in its delivery; so that his parishioners, who still survive, speak of his Sunday services as being so protracted, that they did not reach their homes, though but a short distance from the meeting-house, till candle-lighting. Few parishioners at the present day, especially in a winter season, when, as then, the atmosphere of the house is not modified by any artificial heat, would long submit to such unreasonable demands upon their attention. But those whose mental discipline enabled them to follow him in his train of reasoning, became with him absorbed in the question in issue; and those who had not this ability sat under him without impatience or weariness, from that complacency which came with the thought that they were listening to one of acknowledged ability, of whom they were proud of being regular hearers. But nevertheless, the discomforts of the body sometimes over-rode all incentives to patience, and some became uneasy under such protracted religious services. His prayers were proportioned to his sermons. In his long devotional addresses, he was not exceptional; long prayers were the custom of the day. Ministers seemed to feel that their effect was in proportion to their length. Mr. Smith, of Portland, in his journal in 1749, says, "I was an hour in each of the first prayers; had uncommon assistance;" and again in 1750, he says the same. Dec. 25, 1775, "I almost killed myself in prayer." Rev. Joseph Moody, of York, at the time of the siege of Louisburg, in 1745, on the occasion of a fast at York, as before stated, prayed two hours and a quarter. Some of Hemmenway's people gathered up courage to hint to him that shorter prayers would be more satisfactory; and sent word to him that if he would shorten all his services, they would give him a barrel of cider. They thought this would be a daily reminder of the necessity of a little more brevity in his preparations for the pulpit. Though not a very strong inducement to qualify his sense of ministerial duty, it was regarded as a pleasant hint that he had presumed a little too much on their patience. He accepted the proposition, and, to some extent, curtailed his discourses. He had perceived that some of his most devoted

supporters, who were engaged in active business during the week, and who were very regular attendants in the sanctuary, were in the habit of going to sleep soon after the exercises commenced. While walking to meeting one Sabbath, he was overtaken by one of his friends of this character, who said to him, "I see your dog is going to meeting with you." "Yes," he replied, "he is very much like some of my parishioners; he goes to meeting constantly, and as soon as he is in his place in the pulpit, he lays down and goes to sleep." All such admonitions were received very pleasantly by his people.

His wife, also, sympathized very much with the people, in their dissatisfaction with the unreasonable length of his pulpit exercises. Having sometimes found that his feet were colder during his Sunday ministrations than was consistent with a proper regard to his health and comfort, he said to her, "I want you to make me a pair of moccasins." She answered him without hesitation, "I won't do it; you preach so long now that you tire all the people out; and if you get a pair of moccasins it will be worse still. When your feet get cold you ought to leave off."

He was peculiar in his family devotions; the religious world of to-day would not probably assent to their wisdom. The philosophy of family religion would seem to require that it should be presented to childhood and youth in its most attractive and pleasant aspects; that it should not be tedious in any of its requirements. But his soul was so engrossed with the Gospel, and it was to him so suggestive; and he was thence so intent on the sublime thoughts which flowed out of every sentence, that time was almost annihilated when its pages were before him; and it did not occur to his mind that all the young and old present did not accord with him in the interest of the service. No matter how many persons were present, every one was required to read a full chapter. He had eleven children; when all were present, with the parents and other inmate friends and guests, one would suppose, that with his long prayers, there would not be much of the forenoon left for business, or to the children, for study or amusement. Such a custom strictly followed, through all one's childish and youthful years, would not be likely to imbue him with a love of the Bible or of family devotions.

Though the great business of his life was the contemplation of the things of the spirit, and the unfolding and elucidation of a theology which, in his vision, was the true one, fitted for the nurture of the

soul for heaven; or, perhaps, I may better say, though logic applied to the working out of the problems of man's duties, life, and destiny, was his life, his meat and drink, yet, when from any cause, he was made to relax from his all-absorbing ratiocinations, he was very pleasant, social, and genial in his intercourse; rather inclined to witticism. When he went abroad, he made himself a familiar and enlivening companion. While in company with some of his brethren, at the eastward, waiting for the ferry across the Presumpscot river, the wig, then a common article of ministerial comfort and dignity, became a subject of conversation. One of the number remarked that he had just obtained one, and found it very comfortable, and turning to Hemmenway, said, "Doctor, why don't you get one?" He readily replied that he had no occasion for it; but for some of the brethren he thought it very well, "to cover more abundantly the part which lacketh." A little different version of the story appears in the "American Pulpit;" but the gist of the story is the same.

In his parochial intercourse he made his fellowship very familiar and acceptable; so that his people not only respected him for his intellectual standing, but were attached to him for the personal qualities which made him an interesting companion. As it is with most intellectual men, he unbent himself more, when abroad, than at his own fireside. When the industrious man is at home, in the immediate scene of his usual employments, his mind is in a state of unrest, unless in the pursuit of his labors, which are the food and nourishment of his soul; but when away from their attractions, there are no such interferences to obstruct the exercise of his conversational powers. The mass of mankind, of whatever moral grade, are captivated by anecdote and witticism; and the intellectual man who has at command treasures of that description, cannot fail of a hearty reception in any company. Dr. Hemmenway's mind was very impressible to wit and exciting story; and he had always on hand, for use, a fund on which to draw for the edification of his parishioners, in his ministerial visits. He manifested himself on such occasions more as the neighbor or intimate friend of the family, than as their spiritual teacher. Perhaps he felt that such relaxations were necessities for himself, while they enlivened and cheered the hearts of his people, in the midst of the routine and drudgery of daily life. This element of his mental composition was more strikingly exhibited at weddings. However much may be said of the solemnity of the con-

summation of the connubial contract, human nature will never harmonize with any theory of moral sentiment which regards it as an occasion for serious religious consideration, and this he well understood, as did all the divines of the last century. The wedding garment was one thing, and the funeral another. At weddings his fund of story was drawn upon with great freedom, and he was the life of the assembly. As both pastor and parishioners regarded these occasions as giving license to all to make glad and be merry, they in no degree detracted from the solemnity and impressiveness of his pulpit ministrations. The people were made to feel that he was a man of like passions and sympathies with themselves; that he was a brother, and that those subjects which his more exalted intellect, by constant study and research, had taught him to regard as of vital importance to himself, were of equal moment to them. They would, therefore, cheerfully rejoice with him on occasions of rejoicing, and consider with him in hours of serious reflection.

Dr. Hemmenway was settled at a period when the ministerial office was regarded as a permanent one, both by pastor and people, so that the former might safely make his calculations for life, and lay the foundation, sure and strong, for extensive usefulness in his Parish. But toward the close of his ministry, serious inroads began to be made on this long-established law of the ministerial connection, and these parochial settlements were tending toward no other basis than the unstable element of the popular will; and he foresaw that the minister, instead of striving by all means to save some, would be obliged to resort to all means to please his parishioners. If they would not endure sound doctrine, he must so far qualify it as to detract from its efficiency. As he knew not what a day might bring forth, he must be continually on the watch lest his own steps should slide. The settlements of the present day cannot make giants in the profession. To be a man in one's position, it must be the ruling inquiry of his life how he shall grow and be useful in it, not how he shall keep himself in it. No one can apply his energies with confidence to the building up of his house, when he feels that the foundation must be continually watched, lest it should slide away from under it. Hemmenway was conservative, and foresaw that this change in long-established ecclesiastical usages might be followed with very serious consequences to Christian theology and the ministrations of the pulpit, and therefore it did not commend itself to his

mind. Whether his view of the matter was sound or not, it is not here necessary to inquire. But the change had in it nothing with which he could sympathize, and although it did not affect his relations, he spoke of it in no very mild terms. In conversation with some one in regard to an ordination which had occurred, he remarked that the ministerial relation formed now-a-days resembled very much the installation of a cat in a new home. For a time all the intercourse of the cat with the family was very smooth, gentle, and affectionate. Every one would fondle and caress her. It was pussy, pussy, poor pussy; but in a little while it was "scat, you bitch." There is nothing very beautiful in the similitude, but the illustration is by no means an inapt one. He never studied beauty of language so much as he did the effect of it.

Many anecdotes are still current of Dr. Hemmenway; but we have already given as much space to his biography as seems to be consistent with the design of this work. He was the most eminent of the inhabitants of Wells, and we have felt that we could not do justice to his memory in a more concise sketch of his ministerial character. He was highly esteemed by his professional brethren and others in high intellectual, moral, and political life. Beside the controversial discourses before named, he preached many others, usual on special occasions. Among them the Dudlean Lecture, and the annual sermon before the convention of Congregational ministers.

He received the degree of D. D. from Harvard College in 1785, and from Dartmouth in 1792. He did not limit his labors to his particular sphere as a clergyman, and while he insisted stenuously for the liberty of the pulpit, he was not less earnest in the maintenance of the personal and civil rights of the people. In the great struggle for independence he was foremost among the inhabitants of Wells, and was the author of the resolves passed by the town, pledging the support of its inhabitants, through whatever hazards, to all measures which might be adopted looking to the establishment of freedom. In 1787, Dr. Hemmenway and Nathaniel Wells were chosen by the town delegates to the convention to be held in Boston in January, 1788, to consider and act on the proposed federal constitution, as stated in another place. This subject became a matter of deep and absorbing interest. Near the close, a large committee was appointed to consider the many amendments which had been proposed, and all felt the great need of hastening their work.

So great was the interest, that it was proposed that the committee should sit on Sunday, in order that the business might be expedited. Dr. Hemmenway rose in his place and said, "It is lawful to do good on the Sabbath. I have no scruples."

Dr. Hemmenway had the following children: Sarah, born Sept. 2, 1763; Phineas, Dec. 1, 1764; Mary, Aug. 21, 1766; Elizabeth, July 2, 1768; Moses, June 5, 1770; Jonathan, Oct. 6, 1772; Samuel, March 22, 1775; Eunice, April 28, 1777; Ralph, Dec. 25, 1779; Jane, May 30, 1782; Abigail, July 9, 1786.

The biographical sketch of Dr. Hemmenway, which we have given, will enable the reader to form an opinion of the general character of his parochial intercourse and ministrations. He followed St. Paul's example, and reasoned with the people. During his pastorate there were no special seasons of religious awakening. He left the passions of men to the control of their reason; making it an important object to maintain peace and good will among his hearers. This was interrupted only by the Merrylanders, who thought their geographical position ought to be more kindly considered by the Parish.

In the contract for his settlement, it was agreed that his annual salary should be eighty pounds, or \$266.67. Such an offer for the entire services of one of so much promise, must seem to the ambitious, though not overpaid ministry of the present age, as an indignity unbecoming a religious society. But those were not the years when the land was teeming with wealth. Our towns were then just liberated from the terrors and ravages of the Indian wars. The people had but little personal property. The town was unable to pay its debts, and so continued for many years afterward. The salaries of the neighboring ministers were no higher. Laboring men had but two shillings a day. Schoolmasters had about the same. The offer was as generous as, under the circumstances, a reasonable religion would justify. But in a few years the currency had greatly depreciated, and Dr. Hemmenway found it difficult to sustain his family. The Parish then voted that they would cheerfully agree, that "his salary of eighty pounds should from time to time, thereafter, be made good according to its original value as estimated in articles the produce of the country;" and Nathaniel Wells, Dea. Benjamin Hatch, Capt. Daniel Clark, Joseph Wheelright and John Storer were chosen a committee to carry out the vote. They voted also, "to

have a free contribution every Sunday, and have a subscription, to pay him 'according to the regulating act.'"

After the Revolutionary war was over, independence acknowledged and the country had entered upon a career of prosperity, the people of Wells, partaking of the common zeal for improving their condition, seized with energy upon the various means for improvement and acquisition which were at hand. A successful navigation, inspiring life and animation in all other departments of human industry, had been started by the enterprising men of the town; and all around people had rapidly recovered from the depressing circumstances of the war, and in a few years were abundantly able to pay their faithful servants more liberally. But this was the industrial period of our history, when every one was striving for property, and with this ambition grew up a selfish spirit, which clung to every item of income. Dr. Hemmenway had lived for thirty years on a very limited fare, not much better, perhaps, than that of John the Baptist. He had a large family to support, and he felt that his parishioners were not doing him justice in leaving him to eke out life with the small annual provision of two hundred and sixty-seven dollars. But the people were too intent on gain to loosen in any measure the grasp upon their income, and declined answering his petition for an increase. The doctor was a modest man, and did not avail himself of the *argumentum ad hominem* as he ought. His conviction was, that his duty required him to reason with his hearers, and not to address their passions. If he had indulged a little more in this lower appeal, he might have been more successful in his application, although there may have been reasons on the part of the people which have not come down to us.

It is very manifest that his parishioners did not fully appreciate his services. The church before his ordination were unanimous in his favor. But he was a growing man. No winter intervened in his labors. Thought, incessant thought, marked his life. Thus he outgrew his hearers; so that the common mind could not follow him in his discourses; and many of his people, even in the early period of his ministry, could not find in the church that edification which was necessary to meet the longings of the spirit, and, therefore, frequently failed to attend public worship. The church, aware of the evil which must result from this neglect, in 1765, appointed a committee to take this matter into consideration, and endeavor to awaken the

people to the importance of going to meeting on the Sabbath. John Bourne was "appointed to visit all the families from Ogunquit to Treadwell's Brook; Pelatiah Littlefield, from Treadwell's Brook to Littlefield's mills; John Storer, from Littlefield's mills to Hill's Brook; Deacon Sayer, from Hill's Brook to Joshua Clark's; Dea. Wells, from Joshua Clark's to Nathaniel Gould's; Samuel Jefferds, from his house to the Branch river; Joshua Goodwin, from the Branch river to Amos Storer's; Benjamin Hatch, jr., from Phillips-town (Sanford) to Charles Annis'; Daniel Morrison, that part of Merryland from Charles Annis' to Capt. Littlefield's; D'Chaney and John Maxwell, the rest of the Parish where they live." This committee did not report in writing the various reasons assigned for non-attendance. Such a document might have been very serviceable to the ministry in subsequent years. But the labor of the committee does not appear to have been very effectual. A year after, they were requested by the church to renew their exertions; and the minister was requested to urge on the congregation, the importance of a more constant attendance. The general observance of the Sabbath, we believe to be necessary to the maintainance of order and a sound morality among the people. But an unwilling attendance cannot be of much profit. The services must take hold of the feelings of the hearer. His attention must be arrested; and the prime inquiry of churches and ministers should be how is this to be brought about. It required much resolution in the winter season to face the rigors of the cold when our meeting-houses were so poorly protected from its intrusion. One must have had a good share of religious assurance to withstand an atmosphere in which the water for baptism, an hour or two after it was brought in, had frozen to such an extent, as one minister says in his diary, that it was difficult to break the ice with the hand.

The church at the same time was not without its faithless ones; and it was found necessary to devise "means for maintaining due government and discipline in the church, and preventing scandals and neglect of public ordinances." Men and women were repeatedly admonished for their disregard of church obligations. Confessions of the violation of the commandments were demanded of members, though forgiveness was readily awarded. The church was large, and we do not suppose that the proportion of delinquents was larger than in other communions at this period. The Parish num-

bered 250 families after the Baptist society was formed. During his pastorate, Dr. Hemmenway baptized 1652 persons. The church assisted by their pastor and delegates in the ordinations of Paul Coffin at Buxton, in 1763, Nathaniel Webster at Biddeford, in 1779, and Nathaniel H. Fletcher at Kennebunk, in 1800. All the Congregational churches in Maine during his life were regarded as sister churches. The Baptist society had made some inroads, which very naturally disturbed the peace of the old Parish. But the controversy was finally settled, so that all strife was at an end, though no good fellowship existed between the two.

But the Merrylanders do not seem to have been disposed to let the matter rest, as it had been adjusted. They had gathered into the new society a large number of those who had been supporters of the Congregational; so that the latter was obliged to allow them a hundred dollars a year of the tax collected for the support of their minister, and aid with the remainder received from their taxes, in finishing their meeting-house. The Baptist society, not satisfied with that, petitioned that they might be incorporated as a territorial parish. This society was opposed to their petition, and the prayer of it was not granted. In 1807 they again made application for an allowance or grant of a tract of land to aid them in the support of their minister. But the Parish or town peremptorily refused to make any such donation; declaring that they would make no grant to any third Parish.

THE town of Wells, during the period embraced in this history, was never so disturbed by the litigious spirit of the inhabitants as to need the continued residence of one of that class of men, whose business is to take care that the peace of society is maintained, and that men do justice to each other when his professional services are required. The work of the lawyer cannot be too highly appreciated. The field of his influence is extensive. He may herein be a great blessing or a great curse to the community, the minister of heaven to still the tumult of passion, promote concord and peace, and make righteousness the ruling principle in the relations of life; or the promoter of discord, confusion, and every evil work. At times there has been litigation among the inhabitants, although as a general rule for more than a hundred years past, quiet and peace have reigned in this community. Still, from the occasional lawsuits to which we have referred, it has sometimes been thought that Wells afforded a desirable stand for a lawyer, and two or three of the legal profession have opened offices at Morrill's Corner. But they had remained there but a very short time, scarcely long enough to be regarded as townsmen. Kennebunk seems to have been more successful in the acquisition of professional men, though the first lawyer, SYLVANUS WILDES, who came here in 1690, did not find sufficient encouragement to remain a year. But the prospect soon so brightened that ever since, the town has had a sufficient number to subserve the purposes of justice.

JOSEPH THOMAS.

JOSEPH THOMAS came to Kennebunk in 1792. He graduated at Harvard College in 1786, and soon after engaged in teaching in Portland. He there studied law with Hon. Daniel Davis. He was endowed with a good share of intellectual ability, and soon secured a fair business. He was given to joking, and availed himself of every opportunity of entertaining his friends in that way. He was well

versed in legal principles, though he was not in the habit of diligent study to learn what application the Courts had made of them, or how they had been warped from their legitimate import and effect. But while in Court, his ear was open to any perversion or misapplication of them. Judge Widgery, in some action of assault and battery, had charged the jury that a man had a right to make his mark on the ground, and to say to another that if he stepped over it he would knock him down. Upon this, Thomas started for his boarding-house, where Widgery and several of the lawyers had accommodations, and took his stand at the gate. Seeing Widgery approaching, he took his cane, and drawing a mark across the gateway, said to him, "Now, Judge, there is my mark, and if you step over it I will knock you down." After considerable parleying, Thomas being anxious for his dinner, waived his rights, and permitted him to pass in.

A couple were anxious to be married, and as there was no minister at hand, they came to Thomas for his services as a magistrate in performing the ceremony. He was busily engaged in writing, but stopped to enquire what they wanted. Addressing himself to the man, he inquired if he wanted to take that woman for a wife, and, turning to the woman, asked if she wished to take the man for her husband, and then went on with his writing. The parties sat still and waited till their patience was exhausted; when the man spoke to Mr. Thomas, and told him they were in a great hurry. "Why, then," he replied, "don't you go along." "Why, we want to be married first." "Married! you have been married more than half an hour." On his explaining the matter and stating to them the requisitions of law as to the ceremony, the parties left, though, probably, not without some little misgivings as to the perfection of the bonds of wedlock.

In a few years after he came to Kennebunk, Thomas was able to provide for himself a house, and built that which has been occupied for many years by George Mendum. He married Miss Abigail Russell, of Barnstable. Many years he was one of the selectmen. He was also Chief Justice of the Court of Sessions, and representative to the Legislature; also, a member of the convention for the formation of the State Constitution.

In the later years of his life he was exceedingly corpulent, weighing nearly three hundred pounds, so that he was seldom seen away

from his home, excepting in his wagon. He was never disposed to put himself forward, or to assume any superiority over others; but, on the contrary, was retiring in his demeanor, and disposed to peace and quiet. He died Jan. 20, 1830, aged 67, leaving a widow, but no children.

GEORGE W. WALLINGFORD.

GEORGE W. WALLINGFORD came from Somersworth, N. H., and opened an office in Kennebunk, in 18—. He graduated at Harvard College in 1795 (being then but seventeen years of age), and studied law with Dudley Hubbard, of South Berwick. Finishing his collegiate course so early in life, he must have been a very good scholar. He was a hard student in his profession, and soon acquired a very respectable rank as a lawyer, entering on the legal arena fearlessly with any of the professional men who were accustomed to attend our Courts. At this time, there were but few lawyers in the interior of the County, and many of his clients came from distant towns. His reputation was soon established as a learned and discreet counselor, and an able advocate, and he gained the confidence of the people. He took a deep interest in public affairs, and was several years elected representative to the Legislature of Massachusetts. He was a member of the famous Brunswick Convention of 1816, though having no sympathy with its doings; also a member of the Convention at Portland for the formation of the State Constitution. Some of the provisions of that instrument he regarded as unequal and unjust, and, therefore did not sign it. Such, also, was the judgment of his associates of Wells, and of several others. He was opposed to the separation of Maine from Massachusetts. But when it became inevitable, he insisted that his constituents should have their proper proportion of influence in the Legislative and administrative councils. Integrity and righteousness were controlling elements of his character.

In 1806, he married Miss Abigail Chadbourne, of Berwick, by whom he had one daughter, who was married to Dr. Dow, of Dover. His wife died Jan. 1, 1808, aged 23. In 1815, he married Miss Mary Fisher, daughter of Dr. Jacob Fisher, by whom he had five children, Lucretia, George, Olive, Sophia, and Helen.

JOSEPH DANE.

JOSEPH DANE came from Beverly, Massachusetts. He graduated at Harvard College in 1799, distinguished with the second honors of a class which numbered many who afterward became eminent in the various professions. One of the most effectual aids which can be given to a scholar is to place him in a position where a spirit of emulation is continually being excited, and his energies summoned to daily exercise. Mr. Dane wisely improved the opportunities which he enjoyed, became a ripe scholar, and was thus well prepared to enter on the study of the law, which he pursued in the office and under the direction of the Hon. Nathaniel Dane, of Beverly. He was admitted to the bar in 1802, and in the same year opened an office in Kennebunk. Being well versed in legal principles, quick in his perceptions, careful and considerate in his action, he found ready acceptance with the people, and soon had an extensive practice. There was no more thorough and reliable lawyer in the County, although his natural aversion to anything like display led him to decline, in a great measure, the argument of causes to the jury. But his counsel was regarded as wise and safe, and his advice was sought with great confidence. His character during his long life was unblemished. He was chosen one of the Executive Council of Massachusetts, but declined the office; also, representative to the United States Congress to supply the vacancy made by the transfer of Mr. Holmes to the Senate, and, also, for the succeeding term. He was a delegate to the convention for forming the Constitution of the State; afterward a member of the Senate, and six years of the House of Representatives.

He married Mary, daughter of Hon. Jonas Clark, by whom he had two sons and one daughter; Nathan, five years State Treasurer; Joseph, now in the practice of law; and Mary, who married Porter Hall, both now deceased. Mr. Dane died May 1, 1858, aged 79. His widow died February 18, 1872, aged 82.

JOSEPH SAYER.

JOSEPH SAYER was the first regularly established physician of Wells of whom we have any account. He was the son of Francis Sayer, whose father was also named Francis. He was born Dec. 8, 1706. A full sketch of his biography has been given in a preceding page.

JONATHAN CLARK.

JONATHAN CLARK was the second established physician of Wells. He was the son of Eleazer Clark, and was born May 4, 1737. He married Mary Wheelright, and researches have furnished us with no evidence of his qualifications, character, or extent of practice. He studied medicine, and his circuit of business, we have been led to suppose, embraced the people living at the Branch. Dr. Bulman, of York, up to the time of his death, in 1746, had practised in the lower part of the town.

DAVID BENNET.

A DR. DAVID BENNET was occasionally in the practice of his profession at Wells about 1742; but we have obtained no information as to his established location, or of his professional character. We suppose that he was the father of George Bennet.

EBENEZER RICE.

DR. EBENEZER RICE came to Wells in 1763. He graduated at Harvard College in 1760, and having finished his preparatory professional studies, selected Wells as the field for the exercise of his profession. He located himself in that part of it called Kennebunk, occupying the house built by Jonathan Banks, where William Lord now lives. Finding some reasonable encouragement, in 1765 he was married to Martha Wells, daughter of Nathaniel and sister of Judge Wells. Though liberally educated, he was but a good common-

sense physician, not remarkable for any one attribute. He was interested in, and an active member of, the second Parish, and for several years its clerk and one of the prudential committee. But, as stated in another place, the terrors of the impending Revolutionary conflict were too much for his timorous nature, and he fled to the interior of Massachusetts with his children. His wife died in 1773. He was again married to Miss Elizabeth How, of Marlborough, in April, 1775. Probably that was his place of refuge. He died in 1822.

EDWARD KITCHEN TURNER.

The next physician was EDWARD KITCHEN TURNER, who graduated at Cambridge in 1771, and came to Wells after the commencement of the war. He also established himself in the village of Kennebunk. He was of a widely different temperament from Dr. Rice, and entered into the contest with England with a patriotic and self-sacrificing spirit. Soon after coming here he resolved to take an active part in the war, and shipped on board a privateer, which went to sea and was never afterward heard of.

GIDEON FROST.

After Dr. Turner, came DR. GIDEON FROST. We know nothing of his education. Turner's place having become vacant, he hastened to secure the stand; but his professional business not fully meeting his desires, he went into navigation and built one or two vessels. In 1781, he married Henrietta Thayer, of Uxbridge, Mass.

JACOB FISHER.

There seems to have been something very attractive to medical men in the locality of Kennebunk in the few years immediately following the close of the Revolutionary war. Young physicians, though the population was yet small and the field for professional employment very limited, were captivated by the prospects which it held out to them. Soon after the close of the war, DR. JACOB FISHER, who had been in the service as a soldier, resolved to avail himself of its opportunities. He had not enjoyed the benefits of a college education, but was endowed with good intellectual powers, and was of a fearless and decided character. In addition to the

practice of his profession, he assumed the business of an apothecary, and in a few years embarked in navigation. In the latter branch of business he was not very successful. His attention was then turned to agriculture, in which he took a deep interest. He was a man of good judgment, and influential in all municipal and parochial action. He was much inclined to fun, and all the enjoyments which earth afforded, even to the last of his days. His newspaper advertisements and original communications, which appear in the *Weekly Visitor* and *Kennebunk Gazette*, will be read with interest.

He availed himself of every opportunity to perpetrate a joke. Many amusing anecdotes were current in his day as originating with him. He was specially gratified in playing off his tricks and his fun with his hired men. One just arrived from the "ould country" called on him for employment. He readily bargained with him for his labor, and then told him the first thing he wished him to do was to go to mill. After pointing out to him the location, and getting the corn upon his shoulder, he told him to be very careful and keep his eye upon the miller, for sometimes he would steal the corn. Intent on doing his work faithfully, he reached the mill, and the miller seized the bag and emptied it into the hopper. In a little while he saw him returning to it with a two quart measure, dash it into the corn, fill it, and turn to carry it off. As quick as thought the faithful Irishman sprang upon him and knocked him down, and turning his corn back into the bag brought it home.

Another came to the doctor for employment. He conversed with him as to his capabilities, and noticing in all his utterances an uncommon proclivity for the use of high-sounding words, told him that he did not think it best to hire him. "Why not?" asks the applicant. "Because I can't afford it. It would cost me more to hire you than anybody else. I must go immediately and buy a dictionary and have it always handy in my pocket."

Though laboring in his various ways for sixty years, he left but little property, not stinting himself in his enjoyments. He died Oct. 27, 1840. His wife died a few weeks before. He left the following children: Mary, widow of the late George W. Wallingford; Lavinia, widow of Horace Porter; Charlotte, widow of John Skeelee; Eliza, wife of Israel W. Bourne; Sarah Ann, widow of Ivory Jeffers, of Bangor. Two other children, Benjamin, and Hannah, wife of Edward Greenough, died before him.

JOHN GATES.

DR. JOHN GATES came to Wells from Rutland, Mass., about the same time with Dr. Frost, selecting the village for his residence. In a few years afterward, he built the house now occupied by his venerable daughter. He was married to Mary, daughter of Dr. Hemmenway, Nov. 23, 1786. By her he had three children: Nancy, born Nov. 23, 1787; Mary, July 25, 1790; Charles, Nov. 20, 1792. He was a very skillful physician, and favored with a large practice, his services being sought by people of Sanford and of other neighboring towns. But, like the other physicians, he entered into navigation, building a part of a vessel. He died June 6, 1796, leaving but a small property. The fees of the physician in those days compared very well with the salaries of the clergy. Previously to the settlement of Dr. Gates, a DR. POWERS had occupied this field of medical practice a little while, but we have no further knowledge of him.

OLIVER KEATING.

The next physician following Dr. Fisher was OLIVER KEATING, who came here from York in 1785. He established himself at the Landing in Kennebunk, at that time the principal centre of business, and where he enjoyed the patronage and aid of Theodore Lyman. He was an active, energetic man, and was the principal mover in getting up the company of cavalry, of which some account has already been given. He followed the example of Mr. Lyman, and moved to Boston in 1799. As he turned his attention to a different branch of business, a more particular account of him has been given in another chapter.

THATCHER GODDARD.

DR. THATCHER GODDARD came from Worcester, Mass., about 1786, and established himself in Arundel, where he remained three or four years, and in 1789 or '90 moved to Kennebunk, where he occupied the house of the late Adam McCulloch. But, as was the case with all his predecessors in the profession, the proceeds of medical practice did not come up to his anticipations, and in 1802 he moved to Portland, and entered into mercantile business. There he remained a few years, and then moved to Boston, where he died, leaving a son, Thatcher Goddard, and several daughters: Mary, who married

William Goddard ; Susan, who married John G. Perkins, of Kennebunkport ; Caroline, who married Francis O. Watts, formerly of Kennebunk ; Miranda, who married Augustus Peabody, of Boston ; Eunice, who died unmarried, and Lucy, still living, unmarried, and diligently laboring for the great human family.

SAMUEL EMERSON.

DR. SAMUEL EMERSON came from Hollis, N. H., to Kennebunk in 1790. He was educated at Harvard College, graduating in 1785. He established himself in the village, and soon acquired an extensive practice, the population of Wells and neighboring towns having rapidly increased since the peace with England. He was an ardent admirer of the liberal arts, much interested in the promotion of science, and an earnest lover of music, especially that of the sanctuary. He was a fifer in the Revolutionary war when only eleven years of age. He was given to hospitality, and had an extensive acquaintance with the literary men of New England. He labored diligently in his profession over sixty years, and was present at the birth of over four thousand children. Finding his position soon after establishing himself at Kennebunk satisfactory, and the prospect of a successful practice encouraging, he united in marriage with Miss Olive Barrell, daughter of Nathaniel Barrell, of York. They had nine children. Three died in infancy. Joseph Barrell, George Barrell, and William Samuel were educated at Harvard University. Ralph engaged in mercantile business in France, afterward moving to San Francisco. Joseph studied medicine, and after qualifying himself for the practice, established himself at the South, and died from the kick of a horse in 1823. George engaged in teaching, and became distinguished among the instructors in Boston, receiving the degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard in 1859. William studied medicine, and located himself at Alton, Ill., where he died in 1837. Olive married Shephard Norris, of Boston, and is now living as his widow in Milwaukee, Wis. Sarah married Edward Watts ; after his death, Dr. G. Heaton, of Boston. The mother died June 13, 1844, aged 73 ; the father, Aug. 7, 1851, aged 86.

JOSEPH GILMAN.

DR. JOSEPH GILMAN came to Wells in 1794, establishing himself at Morrill's Corner. For many years he had a good practice in his

profession. Being of a kind and generous spirit, he seldom retained money sufficient for his necessities. He was of the Hopkinsian school on religion, and being thence not in perfect accord with all the pulpit ministrations, he seceded with several others from the ancient church, and inaugurated a second Congregational society. The next year after he came to Wells he was married to Hannah, daughter of Rev. Daniel Little. She died Aug. 20, 1801. In 1805, he married Hannah, daughter of John Grant. By his first wife he had four children: Elizabeth, born Aug. 3, 1796; Ebenezer, born Aug. 9, 1797; Hannah, born Jan. 27, 1799; Sarah L., born Aug. 24, 1800. By the second wife he had Theodosia, born March 23, 1806; Ann Frances, born March 6, 1808; Martha Ann, born July 2, 1812; Mary, born December 2, 1814; Francis, Sept. 18, 1817. He died Jan. 4, 1847, aged 75.

JAMES DORRANCE.

DR. JAMES DORRANCE came from Sterling, Conn., to Wells in 1802, and located himself at Kennebunk Landing. He soon acquired a good practice, which he maintained several years. But having received a personal injury by overturning his carriage in the night, and being confined a long time in his house, it became necessary for him, in some measure, to change his business, and he engaged in ship building in company with Isaac Kilham; but in this he was not very successful. He moved to Portland in 1820, where he remained till 1830, when he returned to Kennebunk.

He was married to Nancy Brastoe June 13, 1802. She died in September, 1826. He was again married in 18— to Mrs. Mary F. Wallingford, widow of George W. Wallingford. By the former he had four children: Oliver Brastoe, Sarah, Lemuel K., and Lucretia. Sarah died many years since.

JOSEPH STORER.

JOSEPH STORER came from Wells to Kennebunk in 1757. He was educated at Harvard College, graduating in 1745. We have not learned that he prepared himself for any one of the three principal professions. As was customary, he probably taught school a little while. He engaged in trade, occupying the upper room of the farm house of Charles Parsons, then painted red, the first painted building in Kennebunk. He then built the mansion house of Mr. Parsons, though it has been in some measure enlarged and modified. Beside the business of the store, he engaged in milling, and carried on traffic in lumber of the various kinds. He was a truly patriotic man, and when the clouds were gathering, and the political atmosphere portended the fearful storm which afterward came over the land, he entered into the spirit of the hour, and was ready for any sacrifice that the liberties of the people might require. He was chosen representative from the town, and was instructed to vote for independence if that question should, in any way, present itself for his action, and if he should be of the opinion that the public exigencies required it. He was true to his instructions, and was afterward commissioned as colonel of a regiment, and went into the war; but he had little opportunity for acquiring military glory. He was taken sick while in the service, and died at Albany Oct. 23, 1777, aged 51.

Col. Storer must be regarded as standing at the head of the citizens of Kennebunk, perhaps from his pecuniary status, as well as from his personal qualities. In the assignment of pews in the new meeting-house in 1772, that on the right hand of the door, No. 1, then regarded as the most eligible, was awarded to him; while all others, with the exception of John Mitchell, Nathaniel Kimball, Waldo Emerson, and Deacon Richard Kimball, were subjected to the result of lot. He was one of the selectmen. When he established himself in Kennebunk he had but little property, but by industry and economy he soon became independent, and at the time of his death, was the

richest man in Wells. He was married to Hannah March, of Greenland, March 4, 1753, who died Feb. 27, 1790, \AA 54. Her cotemporaries awarded to her a high character. He had two sons, Joseph and Clement. The latter studied medicine, and established himself in Portsmouth, where he passed his life. Joseph remained in Kennebunk, owning and occupying the old homestead, was appointed postmaster, and afterward Collector of the Port. Sept. 15, 1808, he was married to Priscilla Cutts, of Portsmouth. But the marriage resulted in no additions to the Storer family. He died Sept. 30, 1833, \AA 76. After his death, the widow disposed of the home establishment, and moved to Washington, where she resided with a nephew. Afterward they removed to Prospect Hill, Fairfax County, Virginia, where she died Feb. 10, 1860, aged 86. Mrs. Storer was distinguished for her refined and attractive manners, and for that graceful etiquette so acceptable and pleasant to all, whether associates or strangers.

SAMUEL PRENTICE.

SAMUEL PRENTICE graduated at Harvard in 1771, and soon after came to Kennebunk. For many years he was engaged in teaching. He built the old Dominicus Lord house on Water street in 1779, or rather one of the buildings connected with the salt works, was purchased by him, removed to that spot and made into a dwelling-house. He added to the upper end of it a small building, which he used as a store, in which he traded six or seven years, keeping school at the same time. This house as then finished would probably not exceed in value twenty-five dollars. The young men of the present age may learn a useful lesson from this fact. The men of Wells then accommodated themselves to their circumstances. They cheerfully dwelt in mere tents until the way was clear for more ample accommodations. Oct. 24, 1776, Prentice was married to Dolly Day. He was the first commissioned Justice of the Peace, we think, in Kennebunk; also, one of the assessors of the Second Parish. He taught schools in several of the Districts, and we have no doubt was well qualified for that responsible position. What disposition Providence finally made of him or his wife, has not been ascertained. He has left here no tokens of his existence. After his exit, his house was occupied by John Bourne.

JAMES OSBORN.

JAMES OSBORN was the son of John Osborn, of Charlestown, Mass. In early life he went into the service of his country in the Revolutionary war, and was in Capt. Danforth's company of Col. Nixon's regiment. After the war was over, in 1784, he came to Kennebunk. Here he was first employed as a clerk in the store of Tobias Lord. A few years after, he commenced teaching school, and for twenty-five years was employed in that capacity in the various Districts of the town; a part of that time, in addition to his labors in the school, doing business as a trader in the store of Prentice. In 1790, he erected the house now standing near the store of his son, James Osborn. The western end was fitted for a store, in which he traded several years. He was an honest and worthy man, and, for the period in which he lived, a good teacher. In 1787, he married Nancy Lord, of Berwick, by whom he had four children, Samuel, John, James, and Mary. She died June 10, 1832, aged 69. He, Nov. 10, 1836, aged 76.

BENJAMIN BROWN.

BENJAMIN BROWN came to Kennebunk in 1782. Of a lively and zealous temperament, he soon interested himself in the place and the people, and took hold of business of various kinds with a good deal of energy and resolution. He went into trade, and in 1784, built the house now owned and occupied by Edward E. Bourne, jr., then the most costly in the two villages. The eastern end of it was occupied as a store, in which he did considerable business. He was commissioned as Justice of the Peace, and opened an office for marine insurance. In 1787, he was married to Mary —, of Boston. She was the life and joy of his house, and infused into him that cheerful spirit so necessary to meet all the demands of out-door life. She was a lady of strong intellect and attractive demeanor, and adorned with all the social and Christian graces which make the charm of connubial life. She died on the 21st day of April, 1794. He was again married to Miss Eunice Orne, of Lynnfield, in Nov., 1795. Soon after this he removed to Philadelphia, where he suddenly died, in January, 1802.

JOHN BOURNE.

JOHN BOURNE, son of Benjamin, when only sixteen years of age enlisted in the Revolutionary war, and continued in the service on the borders of Canada one year. In 1780, being then 21 years of age, he came to Kennebunk, having been trained by his father as a ship-carpenter. Feb. 6, 1783, he was married to Miss Abigail Hubbard, daughter of Captain James Hubbard, who died at Cambridge in the beginning of the war. By the joint industry and providence of husband and wife, he soon found himself possessed of capital adequate to the business of trade; and he built and opened a store at the Landing. About the same time he erected his house, the same still standing next below that of the late Adam McCulloch. He had become master-workman of the shipyard; and having purchased the land joining the river, he commenced ship-building on his own account. There he built many vessels for Theodore Lyman, William Gray, of Salem, and others. Afterward he engaged in navigation, and built vessels for his own use; taking into partnership with him John Low, under the firm of Bourne and Low. They carried on business successfully, until the embargo and war not only made the business profitless, but reduced their finances to a very low condition. His wife died on the 10th of December, 1787. They had three children; Olive, born July 10, 1784; Samuel, Dec. 1, 1785, and Benjamin, Sept. 3, 1787. He was married to Miss Sally, daughter of James Kimball, June 19, 1788. They had three children; John, born Nov. 1, 1789; James, Aug. 5, 1792, and Charles, Dec. 10, 1793. This second wife died May 29, 1794. He had now six small children to be taken care of; and taking still more closely to heart the teachings of the Bible, that it is not good for man to be alone; and regarding duty as more imperative than the customs of society, Sept. 10, 1794, he was married to Mrs. Eliza Wildes, widow of Capt. Israel Wildes, of Arundel, who had three small children, Susan, Elizabeth and Abigail; all of whom were brought into the family. Before any of them arrived at maturity, six more were added to the number; four boys, Israel, Edward, Thomas and George, and two girls, Julia Ann and Olive Leighton; making a household of fifteen. But the number never disturbed the mother's equanimity. Her judgment was, that it was as easy to take care of a large flock as a small one. There were giants for labor among the women of those days. They

were equal to any work and ready for any enjoyment. It would be interesting to copy here, from her journal, the minutes of some of her days' doings. But we cannot so extend this sketch. Notwithstanding the magnitude of the family, the father was able as early as 1806 to buy the house and business stand of Theodore Lyman, paying for it \$5,000. He was a representative in the Legislature of Massachusetts and a Justice of the Peace. His sons, Israel, Edward and Thomas were educated at Bowdoin College. George chose another path in life. The father died June 6, 1837, aged 78; the mother, Sept. 6, 1844, aged 79.

TOBIAS LORD.

TOBIAS LORD was the son of Tobias Lord of Arundel. When a young man, fourteen or fifteen years of age, he went to Moulton's Mills, in Sanford, to live with a relative. He was there taught to labor during the working hours of the olden time, from early morn until dark. His principal employment was in getting lumber from the mills at a distance from the house with a team of six oxen. With this team he would start in the morning, take on his load and reach home at night. The barn being half of a mile from the road leading to Kennebunk, the oxen were taken from the cart, which was left standing there until morning, and driven to the barn. The whole work of the day was attended with peril. The wolves were always on the watch, though they were great cowards. The only way in which he could reach his home was by riding one of the oxen, and keeping them back with a club or some kind of a bludgeon. They came around him in flocks night after night, but he was able successfully to defend himself.

When he arrived at maturity he was commissioned as Lieutenant, and went into the service in the Revolutionary war. He was in the company of Capt. James Littlefield at the time of the surrender of Burgoyne. In 1778, he came to Kennebunk and settled on Water street, building a small house opposite the saw-mill, which in after years was called the Gillespie house. At the same time he built a small store a few rods above. Here he engaged in ship-building on the Mousam river. In 1785, when the great freshet occurred, he was building a vessel, and had about finished the planking. The freshet carried her off, and landed her in another place. But she was left in such a position that he was able to complete and launch her.

He built several others on this river; but judging the Landing on Kennebunk river a more convenient place for his business, he transferred it to that place. There he enlarged his operations. But various adversities soon checked his prosperity. He lost several vessels by shipwreck. In those days there were no insurance offices to assume maritime risks. To him most of these losses were total, and he became embarrassed. Under these depressing circumstances he went to William Gray of Salem and told him his condition. So high an opinion had Mr. Gray of his integrity, that he told him to go on with his ship-building and he would take care of him. He did so, and again prosperity attended him; and though some of his vessels were taken by the French, he still maintained a safe pecuniary standing. He was hospitable to all the teamsters who came in from the country. But his hospitality became too burdensome for his family; and to alleviate their labors, he abandoned his business and moved to Alfred in 1803. In 1790, he built the large three-storied house in which he lived; and which time had dealt with so severely that a few years since it became necessary to take it down. In 1808, he returned to Kennebunk, and died suddenly at the house of Francis Watts, Jan. 16th. He left the following children: Nathaniel, who married Phebe Walker; Tobias, who married Hannah Perkins; Samuel, who married Hannah Jefferds; George, who married Olive Jefferds; Ivory, who married Louisa McCulloch and Olive Bourne Emerson; William, who married Sarah Cleaves; Francis A., who married Frances Smith; Hepsibah, who married Robert Waterston; Abigail, who married Charles W. Williams; Mehitabel and Betsey, who married Francis Watts, and Lucy, who married Hercules M. Hayes.

JONAS CLARK.

Among the merchants who settled in Kennebunk in the last century was JONAS CLARK. In 1784, he established himself in Portland; but the prospects for business in Kennebunk being very favorable, in two or three years he removed here, and entered into partnership with Condy, under the firm of Clark and Condy, occupying a part of the house of the late Daniel Wise as a store. Afterward they moved to a store on the site of the house of the late Capt. William Williams. He was soon after appointed a special justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and in 1808, a standing justice of the same court, which

office he held until 1811. He was also collector of the customs after the establishment of the office at Kennebunk until 1810. In 1815, he was appointed Judge of Probate, and continued in that office until 1827, when, on account of failing health, he resigned. He was also many years Notary of the Public.

He married Sarah, daughter of Dr. Edward Watts, of Portland, in 1789, and died, after a long and severe sickness, on fifth day of November, 1828; leaving daughters, Mary, wife of Hon. Joseph Dane, Betsey, wife of Moses Savary, of Bangor; Caroline, second wife of Joseph M. Hayes, of Saco, and Sarah and Martha Ann Ware, who have since died.

NAHUM MORRILL.

NAHUM MORRILL, son of Rev. Moses Morrill, of Biddeford, came to Wells in his boyhood, being one of the family of John Storer. Having arrived at maturity, he entered into trade a short time after the war. Being of an active turn, he made rapid advances in influence and business, acquiring the respect and confidence of the community. In a short time his place of trade acquired the name of Morrill's Corner, which it has ever since retained. Every one who could muster a little money was then going into the West India business, in which many were very successful. Morrill fell in with the current, and embarked in navigation. He built and owned several vessels. The large quantities of lumber, boards, shingles, staves, and hoops brought to market, kept the price reasonably low, and vessels generally made a fair profit on their outward cargoes; while the return of rum, molasses, and sugar, was not less favorable to the owners. Some of the vessels and cargoes were taken by the French. But he enjoyed a good prosperity, till the embargo, followed by the non-intercourse and war, during which most of our merchants went down. Morrill suffered with others, so that in the remaining years of his life he was reduced to a bare competency for the support of his family, though his enterprising spirit was not subdued. He took a strong interest in public affairs, and represented the town in the General Court, was town treasurer, and one of the delegates to the Convention at Portland for the formation of the State Constitution.

He was married to Miss Sarah Littlefield, Dec. 3, 1789, by whom he had ten children. Hannah, born Dec. 16, 1790; Samuel, Aug. 25, 1792, who died in 1795; Sally, July 28, 1794; Mary, March 19, 1796;

Isabella, March 13, 1798; Samuel, Feb. 4, 1800; Moses, Nov. 2, 1802; Nahum, July 6, 1804; Ann Maria, July 27, 1806; and Nahum, Oct. 24, 1808. Samuel was educated at Bowdoin College, and is a physician of very respectable standing in Boston.

SAMUEL CURTIS, JR.

SAMUEL CURTIS, JR., was a native of Wells, descending from one of the early inhabitants. He engaged in trade in early life, for a while making that his chief employment. Afterward, following in the footsteps of Morrill, he invested in navigation. Here he was more successful than Morrill, and the measures of government did not so materially reduce his property. He was well versed in the condition of public affairs, was representative in the Legislature, and a delegate to the Convention for forming the Constitution. He interested himself in the affairs of the church, and was one of the leaders in the secession from the First Parish in his last years. He adhered to the Calvinistic theology according to the views of the most rigid of that sect. In all his intercourse he exhibited himself as governed by the rules of the Gospel, endeavoring to deal justly, and in all things to act uprightly.

In Nov., 1800, he married Lydia Littlefield, daughter of Capt. James Littlefield, by whom he had the following children: Mary, born Aug. 25, 1802; Olive, June 14, 1804; Sally, Aug. 27, 1806; Lydia, Dec. 4, 1808; Joseph, Nov. 14, 1810; Samuel, Oct. 5, 1812; Benjamin White, Nov. 8, 1815; Abigail, 1817; and Harriet, 1820. His wife died May 12, 1823, *Æ* 44.

In 1827, he was again married to Miss Olive Storer, daughter of John Storer, Esq. But this marriage brought no additions to the human family. Mr. Curtis died in 1845, at the age of seventy.

JOHN LOW.

JOHN LOW was the son of John Low, of Lyman. When he arrived at mature life in 1791, he established himself at Kennebunk; the activity of the lumber and West India trade at that time presenting strong inducements to young men. He occupied the house of Tobias Lord, on Water street, and opened a small store for trade. In 1792, he was married to Rachel Francis, of Beverly. He soon enlarged his operations, taking an interest in navigation, and after a few years formed a partnership with John Bourne, under the firm

name of Bourne & Low. They owned several vessels, which were employed in the West India trade. The embargo and war, so destructive to the navigation of the country generally, were specially so to the commerce of Kennebunk. Though pursued afterward by some of the merchants, it never recovered its prosperity in the trade in which it had been employed. Mr. Low suffered with the many others, so that at the close of life his house and a little land constituted all his possessions. He was a man of unswerving integrity, governing his life by Christian principles, and always ready to give his help in every good work. He was a member of the church, a faithful disciple, and a useful citizen. His closing days were brightened by the elevating hopes which true religion inspires. He died Jan. 19, 1833, aged 65, leaving no child to inherit his virtues. His wife died April 6, 1851.

WILLIAM JEFFERDS.

WILLIAM JEFFERDS, the son of Samuel Jefferds, moved from Wells to Kennebunk in 1777. He had been educated as a fuller, and built a mill for the purpose of carrying on his trade, by the iron works, at the western end of the lower dam. Here he employed himself for several years, from 1785 until his son Nathaniel had acquired the requisite age and skill to continue the business; when having a predilection for hotel keeping, he surrendered the fulling-mill to him. His father having kept a public house many years, he was well grounded in the mysteries of the inn-holder. He bought the small one-story house of Dominicus Lord, standing on the site, and a part of, the present public house now owned by Mr. John Baker, which he enlarged, adding to it another story. This proving inadequate for the public accommodation, it was further enlarged by raising the roof and adding a third story. It afterward became a house of considerable note, and has been distinguished as the Jefferds tavern, nearly all travelers making it an object to obtain accommodations here for the night. He had some military tastes, and was elected and ever after known as Major. He died April 28, 1820, aged 67. His wife was Olive, sister of Richard Gillpatrick. They had the following children: Nathaniel, William, George, Olive, Clement, and Ivory. His wife died April 29, 1831, aged 75.

RICHARD GILLPATRICK.

RICHARD GILLPATRICK was the son of James Gillpatrick, who was the son of Thomas, who came over to this country from Ireland, with eleven children, and landed at Saco in 1620. James came to Wells in 1734. Richard, the son, while in his minority, was bound to James Kimball as an apprentice to learn the trade of a blacksmith and continued with him till he arrived at his majority. He then assumed that business on his own account, working in a shop standing at the eastern end of Brown street, in Kennebunk. The next year he built and traded in a small store, a rod or two from the shop. Being skillful and industrious, he rapidly acquired property, and in a year or two put up an iron factory, where the machine shop stands. He, in a short time, became the owner of all the land afterward owned by the factory company, on the west side of the river; and in 1784, when his business had become so extended that larger conveniences were required, he built a large store where that of Samuel Clark now stands. Then he added navigation to his business, and built several vessels on the Mousam river. Two or three of these he owned wholly or in part. One new brig of which he was sole owner, and another of which he owned a part, were captured by the French. But he persevered in his various employments, strengthening his position until the embargo of 1807, which was soon followed by the war, when the fate of many others befel him. But the factory fever prevailing throughout the country enabled him to make a good sale of all his land on the river. He also owned one-half of the cotton factory standing on the site of the present saw-mill, which he also sold, so that now he was placed in comfortable pecuniary circumstances. But he did not long enjoy them. His intellect failed, and the remainder of his life was a blank. He died Sept. 15, 1828, aged 75.

He was married on the eleventh day of February, 1776, to Mary, daughter of Capt. James Hubbard. They had three children, Dimon, Sally, and Daniel. His wife died March 20, 1794. In 1795, he was married to Dorothy Rose Moody, of York, daughter of Samuel Moody. They had five children, William, Elizabeth, Mary, Maria, and Lucy. This wife died May 2, 1847, aged 77. Dimon married Elizabeth Rogers; Sally, Benjamin Smith; Daniel died in early life.

William married Sophia Goodrich; Elizabeth, Benj. F. Green; Mary, Edward E. Bourne; Maria, William B. Sewall; Lucy, Burleigh Smart.

DANIEL WISE.

DANIEL WISE died May 6, 1843, aged 82. He was the son of Capt. James Wise, and grandson of Rev. Jeremiah Wise, of Berwick. In his early days his father was disposed to bind him as an apprentice to a blacksmith. But that business, though then as prosperous and successful as any of the employments of the time, did not meet his aspirations. The sea presented to him charms which superseded all other influences, and he turned his attention that way. He entered into the service of the United States in the Revolutionary war. About the time of its close he came to Kennebunk, and entering upon a seafaring life, soon became master mariner, and rapidly acquired property. He became enamored of Miss Hannah Hubbard, daughter of Capt. James Hubbard, who had died at Cambridge, and was married to her Feb. 23, 1786. He purchased the land and built his house where that recently built by his son George now stands, and became part owner of several vessels, some of which were captured by the French. But, notwithstanding these losses, he was independent. He built the large store which a few years past was removed, and traded a little while; then gave his attention to the cultivation of his farm, the safest and happiest employment of life. They had the following children: Betsey, born Oct. 18, 1786; John, Jan. 20, 1791; Mary, Oct. 4, 1794; Daniel, —; George, April 19, 1811; and Hannah, May 23, 1813. The mother died Oct. 15, 1851, aged 84.

MICHAEL WISE.

MICHAEL WISE was the brother of Daniel, and came to Kennebunk four or five years after the establishment of peace. He opened a store, and engaged in the traffic of West India goods and groceries, taking into partnership with him John Grant, jr., under the firm of Wise & Grant. They soon took an interest in navigation, but with others suffered by French spoliations. Grant afterward formed a partnership with his father, John Grant, and went to sea several voyages as master. In subsequent years, William W. Wise, his son, became a partner with his father. He was married, in 1792, to Miss

Hannah Kimball. They had the following children: William, Hannah, Isaac, Edward, Michael, Eliza, and Augustus. He died Dec. 20, 1833, aged 67. His widow afterward married Jeremiah Paul.

BENJAMIN SMITH.

BENJAMIN SMITH came to Kennebunk in 1797, when he was but twenty years old. He here satisfied himself that a bakery was essential to the demands of the day. The great number of vessels sailing from the Port created a demand for bread, and he immediately got up such an establishment and carried it on several years, when he abandoned it for trade and mercantile pursuit on a larger scale. He entered into partnership with Horace Porter, under the firm of Smith & Porter. They did a large business in the purchase and sale of lumber, became ship owners, employing their navigation in the West India trade. By their fidelity and diligent attention to business, they acquired the confidence of the public, and in a few years were numbered among the rich men of Kennebunk. Mr. Smith, having met with none of the adversities and drawbacks to which those who came to Kennebunk a little before him were subjected, continued to increase in wealth to the end of life, and left to his children an estate exceeding that of any one who had previously deceased. He was a member of the Christian church, and honored his profession by a true life. He died March 22, 1834, aged 57. He was married, in 1799, to Sarah, daughter of Richard Gillpatrick. She died June 22, 1812, aged 31. His second wife was Dorothy C. Dutch, who died June 22, 1856, aged 71. He had the following children: Elizabeth, Dorothy, Joseph, Francis, Benjamin, and Susan.

STEPHEN TITCOMB.

Died May 23, 1815, STEPHEN TITCOMB, aged 93. He came to Kennebunk from Newburyport in 174-, and located himself near the Kennebunk river, in the rear of the house of George Dresser. He was an energetic, enterprising man, and embarked freely in various kinds of business; built a mill on Middle river, in Arundel, sawed a large amount of lumber, built and owned coasters, entered into trade, etc. Having acquired a respectable property, he built for himself a large house, the same now occupied by Dresser. This was constructed with garrison defenses, the Indian wars not having then

ended. In a few years these defenses ceased to be necessary, and the building was modified as it now appears. He was a patriotic and religious man, in the early part of the Revolution taking a decided stand in favor of the rights of the colonies. Immediately on receiving notice of the battle at Lexington, he started at the head of twenty-two of his company for the place of conflict; but when he reached Portsmouth, was advised that the troops were not needed, and returned home. He was chosen agent of the town to prosecute all who were inimical to the State or the United States; was a captain of the militia in Kennebunk, one of the selectmen, an active member of the Second Congregational Parish, and for several years its treasurer and one of its assessors; also, a leader among the founders of the church.

Being an active business man, he kept his physical powers in reasonable exercise, and thereby lived to an advanced age, dying May 24, 1815, in his 94th year.

He was married to Abigail Stone, of North Yarmouth, in 1748. By her he had Joseph, born Oct. 21, 1749; Benjamin, May 21, 1751; Stephen, Oct. 3, 1752; Sarah, Aug. 19, 1754; Abigail, June 1, 1756; Samuel, May 27, 1758; John, Feb. 16, 1752. His wife died June 19, 1814, in her 90th year; John, Oct. 19, 1795; Abigail, June 19, 1809; Stephen moved to New Sharon; Sarah married Daniel Mitchell, and moved to Arundel; Samuel moved to the eastward.

Benjamin remained in Kennebunk, establishing himself on a large farm in Alewife. His first wife was Mary Burnham. They had the following children: Benjamin, born April 24, 1780; Hannah, Sept. 22, 1781; James, March 14, 1783; Mary, Sept. 24, 1784; Joseph, June 5, 1786; Hannah, Feb. 19, 1788. His wife Mary died May 3, 1788. He was afterward married to Hannah Bragdon, by whom he had Abigail and Lydia. She died July 21, 1809, and he was again married to Mrs. Mary Gates, widow of Dr. Gates, and daughter of Dr. Hemmenway. They had no children. He was a useful man; many years one of the selectmen of the town, and a faithful member of the Christian church.

JOHN MITCHELL.

JOHN MITCHELL came from York about 1740. He had had a good common education and was a man of sound moral principle. In early manhood he became a professor of the Christian religion. Be-

fore he came to Kennebunk, in his immature years, he had tried the sea; but the mariner's life was not congenial with his disposition, and he determined to try other branches of business for a support. He selected a lot for a farm, built a large two-storied house, the first of that kind in Kennebunk, and gave his labors to agriculture. He then added a little interest in navigation, and built the first wharf on the west side of Kennebunk river. The troubles with the Indians, or the continual fear of the renewal of war with them, led him to build a garrison house for the protection of his family and others who might seek a refuge there in time of danger. He interested himself in all matters involving the general interests of humanity. He felt deeply the value of public worship, and exerted himself to secure its maintainance nearer to the people in the eastern part of the town than the old church in Wells. He was active in bringing about the division of the Parish, and was a liberal contributor to the erection of the meeting-house at the Landing. This church was one of the most effectual means in obtaining the incorporation of the Second Parish, and he was chosen the first clerk, treasurer, and assessor. He was also one of the original members of the church.

He was constable of the town in 1751, but for some cause, which we have been unable to learn, was removed from that office by the Court of Sessions; by what authority we know not. We believe his character was unstained by any failure of integrity.

He died leaving the following children: Lydia, born Nov. 13, 1744; Jotham, Nov. 2, 1746; Lucy, March 28, 1748; James, June 18, 1751; Benjamin, July 11, 1753; Mary, June 17, 1755.

JOHN GRANT.

Died Nov. 3, 1825, JOHN GRANT, aged 80. We should feel that we were guilty of a great wrong were we to withhold the tribute justly due to the memory of this worthy man. He made no special display in any department of life; yet his character was such as to merit the affectionate remembrance of every lover of his race. He was a solid man in every sense of the word; a gentleman of the school of the 18th century. Amidst all the vicissitudes which marked his condition, he was the same incorruptible, faithful servant of right and duty. His grandfather was an Englishman, who came over to this country in the beginning of the last century, having for

his companion a Mr. Malcolm; the families of the two, we suppose, having lived in the friendly and dignified relations which distinguished the nobility of Great Britain. The daughter of Malcolm was educated in Boston; highly accomplished, and familiar with the etiquette and all the refinements of high life. Among other aristocratic notions in which she indulged, she was accustomed to have a barber to dress her hair every morning with flowers. Capt. Wise, one of the sons of Rev. Jeremiah Wise, of Berwick, was fascinated by her charms, and she became his wife. He then moved to Berwick, where he lived in true English style. The issue of this marriage was three sons and one daughter, Jeremiah, Daniel, Michael and Sarah. Sarah was the belle of Berwick. When she had come to maturity, John Grant, then a wholesale merchant in Boston, came to Berwick, and was captivated with the attractions of the scenery, and with the attentions which he received from the people.

The Malcolms and the Grants when they visited Berwick, came in the style of the grandees of the Province. Young Grant, of course, was the object of a flood of civilities. Possessing the many attractions with which the graces of the true gentleman invest the person, he soon impressed the heart and secured the affections of the daughter of Captain Wise; and in due time she became his wife. But much to her disappointment, instead of taking up her residence in Boston, Grant's attachment to Berwick had become so strong, that he determined to close his business in Boston and move there. Accordingly, he opened a store for trade in Berwick, or what is now termed South Berwick. But he no sooner commenced business than a great freshet carried off his store and all his merchandise. The store went down the river, and was secured at Portsmouth; but all his goods were lost or destroyed. About the same time a vessel and cargo, of which he was part owner, was totally lost.

He then started in business anew, as partner with Hon. Richard Cutts, in the traffic of West India goods and groceries. But he was again doomed to disappointment. A gang of thieves entered the store in the darkness of night, and carried off the entire stock of goods. They were tracked and pursued to the eastern end of the Province, but all exertions to overtake them were fruitless.

But Grant was a persevering man, active and industrious; still self-possessed, cheerful and determined under all the adversities of life. He suffered no delay, but starting again in the same business

alone, he went to Portsmouth and purchased goods to the amount of five hundred dollars; brought them up in a gondola, which reached South Berwick late in the evening. They were put into the store; and, wearied with the day's work, he went home and retired to bed. On going to the store in the morning, the goods had all disappeared; the thief, as if to see how completely he could perfect his work, having carried off every article except a single paper of pins. He had no doubt who the robber was. But such were his sensibilities, and so adverse was he to being, even under the most aggravated circumstances, the instrument of bringing distress upon a family, that it was not in his heart to take measures to unfold the crime and punish the offender. But at a subsequent period the thief found a home in the State's prison, where he died, having previously made confession of this and other offenses.

Notwithstanding these repeated misfortunes, so rapidly following each other, his enterprising spirit was in no measure subdued. Neither were the elements of his social character in the least degree affected. He was still the same thorough gentleman in his domestic and friendly intercourse; pleasant and respectful to all. The Revolutionary conflict having commenced, he readily took sides with the people in opposition to the English government, and being "chosen by the General Court" in 1776, as Quarter-master of the Suffolk and York regiments, he went into the army. How long he was in this service, we are not informed. After the war was over, he came to Kennebunk. Here he soon entered on a profitable business. Being of a kind and generous temperament, he drew to his store a large custom, and in a little while more than retrieved his former pecuniary condition. His son Edward went into partnership with his uncle Michael Wise. The firm did an extensive business; and in January, 1804, Grant being desirous of being relieved, in a measure, from its cares and burdens, took his son into partnership with him, under the firm of John Grant & Son.

JOHN STORER.

JOHN STORER was the son of John, and grandson of Col. John. In the early days of manhood he appears to have been animated with a very worthy ambition for some prominent part on the stage of life. He began business as a trader, and had such success that he was encouraged to follow in the footsteps of many others of the

townsmen and enter into navigation. This he did with a good deal of spirit, and perhaps without proper precaution. In 1795, he built the largest vessel ever built in Wells or Kennebunk up to that time, being a ship of 280 tons. What was the result of this enterprise to him, we are not informed. We know that the finale of all his business was unfavorable, and that the labors of his life terminated very differently from his early anticipations. But he maintained a good degree of popularity with the people. In 1785, he was chosen one of the selectmen, and again in 1791. This office he then held for sixteen successive years. In 1785, he was also chosen town treasurer. This office he held twenty-five years. In 1791, he was chosen representative, and continued to be so chosen until 1800. After that, in 1804, he was again chosen, and annually thereafter for five successive years; so that it is manifest his character and qualifications commended him very strongly to his fellow-citizens. But while he thus retained the respect and good-will of the people, he was unsuccessful in acquiring any property beyond the demands of prudent and ordinary life.

His wife was Hannah Morrill, daughter of Rev. Moses Morrill, of Biddeford, to whom he was married Dec. 24, 1772. They had a large family of children. The first two died in infancy. Sally, their daughter, married Rev. Nathaniel H. Fletcher; Mary, William Cole; Elizabeth, unmarried; Hannah, married William Gooch; John Langdon, Samuel, Olive, married Samuel Curtis. This first wife died May 25, 1790.

He was married again, May 12, 1793, to Elizabeth Scamman, of Saco, widow, and a daughter of Rev. John Fairfield, by whom he had the following children: Martha Ruggles, wife of Lauriston Ward, Esq., of Saco; Mary Ann, Caroline Langdon, wife of Samuel B. Morrill and George Starrett; Hannah, wife of Dr. E. G. Moore; Harriet Elvira, wife of Ralph Hobbs, and Almira, who died at the age of eleven.

HUGH McCULLOCH.

HUGH McCULLOCH was the son of Adam McCulloch, who lived in Kennebunkport, though his place of business was Kennebunk, where he carried on trade at his store, standing on the bank of the river, about half a dozen rods below the house of Samuel Roberts. He came from Scotland. He first employed himself in teaching in vari-

ous places. Having acquired a little property, he invested it in trade, beginning business in Kennebunk about 1768. His son Hugh came to Kennebunk at the time when Dr. Goddard removed to Portland, and purchased his house. He was the most spirited and courageous man of that period, entering into trade and navigation on a large scale. He built many vessels, and soon owned several brigs and ships employed in the West India trade. He acquired property rapidly, and in a few years became the richest man in town. But the war fell heavily upon him. Everything that he had was invested in the two large ships nearly finished when it was begun. These vessels became worthless, and his incidental business nearly died out, so that after the war was over the enthusiasm of previous years of activity was gone. Chronic disease enfeebled his constitution and his energies failed. But he was destined to a trial more severe than the loss of his property in the death of his son at Cambridge, in 1817, to which we have alluded in a former chapter. Still his Christian faith did not forsake him. He trusted in an overruling Providence for a merciful deliverance from all his distresses.

He married Abiel Perkins, daughter of Thomas Perkins, Esq., of Kennebunkport, April 10, 179—. They had five children: Adam, who married Hannah Chase, of Newburyport, Thomas, Louisa, who married Ivory Lord, Eliza, and Hugh, late Secretary of the United States Treasury, who married Eunice Hardy. He died 18—.

WILLIAM BUTLAND.

In another chapter we have related some feats of WILLIAM BUTLAND, one of the ancients of the town, with whom the author enjoyed the good fortune of a personal acquaintance. We have special remembrance of this worthy old man. He was born in 1737, and retained all his faculties, to a wonderful degree, to the end of a life extending almost through a century. We frequently saw him in his last days, and derived from him much of the valuable history which is embodied in this work. His memory was remarkable, not showing any indications of decay, taking clear and firm hold of events in the middle of his life, as well as of those cotemporary with his boyhood. He started in life when there were no means for education, and grew to manhood in the midst of those excitements which the wars of 1745 and '55 produced. He dwelt in the midst of Indian wigwams, and was familiar with all the developments of Indian life

and character; well acquainted with Wawa, the chief Sachem, and others of the tribes dwelling on the Kennebunk and Mousam rivers. No sympathy for these savages could, for a moment, find a resting-place in his bosom. He could have no fellowship with any wrong. He abhorred them for their outrages on humanity. He had witnessed and heard of their iniquities in his childhood, which made a deep impress on his heart, and the fire of revenge for their fiendish crimes, which was then kindled, continued to burn to the close of his life. He hated the Indian as the common enemy of everything good. As a manifestation of his hatred, he related that when he was only nine years old, being shut up in the house alone, while his parents had gone to meeting on the Sabbath, he saw one of these red men looking in at the keyhole of the door. He at once seized a spindle which had been taken from the spinning-wheel, thrust it through and put his eye out. The judgment and action of childhood, in relation to wrong and its punishment, grow out of their associations. The example of parents, where there are no counteracting influences in the education of the schools, is the unfailing instructor of the child.

Born and trained in the midst of peril, and accustomed to all kinds of exposure and labor, Butland grew to manhood, with a constitution impregnable to all the assaults of the various diseases and evils which are the bane of human life. He early went into the shipyard, and there learned to wield the broad-axe, thereby strengthening his muscles and nerves by the severe labor of fourteen or fifteen hours a day, which was in that period the measure of bodily exercise. Solid food and regular daily work almost made giants of some of these bold, fearless, and industrious men of the middle of the last century. Butland became distinguished for his unparalleled physical strength. In the young life of the author, a feat which he had performed was frequently mentioned. The fact was so well authenticated, that there was no room for doubt as to its truth. A teamster, in consequence of the depth of the ruts, had found his wheels so obstructed that the oxen's strength was insufficient to draw them out. He had in his cart nearly a ton of hay. Butland, who was passing while the man was in this troublesome predicament, remarked that he would not give much for a yoke of oxen that could not move so light a load as that. "Not so light, neither," replied the man. "Why," says Butland, "I can lift it myself." "Not exactly," answered the teamster,

"but I should like to see you try." Upon this challenge, he immediately got beneath the cart, and placing his back under the axle, actually raised the whole load from the ground.

His intellectual constitution also, in its growth, kept pace in some good degree with the physical. Though uneducated, the manifestations of this fact were plain. But his distinguished characteristic, as before stated, was his clear and distinct memory. Failure of this important element in the last years of a protracted life, seems to be the general doom of the race. But he was not the subject of this common fate. His knowledge of the events transpiring in all stages of his life appeared to be equally reliable.

His earthly life had been one of hardship and trial. From some cause with which we are not acquainted, he had not acquired the means of a comfortable support in his old age. In looking over the list of those who finished life's labors in the end of the last or the beginning of the present century, we find scarcely an individual who left to his children anything but his interest in his lands. One would almost think that the acquisition of property was no object of their lives. They worked and spent only to live. This remark we make in reference to farmers only. Here and there a trader left a small property to his heirs. We think the farmers were liberal in their expenditures for their households, indulging them to the full extent of the annual products of their farms, sometimes feasting to their heart's content; at other times when their products were small, limiting themselves to the necessaries of life. Many of them died leaving no avails of life's work. Among these was Mr. Butland. He was poor and dependent in his last days. Yet he was cheerful and contented with his lot. The last time we saw him, in the *ninety-fifth* year of his age, he was walking with a quick step across the field, braving a heavy northwester, and crying out, "Hard-a-lee, fore-sheet and fore-top boling, maintopsail halyards let go," as buoyant in mind and heart as though he had been the richest man in Kennebunk.

NATHANIEL COUSENS.

NATHANIEL COUSENS was the son of Ichabod Cousens, who was the son of Thomas, the first of that name in Wells. Ichabod, the father, was an enterprising man, generally engaged in milling. He lived in Wells in the earlier portion of his life, but in 1745, moved

over to Kennebunk. He was a soldier in the old French war, and died with the small-pox contracted while in the service. At what period the ancestors came to Wells, no record informs us. In the assumption of a right to all the common lands by those who were inhabitants in 1716, Cousens does not appear to have had a share, though we are confident he lived here about that time. His son, Nathaniel, was born in 1739, and to him we are indebted for much of our information in regard to the ancient history of the town. He was educated as a carpenter; devoted many years to framing buildings; afterward labored in the shipyards and in milling, as long as his constitution maintained its strength. In his vigorous years he exercised considerable influence. He was a soldier with his father in the French war of 1755, and at various times, amounting to four or five years, in the Revolutionary war, in which he was an ensign, lieutenant, adjutant, and after the war was over, a major of the militia, having been a captain before the struggle commenced. He was also one of the selectmen of the town, assessor, and many years clerk of the Second Parish. He was endowed with much physical power, gained by the laborious experiences of life, and lived to the advanced age of ninety-five years. Ichabod Cousens, the father, married Ruth Cole, July 26, 1714, had eight children: Catharine, born June 26, 1715, married John Wormwood; Thomas, born Sept. 26, 1717, married Ann Goodwin, of Berwick, 1740; Ichabod, born Nov. 10, 1719; John, born Nov. 16, 1722, married Sarah Davis, 1759; Benjamin, born Sept. 28, 1724, married Hannah Simpson, 1753; Samuel, born 1726, married Susanna Watson, of Alfred, 1757; Joseph, born Sept. 2, 1728, married Hannah Edgecomb, of Biddeford, 1754; Ruth, born Oct. 19, 1731, married John Wakefield, June, 1748.

BENAIHAH CLARK.

BENAIHAH CLARK was the son of Nathaniel Clark, whose father also was Nathaniel Clark, who came to Wells previously to 1700. All these generations have occupied the spot now the homestead of their descendant, Theodore Clark, Esq. Benaiah was one of the selectmen of the town many years. His unswerving integrity inspired the public with unlimited confidence in him, and he therefore had the respect and good-will of the people. He confined himself chiefly to agricultural pursuits, his farm being so extensive as to re-

quire his whole attention. His wife was Dorothy Wells, eldest daughter of the late Judge Wells.

JEREMIAH HUBBARD.

JEREMIAH HUBBARD died Oct. 21, 1825. He was one of the marked men of the town, not on account of the influence that he exerted, but from the uncommon intellectual power with which nature had endowed him. He derived no special advantage from the schools in his early days. Education at that period was not the prime object of parents. They gave to their children only such instruction as the town school afforded, and not always the full benefit of that. Their circumstances required all the aid that their children could give them in carrying on the work of the farm. But Hubbard cultivated his intellect, his natural impulses pressing him to the acquisition of knowledge. His thoughts were rapid, and he had a good command of language. Quick in his perceptions, and of a lively, social temperament, his conversational powers were never idle while in the company of congenial friends. He possessed faculties and acquirements which would have given him a prominent place in life, if he had kept the physical man in subjection. But in his day, temptation met him on all sides, and yielding too easily to its power, he failed in the high calling set before him. Though uneducated, he wrote rapidly, and, generally, with accuracy. He was for many years one of the selectmen of the town, and might have been the competitor of Judge Wells or any other townsman for political office. He was employed much in surveying.

He married Hannah Hobbs, Jan. 4, 1781, and had five sons and four daughters.

STEPHEN LARRABEE.

STEPHEN LARRABEE was the son of Sergeant Stephen Larrabee, distinguished for his bravery in the Indian wars. He was one of the selectmen from 1779 to 1786, and many years deacon of the Second Congregational church. We have a distinct remembrance of him as he appeared in our younger days, but we have no special knowledge of his peculiar characteristics. His business relations were not such as to bring him prominently before the public. We well remember one of his habits of speech, it being an invariable impulse with him

to say, "Yes," in response to any charges against him, or to any question asked, "Yes, yes, I guess I will; yes, yes, I guess I won't;" were, we suppose, merely significant of his acceptance of a readiness to reply, and the latter clause his answer. He was kind-hearted and easy of approach. We believe his character to have been beyond exception.

BENJAMIN LITTLEFIELD.

BENJAMIN LITTLEFIELD was one of the substantial men of the town. His parents were familiar with the experiences of the settlers in the times of the Indian wars, and he was taught the necessity of courage to meet the events of life, and diligence and industry in its ordinary pursuits. Like others born in that day of hardship, he had but few opportunities for education. But he so improved those that he had, and acquired so much of the rudiments of knowledge, that in 1760 he was chosen the clerk of the proprietors of the township, and held that office forty-three years. He spent his life in milling and farming. He was the owner of the grist-mill near his house, and had an interest in the saw-mill in which he found employment. He was a man of very correct habits, and of a modest and retiring disposition, choosing to keep aloof from the bustle of the world, and therefore did not exercise that influence which a more frequent intercourse with the world, and a more active interest in town affairs, would have given him.

In 1776 and 1777, he was one of the selectmen of the town. He died Oct. 5, 1821, at the age of ninety-one, leaving children and grand-children who have maintained an honorable standing in society.

AARON WARREN.

Though it is not within the scope of this work to make special mention of those who came here to reside after the commencement of the present century, we feel it to be a duty not to suffer the name of a worthy man, whose diffidence and modesty precluded him from making any overt demonstrations among his fellow citizens, to be lost from the records of time. The future historian of Wells might otherwise find no memorial of his moral worth. We allude to AARON WARREN. By the fire of 1870, in Kennebunk, our sketch of his early life was consumed. But our memory of it is sufficient for our limited purpose. We think he came to Wells in 1806. He was edu-

cated as a physician. The Revolutionary war coming on, he determined to take an active part in it, and enlisted as a private in the army. During its continuance he went into the service several times for short periods. But his principal service was in the navy, in which he was appointed assistant surgeon, being assigned for duty in the schooner *Fly*, on board of which he was continued several months. After the war was over, he established himself as a physician in Pitts-ton, Maine. But being a diffident man and unobtrusive, he made no show in his profession; and thence, like many others of similar character, met with no favorable recognition among the people. The same cause has made the lives of thousands inefficient and unprofitable. Being disheartened by ill success in his profession, he abandoned it and came to Wells, where he secured a little farm, and went into the business of making reeds. The loom then was in every man's house, and the daughters were taught to strengthen their arms and prepare themselves for usefulness and enjoyment as wives and mothers, by the manufacture of the solid homespun dresses for the families. This branch of household labor required a large number of reeds; so that possibly, at that time, he received a respectable income from this source. But we have no special knowledge of that matter. He lived retired, and, we suppose, in later years the bounties of earth were not very liberally bestowed upon him; the sound of the beatings of the loom having ceased to be heard in our dwellings, and thence his spirit was somewhat depressed.

In his religious sentiments he was much in accord with the Friends; but there being no one of that denomination within the boundaries of his business circuit, with whom he could have communion, he was too much in the habit of solitary thought. As he advanced in life, heaviness in his heart increased. But toward its close, a brighter day dawned upon him. A new pension law was passed, and his heart was cheered with the hope which it inspired; although he did not dare to put any dependence upon relief from that source. He came to the author of this work, and gave him a detailed account of all his Revolutionary services, during five or six different periods. He enlisted in the State of Connecticut, and supposing that all his comrades were dead, and even if living had forgotten him, he was fearful that he should be unable to establish his claim. But after long and persevering exertion every necessary allegation was proved. When we had succeeded in obtaining the proof of one service, which

would give him about twenty dollars a year, we went early in the morning to communicate to him that fact, and meeting him on the road, stated to him this favorable result of our labors. He immediately turned about, went to his home, took his bed, and did not rise again for the day, being entirely overcome by the glad news.

He finally secured a pension of three hundred and twelve dollars a year, by which the remainder of his days were cheered; and he finished his life in the possession of all the necessary comforts of earth.

AMONG the farmers of the last century were many active, solid and useful men. The business of this worthy class of the townsmen was generally limited to their agriculture. Some of them carried on lumbering to a considerable extent; but their business relations were not so extensive as to leave behind them such memoranda as would suggest to the author their personal characters. We have, therefore, been obliged to limit our biographical sketches to those men whose employments made them more prominent in their intercourse with others. Many of the farmers left to their descendants that most valuable of all memorials, the example of a noble and Christian life. There was as much greatness of soul among these men, as in those whose position in society gave them opportunity of making their impress on the more abiding records of human life and action. It was through the unflinching patriotism of many of these brave men that the settlement was preserved through the savage wars which desolated all the eastern part of Maine. Many of them were examples of a noble and self-sacrificing patriotism in the great national conflict. Among these were CAPT. JOHN LITTLEFIELD, PELATIAH LITTLEFIELD, NICHOLAS COLE, JOSIAH WINN, RICHARD KIMBALL, NATHANIEL KIMBALL, THOMAS WELLS, NATHANIEL WELLS, NATHANIEL CLARK, CAPT. JAMES LITTLEFIELD.

JOHN LITTLEFIELD.

Ensign JOHN LITTLEFIELD died March 11, 1790, aged 37. He was a young man of a stirring, patriotic spirit, arriving at maturity in the day when men's souls began to be tried by the threatening aspect of the complications with the mother country. On the first call for military service he enlisted for the struggle—went to Cambridge in 1775, where he continued for eight months, and was afterward in the battle of Brandywine. In this contest he barely escaped death.

At two different times bullets went through his clothes. But the imminence of death in this contest did not frighten him from duty. He went into the service again. But the deprivations and sufferings of the war made sad inroads upon his constitution; and at its termination, the vigor of life was so much impaired that he never recovered the full strength of manhood. He finally died of consumption, leaving a widow, Miriam Littlefield, who forty years afterward received a liberal pension from the government.

NOAH MOULTON LITTLEFIELD.

NOAH MOULTON LITTLEFIELD was the son of Pelatiah Littlefield, the first. He was distinguished by this middle name when he arrived at maturity, although we have seen no evidence that it was a part of his original appellation; and in our account of the names used in ancient days, we have not regarded him as invested with this mark of distinction. He belonged to a family of brave men; was brother of Major Daniel Littlefield, who was killed in the battle of Bagaduce. In his early years he was chosen a captain of the militia; and being placed in that position, and ambitious to show himself worthy of it, he very naturally turned his attention to military science, and thus while acquiring the needed practical knowledge, he could not fail in seeing all along that the patriotic spirit must direct it to carry out his knowledge with effect. A man cannot be a good officer by the acquisition merely of military science. His fitness for the battlefield was appreciated when the portents of the war began to wake up the people to the demands of the hour. He was first ordered with his company to take care of the beach, in which he was employed six months. After that he went into the more active service abroad, "being chosen by the Legislature" colonel of a regiment. Afterward he was brigadier-general of the local militia. We are not particularly acquainted with his train of service while thus engaged in the war. But he was a long time in it. He lived on the Wheelright farm, occupying the ancient house of that family, and for the most part employed himself in coasting and agriculture; though he owned parts of one or two vessels, which he was engaged in building even during the war. After the close of the great contest, in 1786, he was chosen one of the selectmen. He was also representative to the Legislature. He died Oct. 25, 1821, aged 84. His wife was Martha Richardson, to whom he was married Dec. 22, 1761.

JOSEPH HUBBARD.

JOSEPH HUBBARD was one of the well-known men of the town. He was a tanner, and from the nature of his business had an extensive acquaintance with its inhabitants. Being a man of free conversation and strong political tendencies, he exercised some considerable influence in municipal affairs. He was rigorous in disposition, and decided in his opinions. He was elected colonel of the regiment embracing the town of Wells, and was noted and always distinguished as Col. Hubbard. This office he appreciated very highly. One of his soldiers came to salute him on the morning when he first invested himself with his regimentals. As the colonel came to the door, the private raised his gun in the usual way of salutation, and fired. The charge entered a puddle of filth made by the sink-spout, and completely besmeared the new buff breeches of the superior, then a material part of his official wardrobe. Dr. Hemmenway told him that he thought it would have frightened him somewhat; but he replied that he should have stood his ground if it had blown him into the sky. The salutation was not very gratifying in its results, but he accepted it as an intention to honor him in his new position. He was representative from 1787 to 1791, three years one of the selectmen, and several years a deputy sheriff. His wife was Ann Gowen. They had nine children, four sons and five daughters. The late Joshua Hubbard, Esq., was his youngest son.

ISAAC POPE.

MAJOR ISAAC POPE died in June, 1820, aged 76. Our recollections of him are not such as to enable us to give any sketch of his character. We knew him well as one of uncommon urbanity, distinguished all his life for that suavity of manner and general dignity of deportment which characterized the old English gentleman. To this he must have been trained from early life. Politeness seemed to be a controlling element of his nature. Under all circumstances, he demeaned himself with much acceptance in social life. Even when impressed with the conviction that a wrong was done to him, or when anything was said in disparagement of his personal rights, or when offended by the acts or speech of others, his denunciations were always qualified by those gracious terms which aristocracy regards as material in the intercourse of refined life. In these quali-

ties of personal dignity and bearing, he probably had no superior in Wells. His habits of life were very much in unison with those of the higher classes in England. In some respects he carried them a little further than New England sentiment would approve, indulging himself freely in those comforts which his taste dictated. It was on this account, probably, that he failed to leave anything for his heirs; his estate, like that of many other good citizens, being insolvent. He was a brave and efficient officer in the Revolutionary war. After his discharge from that service, he was one of the selectmen several years, and for a time was engaged in coasting, to which he added some attention to agriculture.

Under the Act of 1818, he received a pension sufficient to sustain him in his declining years; but he lived only a little while to enjoy it. He left a large family of children, who are respectable and influential members of society.

JOHN COLE.

MAJOR JOHN COLE died April 23, 1797, aged —. The Coles have maintained their inhabitancy in Wells from its first settlement. Several of them were killed by the Indians. Nicholas was driven from North Yarmouth in the first war, and afterward made Wells his home; but the terrors of all the subsequent wars did not drive them from their position here. Major Cole was a military man from early manhood, having then been chosen and commissioned as lieutenant. He had many experiences which would fit him for that character. One could not live at the time when the barbarities of the savages were so frequently inflicted on the peaceable settlers without having much of the war spirit awakened within him. He was advanced by regular gradation to the rank of major; was one of the selectmen from 1779 to 1785. Most of those of this name have been carpenters and millmen, though some of them have given their undivided attention to farming. Nicholas Cole and his son, Nicholas Cole, were many years surveyors for the town and the proprietors.

JOSHUA BRAGDON.

JOSHUA BRAGDON came from York some time before the Revolutionary war, and was engaged in business when the relations between the colonies and the mother country began to exhibit a threatening

aspect. He was an enterprising man, and for several years previous to the conflict for independence was engaged in ship building. The proceedings of England began to interfere very much with his prosperity, and he looked upon them in the light in which they were viewed by John Adams, James Otis, and other patriots of the day, and some of the warlike spirit began to stir within him. Accordingly, as soon as the first gun was fired, he was ready for the contest. He had no patience with the wavering and cowardly, and especially with those who dared to come out against resistance of arbitrary power. He was chosen as a fit agent to prosecute all those inhabitants who were inimically disposed toward the country, and whom it was dangerous to harbor among the people. He went into the service at various times, and was a good officer. After independence was secured, and the war was over, he was several years one of the selectmen of the town. In 1785, he represented the town in the Legislature, and in subsequent years was often on important committees having in charge civil and municipal affairs. He was a solid, temperate man, always maintaining a fair character.

JOHN RANKIN.

JOHN RANKIN was the son of James Rankin, of Wells. He was born Nov. 4, 1775, and died May 11, 1857. In the earlier years of his life, his business was on the sea, coasting, etc. He was a man of fair natural abilities and sound morality, having much confidence in himself, and inclined to an active, industrious life. After he abandoned the sea, he gave his attention to farming and surveying. He afterward acquainted himself in some measure with probate proceedings, and gave his aid to such as needed it in the settlement of estates in his vicinity. He was also a Justice of the Peace, and in the habit of sitting in the trial of causes. On one occasion, in the course of his argument, one of the counsel in the case, who had the reputation of being a little sharp in his "practices," remarked, by way of illustration, "They say that I am a great rascal, and I suppose I am," and hesitated a moment, when the "Captain," as he was familiarly called, hurried him up by the rather equivocal compliment, "Well, well, sir, you can go on; nobody disputes your word."

Capt. Rankin was a man of good strong common sense.

BARAK MAXWELL.

BARAK MAXWELL died Jan. 21, 1816, aged 84. We have no recorded facts from which we are enabled to deduce his character, but we are inclined to the opinion that it was one of considerable interest. From the knowledge that we have of him, we think he must have been extensively known. He kept the public house in Ogunquit, which was established many years back in the last century, and was continued until railroads put an end to patronage. Like almost all landlords in the olden time, he was a great politician. As a class, having intercourse with all the traveling portion of the community, and being in the habit of free conversation with their guests of various opinions, they became well versed in all subjects of popular interest. Some of these landlords were thoroughly posted in the political affairs of the day, and were able to argue the questions arising, with a good deal of ability. Having listened so often to the suggestions of both parties, they had abundant opportunity to weigh their force and effectiveness, and not unfrequently entered into the contest with much feeling. Paul Woodbridge, of York, as before stated, became so indignant with those who would not come into the spirit of the Revolution, that he would furnish no entertainment for them at his house, and put up his sign with the inscription, "Entertainment for the Sons of Liberty." Maxwell became not less earnest, although he was not so exclusive, providing well for all. Judge Thatcher, of the Supreme Court, used frequently to visit New Hampshire, traveling in his carriage. At one time he stopped at Maxwell's to dine. They soon entered upon a discussion, which was interrupted by the dinner bell. The judge told the landlord to have his horse ready at the door, so that he might start immediately after dinner, as he wished to arrive at his journey's end before night; but before he could get into his chaise, Maxwell resumed the "thread of his discourse," and the discussion went on, and was continued without interruption until four o'clock, when the judge terminated it by getting into his chaise and driving off. Maxwell must have been a man of considerable intellectual strength, as well as zeal, to have detained the judge so long with his argument.

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